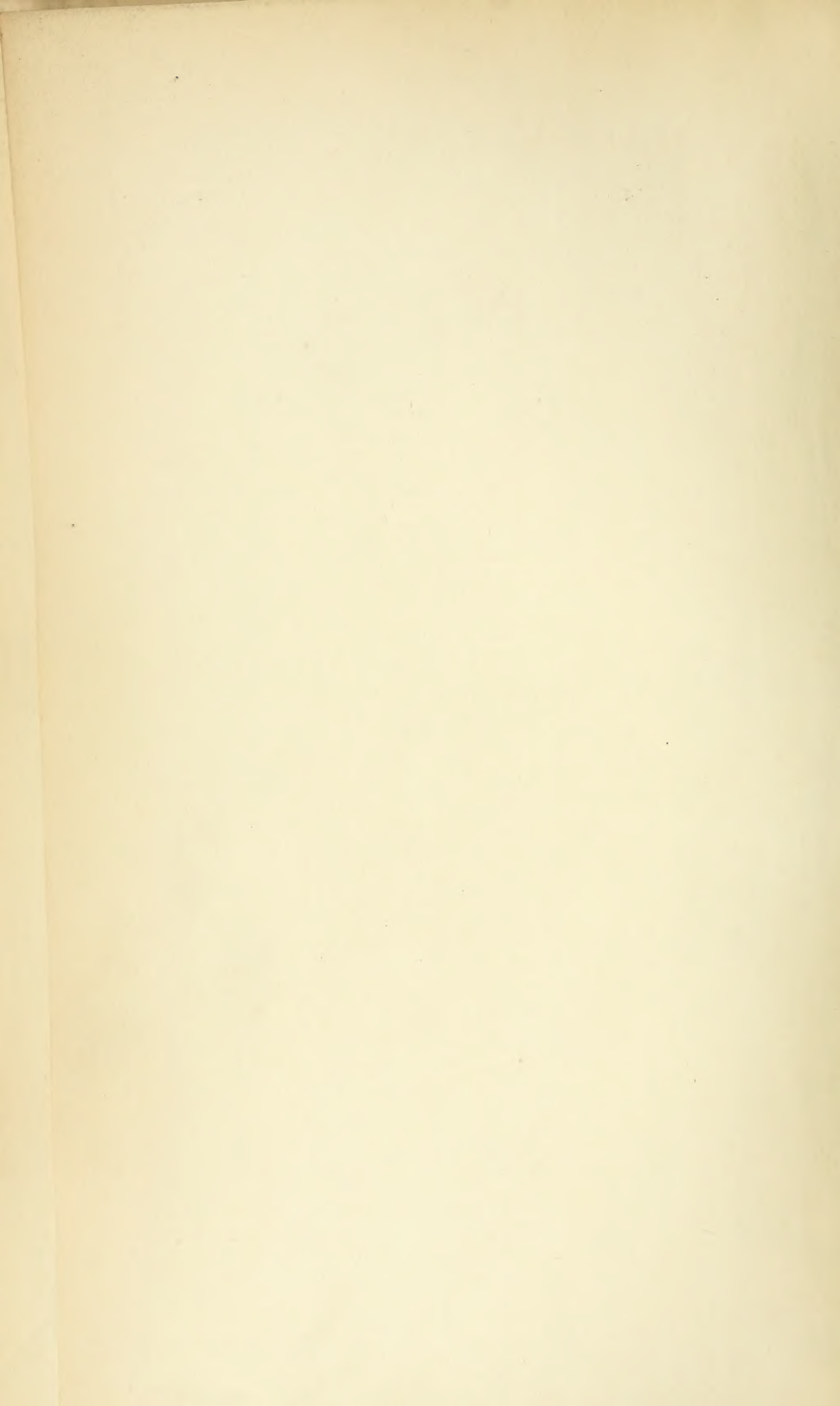


Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2008 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation



WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY

LEXINGTON, VIRGINIA

HISTORICAL PAPERS

No. 2. — 1890

1. THE FOUNDERS OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE: AN ADDRESS BY
HON. HUGH BLAIR GRIGSBY, LL.D. DELIVERED JUNE
22, 1870.
2. ADDRESS BEFORE THE ALUMNI ASSOCIATION OF WASHINGTON
COLLEGE, BY THE REV. ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER, D. D.
DELIVERED JUNE 29, 1843.

57834
25 | 9 | 02

BALTIMORE:
JOHN MURPHY & CO.

1890.

PREFACE.

We now publish the address of the Hon. Hugh Blair Grigsby, LL. D., on the "Founders of Washington College," delivered at the commencement on the 22nd day of June, 1870. The manuscript was retained by Mr. Grigsby for the purpose of completing it, but he died without doing so. We have added brief sketches of those omitted by him. The address is now published for the first time, and will be read with much interest by the friends of the university, and especially by the descendants of those who aided in founding this noble institution, which has attained proportions they little dreamed of.

We also publish with it the address of Dr. Archibald Alexander, delivered in 1843, which attracted so much attention when delivered and first published.

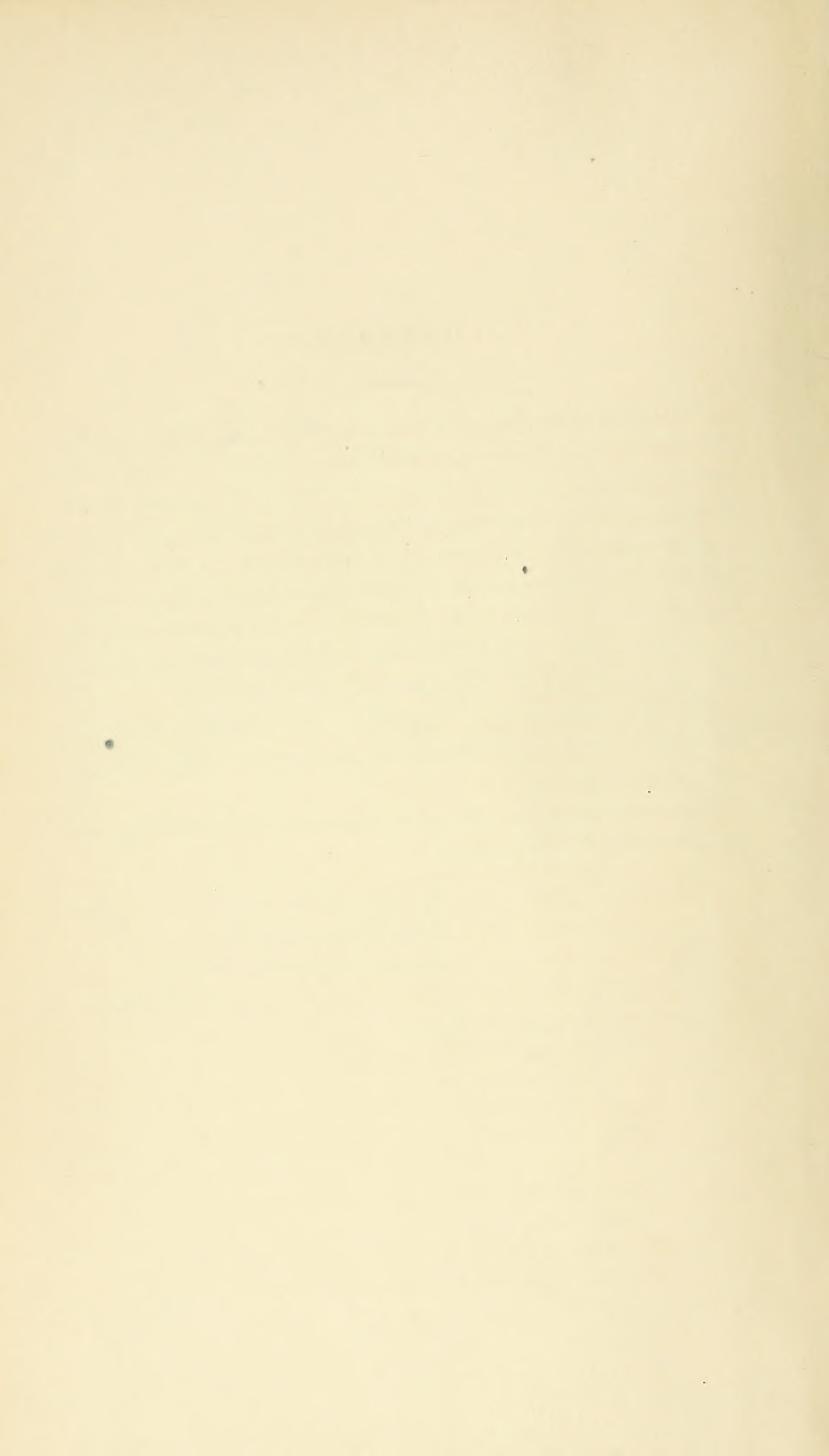
Other numbers of these Historical Papers will be published as soon as the material can be prepared.

WILLIAM McLAUGHLIN,
WILLIAM A. GLASGOW,
HENRY ALEXANDER WHITE,

Committee.

WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY,

October, 1890.



CONTENTS.

| | PAGE. |
|--|-------|
| THE FOUNDERS OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE: AN ADDRESS BY HON. HUGH BLAIR GRIGSBY, LL. D., DELIVERED JUNE 22, 1870. | |
| Introduction..... | 1 |
| Three Periods in the History of Washington College..... | 2 |
| First Settlers of the Valley..... | 3 |
| Origin of the Scotch-Irish..... | 5 |
| Influence of Knox and the Reformation on the Scotch-Irish..... | 5 |
| Emigration of Scotch-Irish to Pennsylvania..... | 8 |
| Removal thence to the Valley of Virginia..... | 9 |
| First Classical School in the Valley, 1749..... | 9 |
| First Rector of it—Robert Alexander..... | 10 |
| Rev. John Brown, second Rector..... | 11 |
| William Graham, his Assistant, 1774..... | 12 |
| Augusta Academy removed to Mount Pleasant..... | 12 |
| Trustees appointed by Presbytery..... | 12 |
| Trustees appointed under Charter of 1782 | 13 |
| Gift of Washington..... | 14 |
| Sketch of William Graham... .. | 14 |
| Birth and Early Life..... | 15 |
| Determines to Study Theology..... | 16 |
| A Student at Princeton..... | 16 |
| Removes to Virginia, 1774..... | 17 |
| His Military Service..... | 18 |
| Resigns his Rectorship..... | 19 |
| Character of Graham..... | 20 |
| As Preacher..... | 20 |
| As Professor..... | 21 |
| As Politician..... | 22 |
| His Letter to Washington in behalf of Liberty Hall..... | 25 |
| His Course on Revocation of Charter of 1782..... | 26 |

| | PAGE. |
|---|-------|
| His Opposition to Federal Constitution..... | 27 |
| Summary | 30 |
| Sketch of John Montgomery..... | 33 |
| Sketch of James Waddell..... | 34 |
| Sketch of Rev. Charles Cummings..... | 38 |
| Sketch of Col. William Fleming..... | 40 |
| Sketch of Col. William Preston..... | 44 |
| Sketch of Col. Arthur Campbell..... | 49 |
| Sketch of Col. William Christian..... | 52 |
| Sketch of Gen. Andrew Moore..... | 56 |
| Sketch of Col. Samuel McDowell..... | 63 |
| Sketch of Gen. John Bowyer..... | 68 |
| Sketch of Thomas, Alexander and Archibald Stuart..... | 70 |
| Thomas..... | 71 |
| Alexander..... | 72 |
| Archibald..... | 73 |
| Sketch of Thomas and Andrew Lewis..... | 78 |
| Sketch of Andrew Lewis..... | 81 |
| Sketch of Samuel Lyle..... | 84 |
| Sketch of William Irwin..... | 85 |
| Sketch of Charles Campbell..... | 85 |
| Sketch of John and Samuel Houston..... | 86 |
| Sketch of Sampson Mathews..... | 87 |
| Sketch of Col. William McKee..... | 88 |
| Sketch of Col. George Moffett..... | 90 |
| Sketch of John Hays..... | 91 |
| Sketch of William Wilson..... | 92 |
| Sketch of John Wilson..... | 93 |
| Sketch of William Alexander..... | 95 |
| Sketch of Caleb Wallace..... | 96 |
| Sketch of John Trimble..... | 98 |
| Sketch of Alexander Campbell..... | 98 |
| Sketch of Zachariah Johnston..... | 99 |
| Sketch of Gen. William Campbell..... | 100 |
| Sketch of William McPheeters..... | 103 |
| Conclusion..... | 104 |

APPENDIX.

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----|
| Sketch of John Grattan..... | 105 |
| Sketch of Samuel Doak..... | 106 |

CONTENTS.

vii

| | PAGE. |
|---|-------|
| Sketch of Edward Crawford..... | 107 |
| Sketch of Archibald Scott..... | 108 |
| Sketch of James McConnell..... | 108 |
| Sketch of Benjamin Erwin..... | 108 |
| Sketch of Capt. John Lewis..... | 108 |
| Sketch of James McCorkle..... | 109 |
| Sketch of Joseph Walker..... | 109 |
| Sketch of William Ward and James Trotter..... | 110 |
| Sketch of John Lyle..... | 110 |

ADDRESS BEFORE THE ALUMNI ASSOCIATION OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE, BY THE REV. ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER, D. D., DELIVERED JUNE 29, 1843.

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-----|
| Education necessary..... | 113 |
| Methods of mental training..... | 114 |
| Overtraining of verbal memory..... | 116 |
| Mnemonics..... | 116 |
| Quickness of apprehension..... | 117 |
| Thirst for knowledge..... | 117 |
| Importance of classical training..... | 120 |
| Religious training..... | 124 |
| The Bible in schools..... | 125 |
| Alumni and <i>alma mater</i> | 126 |
| Importance of libraries..... | 127 |
| Sketch of Rev. William Graham..... | 128 |
| Sketch of Dr. James Priestly..... | 136 |
| Conclusion..... | 137 |
| CONCLUDING NOTE..... | 138 |

THE FOUNDERS OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE.

*Mr. Rector and Trustees, Mr. President and
Professors, of Washington College :*

I have come in obedience to your request to aid you in commemorating the names and services of the good and great men who were the early patrons and friends of your institution, who, as Trustees, held the reins of government, or as Professors, filled your chairs, and who in the silent lapse of generations, and under the pressure of the ever-living and engrossing present, have almost passed from human memory. Your noble design to rescue from oblivion what might yet be known of your early founders, met with a cordial response from my heart. Your trustees were among the most eminent men of the age in which they lived. They were men whose valor won fields of battle, whose voices decided the fate of the greatest political measures which preceded the Revolution of 1776, who made and ruled the Revolution itself, and who aided in devising those measures necessary to secure the blessings achieved by that event. And when asked by our children to recount their deeds, and we turn to our histories, and even to the dictionaries of biography, we find but a meagre account of any one of them, and respecting the greatest number nothing at all. The task which I have undertaken involves some toil and research, but I felt in executing it that I was performing a filial duty. For if I be not a son of the Valley, I am a grandson, and as I pass from the Natural Bridge to Lexington I can trace the early homesteads cleared from the primeval forest by the hands of my fathers, and on an eminence overlooking the road is the grave of my grand-

mother, and at Falling Spring I read the inscriptions on the tombs of my great-grandfather and great-grandmother, of uncles and aunts, and cousins of every degree ; and the cemetery of this town holds the dear ashes of my beloved kindred, and has just received the fresh dust of a dear aunt who went down to the grave at the age of 96.¹ And I felt assured in the well-known courtesy of yourself and your associates, that you would be more inclined to approve what I have done, than to blame me for what I failed to do.

The theme presents three well-defined historic periods : From 1749, the foundation of Augusta Academy—for Rockbridge had not then been set apart from Augusta—to 1782, when the charter was granted to Liberty Hall Academy ; from 1782 to 1860, the beginning of the late war ; and from 1860 to the present date.

Of these three great epochs you have assigned the first to me, and I have come to perform the office in what manner I may. And I think it just, not only to myself, but to this large and imposing auditory, to say at once that mine is not the office of the orator, but that of the historian. It is not mine to imitate the example of those who are wont to address you, on these festal days of the College, and to choose some fascinating theme from the realm of philosophy or from the kindling topics of the hour, to embellish it with flowing periods and striking illustrations, to amuse the mind with the play of logic or to regale the imagination with the creations of fancy, and to seek the applause justly accorded to him who touches the heart and fills the mind with pleasing images, and with the grace of action and with the witchery of words casts a spell not willingly to be dissolved over all who hear him. My office is strictly historical. I come to speak of the men and things of a time when forests covered nearly the whole of this beautiful and flourishing land, where so many cultivated farms delight the beholder, where so many handsome dwellings are seen, where so many human beings are gathered together, and are engaged in the various pursuits of human industry ; where a single library under the guardian care of its venerable high priest now contains more books than then existed from the Blue Ridge to the Pacific Ocean,

¹ Mrs. Martha Trimble.—EDS.

and from the Pennsylvania line to the Caribbean Sea.¹ I am come to speak of a time when the proudest building in the vast region sweeping from the Blue Ridge to the Mississippi was built of logs or of rough rocks ; when the rich and the poor—if indeed the word rich can be applied to any of the brave and pious settlers of this region—lived in log cabins ; when the dwelling house, the school house and the church were log cabins ; and when this hill, now adorned with its numerous and elegant structures, and overlooking a compact and busy population, was one unbroken solitude. I come to speak of some of the men who felled those forests, who cleared these lands, who built the first churches, who opened the first schools, who laid deep in the general heart the love of letters and the fear of God, and who impressed on the minds of their children the elements of their own pure and lofty character. Let us inquire who they were ; let us follow them through their varied course ; let us observe their early and unabated efforts to build up a virtuous and enlightened State, and let us pause as we pass at their humble but honored graves, and thank God that our fathers were just such men as they were, and that their dust—ever to be approached with grateful tears and honored with the voice of praise—still reposes in our soil.

It is obvious that each of the three great periods which I have mentioned would require nearly as many hours as I have minutes at my disposal ; and it has occurred to me to be the best on the whole, after giving a synopsis of the first period, to recur to the Trustees of 1776 and those of the charter of 1782.

Before we speak of the origin of this institution, let us take a rapid glance at the character of the people who reared it, and who have made so great a figure in the Colony and Commonwealth of Virginia. They were mainly what is commonly called Scotch-Irish, and were professors of the Presbyterian faith. But who were the Scotch-Irish ? Who were the people, that, wherever they were borne on the tumultuous tides of a various and constant emigration that rolled through the channels of centuries, carried with them a stout and stalwart frame of body, a clear head, a

¹ Mr. John W. Fuller, for more than half a century librarian of the Franklin Society, in the town of Lexington.—EDS.

physical courage that quailed not in the presence of a mortal enemy, a moral courage superior to disaster, indomitable industry, a scorn of ease, the love of letters, a thirst for freedom, and who inscribed on their banners the name of the Lord God of Hosts? To confine ourselves to the region of recorded history, we traverse a space of two thousand years, and read in the thrilling narrative of Cæsar his conflicts with the native Britons, and we take our seat in the trireme of Agricola as he coursed for the first time around the island of Britain, and gather from the pages of Tacitus the lineaments of that picture which the Roman general presented to his son-in-law, and which now thrills us with the intensity of its colors. From the Roman invasion to the date of the Norman Conquest in 1066, a period of a thousand years, both North and South Britain were subdued and overrun by the various hordes of the Scandinavian family; and as the Scottish rivers were as easily accessible by the ships of the piratical Northmen as the British, the Forth and the Tay were invaded simultaneously with the Humber and the Thames; and the names of places which were given by the Northmen still indicate the great historic era. I may mention the names of the craigs of East Binney and West Binney near the Forth, which were bestowed probably five hundred years before the Norman Conquest and still retain their Saxon inheritance. After the Norman Conquest, Scotland received a large accession of Anglo-Saxons from the South, who sought to escape the grasp of the conqueror. And thus, while the Southern part of the island was becoming modified in the course of generations by the blood and the language and the habits of the Normans, the simple Anglo-Saxon tongue and tastes prevailed in Scotland. Hence the purity of the Scotch language in its Anglo-Saxon aspect above the tongue of the English, which had become mixed with the dialects of the Latin race, and which is the boast of the Scotch to this day. I have mentioned these facts in order to set aside the common error of regarding the Scotch as wholly Celtic or Ancient British, instead of being in the main a component part of the Anglo-Saxon family.

The history of Scotland from the first landing of the Anglo-Saxons to the reign of Mary, Queen of Scots,—an interval of more than fifteen hundred years—presents the saddest portraiture of ignorance and blood and rapine and violence, variegated indeed

at intervals with passages of extraordinary splendor, which the historic muse ever drew for the warning and instruction of mankind. It was a scene of perpetual war—war within and war without. Its chiefs after the Conquest were Normans, such as Bruce, Wallace, Randolph, Campbell, Maxwell and the Stuarts; and they assumed a jurisdiction little less than kingly. Even the present Queen of England, though she succeeded to the crown on the right of her Scotch ancestors, has in her veins the blood of William the Norman. Feuds existed for generations, and were handed down with the sword and the helmet of the ferocious ancestor. This pugnacious trait of the Scotch receives an illustration from the name of Blair, which signifies an open place; but as every open place in the course of centuries had been the scene of a desperate rencounter it came to mean a field of battle.

Now the grave question arises, how from such a people, whose hands were stained by the gore of two thousand years, could spring that type of character which we call Scotch-Irish? How could spring a people, who as we know them, have ever built in the same enclosure the fortress, the school house and the church; who, during the succession of more than two centuries have held the sword in one hand, the Bible in the other; whose valor subdued the foe in the open field and in the recesses of the forest, and whose piety filled their humble temples and homesteads with prayer and praise? What produced so great a transformation in the character of the Scotch?

One great era wrought the change and one master spirit ruled the decisive hour. That era was the establishment of the Reformation in Scotland, that master-spirit was John Knox. That tall, gaunt man, sprung from the people, without a dollar of income save from a miserable stipend, surrounded by warlike nobles who were insensible to religious appeals, so unterrified by authority that it was said over his corpse by the regent Morton, "There lies one who feared the face of no man living,"—this man assailed the supremacy of that venerable religion whose foundations were laid deep in the old past, whose subjects were kings, and whose power, consolidated by the respect and piety of ages, embraced the entire realm of Christianity. Let us not be unjust to the Catholic Church. It unquestionably exerted a beneficial influence for many

centuries on the Scotch people. Apart from its invaluable services in preserving the records of the past, and in fostering a taste for letters, it was the only source whence, during the dreary millennium of the Middle Ages, the blessings of Christianity were conveyed to the people. It presented the only curb to the despotism of the feudal system, and softened its atrocities. It was kind to the peasant, and in his defence placed its finger not unfrequently on the crest of the haughtiest baron, and laid on monarchs the weight of its hands. In the valleys of Scotland that church raised those stately cathedrals whose very ruins excite the awe of the modern traveller, and even in the distant Hebrides it reared its magnificent structures, and on their altars kindled a flame that shone far and wide over those stormy seas; and the iron kings of Northern Europe beheld it and trembled, and with their dying aspirations implored that their bones might repose in the crypts of the temple of Iona.

It was during the fearful conflict with this church that the Scotch character was developed such as we have known it since. Intelligence is the soul of Protestantism; for it is needful first to know what a thing is, before we essay to make it what it ought to be. Hence the Scotch reformers taught their flocks with an earnestness and ruled them with a rigor unknown in our times. But Knox well knew that generations, however enlightened, pass away, and that Protestantism would pass with them unless the young were instructed with care in the rudiments of knowledge and in the doctrines of the faith. Hence the zeal of Knox in obtaining from the Scotch Parliament that ever memorable act which required a school to be kept in every parish, and which gave a new direction to the fervid genius of the people.

Both local and general causes stimulated the feelings and intensified the enthusiasm of the people. It was declared by a high authority that the Presbyterian form of government was the model of the purest republican simplicity, and that it was hostile to the genius of a monarchical system. The origin of the Reformation in Scotland also differed essentially from the origin of the Reformation in England. In the latter it proceeded from the King; in the former from the people. James, accordingly, on ascending the British throne made an early effort to remodel the Presbyterian

church. Then came in due succession the appointment of the thirteen Bishops, the assertion of the King to convoke at pleasure the General Assembly of the church, the banishment of one of the Melvilles and the imprisonment of the other, the Five Articles of Perth, and the Act of Uniformity. These and similar measures wrought the people to madness. And in the midst of this excitement was passed by the Scotch Parliament the Act of Security for the military organization of the realm, which made the people of Scotland a regulated army. Then look at the civil and religious contests of the reign of Charles the First, and the Protectorate. Look at the bloody persecutions of the Restoration, and especially during the viceroyalty of the Duke of York, when not less than 20,000 men, women, and we might add children, were put to death in a time of profound peace on account of religious nonconformity; and the earlier and the later emigrations to Ireland, where the colonists were beleaguered by a hostile church, and a hostile population. Thus from the period of the Reformation to the date of the departure of the Scotch-Irish for the shores of the New World, a period of a century and half, while the Scot clung to the Bible as the sheet-anchor of his faith, the fleshly weapon was rarely out of his hand; and it was during this long and terrific struggle that the Scotch character was developed such as we have known it since.

In the early part of the 18th century, there came a pleasing vision over the minds of the Scotch-Irish. They had ever been devoted to the employments of rural life, and to the doctrines of political and religious freedom, at least for themselves. They hailed with one accord the Revolution, which they termed glorious, and which placed William and Mary on the British throne. They cherished the tenderest affection for the House of Hanover, as did their descendants of Augusta down to our own Revolution, as their public documents of that period demonstrate. But during the reign of Queen Anne, and of the first and second Georges, though active persecution on the part of the British government no longer existed, the Scotch-Irish felt the cinctures of a religious policy that bound them severely. They were encompassed by the Catholic pale, by the pale of an established Protestant church to which they did not belong and which they were compelled to support, and by laws that bound the soil in perpetual entail; and they resolved to

go abroad. They had heard the history of the land of Penn. They were fascinated by reports of a vast territory resting on the sea in the East, and on a majestic river in the West, abounding in fertile valleys, in mountains that would remind them of their ancestral land, in mighty streams and bays penetrating into the recesses of the distant interior, and they heard, above all, of the glorious liberty of worshipping God without the interference of human authority. And they flocked by hundreds to the shores of the New World. It was vain to talk to them of savages. For two thousand years the Scotchman had rarely been without a weapon on his person or within his grasp. Fearlessly they plunged into the depths of the forests, settled farms, built forts and school houses and churches, and presented a formidable barrier to the progress of the Indian invader.

Such a population it ought to have been the pride of Pennsylvania to foster and increase. But in the progress of years there arose in that province a struggle for political power; and it was feared that the Scotch-Irish and the German immigrants would outnumber or control the proprietary element; and the results were taxes on immigrants, which were opposed by the cautious and far-seeing Franklin, a shameful and degrading inequality of representation in the Assembly, and a failure on the alleged ground of principle to protect the outer settlements from the ravages of the Indians. And thus the emigration to Virginia began and was quickened. To learn what the character of the Scotch-Irish of Pennsylvania was, what those people did to build up a great commonwealth in all the elements of knowledge, wealth and piety, we need only recall the names of those who distinguished themselves during the eighteenth century. What an instructive list is spread before us! Tennent and that log college that has done more to enlighten the human mind and to promote sound morals than the noble structure of Magdalen or of Christ's, whose towers have been pointing for centuries to the skies; Samuel Blair, Samuel Davies, who, though born in Delaware, was educated by Blair, John Rodgers, John Blair, Samuel Finley, Francis Allison, Robert Smith, Samuel Stanhope Smith, John Blair Smith, James Smith, who signed the Declaration of Independence, James Ross, John Rowan of Kentucky, Thomas McKean Fulton, the ancestor of the inventor of the steam engine,

at least in its application to boats, David Ramsay, Hugh Williamson, and hundreds of others of whom I have not time to tell.

How mysterious are the ways of Providence! Had the policy of Pennsylvania been liberal, very few of the Scotch-Irish family would have left her borders. She possessed thousands of acres of fertile lands; and the clanship of the Scotch would have kept them together. And there was religious freedom, not restrained, as with us it was, by the cautious provisions of the Act of Toleration, but without bound or measure. There would have been no emigration. The Valley of Virginia would have been kept back for more than the third of a century. There would have been no people from this region to have fought at Point Pleasant, on the heights of Saratoga, or at King's Mountain, or at Guilford, or at Eutaw, or at York. That those battles were fought by the aid of Valley men we owe to the fact, that the government of Pennsylvania was proprietary, and not, like our own, governed by the immediate representatives of the King and founded on the basis of a liberal county representation.

Simultaneously with the flow of the Scotch from Pennsylvania, there was a stream of emigration from our own East. Of these immigrants some were Scotch, who, under the patronage of Dinwiddie, sought to build up homes in the Valley; and some were English, who, having early settled in the counties of the seaboard, the society of which had become somewhat stereotyped in the forms of old England, desired fresh lands, comparative freedom from taxes, and a greater enlargement of religious privileges than were readily available under the established religion. Of the English who thus entered the Valley, were my own paternal ancestors. But the Scotch-Irish element predominated, and gave its hue to the general complexion of the settlement.

We now approach an event of as great significance as any recorded in the annals of a peaceful community. In 1749 was opened the first classical school west of the Blue Ridge. To teach the rudiments of the mother tongue, to teach the reading of the Bible, the Longer and Shorter Catechism of the Westminster Confession, those consummate achievements of human intellect, regarded only in a secular sense; to worship God in sincerity and truth—these were the first and natural impulses of a pious people.

But to mingle the music of Virgil and Horace, of Livy and Tacitus, of Homer and Sophocles, of Herodotus and Thucydides, of Demosthenes and Aeschines, with the clangor of the axe felling the forest trees, with the crack of the rifle and the yell of the Indian, and with that grander melody which flowed from the harp of the royal singer of Israel, was an event, if not wholly without precedent in the circumstances of the case, worthy of immortal praise. The site of this classical schoolhouse was two miles southwest of Greenville in Augusta, as Augusta then was, and which included Rockbridge, and its first teacher was Robert Alexander. That school was the origin of the noble institution whose massive buildings cast their shadows from this glorious eminence, whose professors have been for more than a century men of high intellect, of fervent piety, and of ardent patriotism, and whose pupils have upheld the torch of knowledge, of religion and of a generous civilization throughout our wide territory, and have shone in the sphere of private life, at the bar, in the pulpit, in the Senate, and in the courts of Europe.

And who was he who taught the infant mind to know those immortal productions of Greek and Roman genius which still surpass the finest achievements of later times, in that log house near the village of Greenville? His name was Robert Alexander. He was a man of thorough training in the schools, and he was a man of prayer. It is to the honor of the Scotch-Irish race that, as one of that family was the first to establish a classical school in the Province of Pennsylvania, so another of the race was the first to establish a classical school in the Valley of Virginia. And when I speak of that race, I wish it to be distinctly understood, that though myself Scotch on the maternal side, my ancestor, who was borne to this lovely country on the Virginia and not on the Pennsylvania stream, was English, and was sprung from an ancestor who came over to the colony at the date of the Restoration. I have already spoken of the various elements that made up the Scotch-Irish people. This is strikingly shown in the name of Alexander. It is the type of three or four distinct civilizations, which extend from the days of Homer to the present day. It recalls the palmy civilization of Greece, to which it belongs, a helper of men. From the Greek it passed into the Roman civil-

ization ; and thence it passed from the banks of the Tiber on the lips of Augustine to the banks of the English streams ; and many generations later than St. Augustine, it received a fresh introduction into Britain by the Norman, who, though originally a Northman, adopted the tongue of the Latin race. And so popular did it become in Scotland, that, as the Englishman is known by the sobriquet of John Bull, and the Frenchman by that of Johnny Crapeau, and the American by that of Brother Jonathan, so the Scotchman is known by the name of Sandy and Sawney, the popular abbreviation of Alexander.

But who was Robert Alexander ? He was a descendent in the fourth degree from that Archibald Alexander who, during the middle part of the seventeenth century, went over in a general emigration from Scotland to Ireland. A son of this Archibald had a son named William, and this William had four sons ; one of whom died, and the other three, Archibald, the grandfather of the late Archibald Alexander of Princeton, William, and Robert of whom we are now speaking, emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1736, and after a short sojourn in that province, two of them, if not all, came through the Valley to Virginia in 1743. Robert was educated at Edinburgh, where the Latin and Greek classics and Mathematics were thoroughly taught, and he was probably as well qualified to discharge the duties of a professor in the languages and in mathematics as any professor in our own times. His age I do not know exactly, but as he came over in 1736 and died in 1787 it is probable that he lived beyond the period of the Psalmist. It is the duty of all of us to mark the grave of such a man with a durable and appropriate monument.

The successor of Robert Alexander was the Rev. John Brown, who was graduated at Princeton in 1749, and was a licentiate of Newcastle Presbytery. He was called to Providence and Timber Ridge Churches in 1753. The roll on which are inserted the names of those who called him has been fortunately preserved, and presents an interesting memorial of that generation. The names are 112 in number, and it is remarkable that nearly all of them are Saxon or Norman, though the Scotch-Irish blood has a great preponderance. It is stated that the academy in the time of Mr. Brown was successively removed a few miles westward, first to

near Old Providence, and then shortly before the Revolution to Mount Pleasant, near Fairfield, in the present county of Rockbridge. He conducted the school until 1774, when he was assisted by William Graham, who, two years later, became the principal. Of Mr. Brown it is proper to say that he remained the pastor at New Providence forty-four years, that he married a daughter of John Preston, and that in his old age he removed with his sons to Kentucky, where he died in 1803, at the age of 75. His five sons were educated here and at Princeton. John was a member of the Continental Congress and of the first Congress under the present constitution. William, who was a promising physician, died early, in South Carolina; Samuel was an eminent professor in the medical school of Transylvania University, while James may be recalled by some now present as having performed a prominent part in public life, as the first Secretary of State of Kentucky, as the Secretary of Louisiana Territory, as a member of the Senate of the United States for ten years, during a part of which time he was the Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations, and as the Minister of the United States at the Court of France for six years. He died in Philadelphia suddenly on the 7th of April, 1835, in his seventieth year; and the students of Washington College may proudly claim him as one of their most distinguished alumni.

On the 6th of May 1776, the Presbytery of Hanover, under whose direction the school had been established, determined to remove the Augusta Academy, as it was then called, from Mount Pleasant to Timber Ridge, where a tract of eighty acres was offered as a site of the institution by Capt. Alexander Stuart and Mr. Samuel Houston, "the neighbors offering to build a hewed log-house, 28 feet by 24, one story and a half high, besides their subscriptions, and assuring of the probability that fire-wood and timber for building will be furnished gratis for at least twenty years." The body appointed the Rev. Wm. Graham, Rector, and Mr. John Montgomery his assistant; and chose a board of trustees consisting of—

1. Rev. John Brown,
2. James Waddell,
3. Charles Cummings,

4. William Irvin,
5. Rector *ex officio*,
6. Mr. Thomas Lewis,

- | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 7. Col. William Christian, | 16. Maj. Samuel McDowell, |
| 8. Gen. Andrew Lewis, | 17. Mr. William McPheeters, |
| 9. Col. William Fleming, | 18. Capt. Alexander Stuart, |
| 10. Mr. Thomas Stuart, | 19. Capt. William McKee, |
| 11. Mr. Samuel Lyle, | 20. Mr. John Houston, |
| 12. Mr. John Grattan, | 21. Mr. Charles Campbell, |
| 13. Col. William Preston, | 22. Capt. George Moffett, |
| 14. Mr. Sampson Matthews, | 23. Mr. William Ward, |
| 15. Col. John Bowyer, | 24. and Capt. John Lewis, |

at the Warm Springs, of whom seven should constitute a quorum. The Presbytery also reserved to themselves the right of visitation forever, as often as they should judge it necessary, and of choosing the Rector and his assistant. And early in 1777 the Academy was removed from Mt. Pleasant to Timber Ridge. And at a meeting the Trustees on the 6th day of May 1776, "incited by the patriotic spirit of the day, directed that the record for that day be entitled Liberty Hall, as this Academy is hereafter to be called instead of Augusta Academy." In 1785, the Academy was again removed to near Lexington, to a stone building, which was destroyed by fire in 1803¹ but the picturesque ruins of which may still be seen. It was then removed to its present site within the limits of Lexington. In 1782, the Academy received a charter of incorporation, and was thenceforth under the legal control of the Trustees appointed by that instrument. The Trustees named in the charter of 1782 are :

Rev. William Graham, *Rector*.

| | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| Arthur Campbell, | William Christian, |
| Andrew Moore, | William Alexander, |
| Joseph Walker, | Alexander Campbell, |
| John Wilson, | John Trimble, |
| John Hays, | John Bowyer, |
| Samuel McDowell, | George Moffett, |
| William McKee, | James McCorkle, |
| Samuel Lyle, | Archibald Stuart, |
| Rev. Caleb Wallace, | Rev. John Montgomery, |

Rev. William Wilson.

¹The Honorable Sidney S. Baxter informed me that the Academy was burned about Christmas, 1802. He said either the day before or the day after Christmas, I have forgotten which.—W. A.

From the date of the incorporation of the Academy to 1796, the most important incident in the history of the College was the gift of one hundred shares of the James River Company bestowed by Washington on the institution, which occurred in the latter year, and soon after the name of Liberty Hall was changed to that of Washington Academy. The letter addressed to Washington, which presented the claims of the Academy to this generous endowment, and which doubtless influenced the mind of the Father of his Country in bestowing it upon the institution, was drawn by Graham, and is a masterly production. On the 25th of September of the same year, Graham in a letter to the Trustees resigned the office of Rector, which he had held for twenty-two years.

Such is a brief outline of the Academy from its foundation in 1749 to 1796, a period of forty-seven years; and if it had then ceased to exist—if the plough had passed over its foundations—if its charter had been given to the winds—it had accomplished an amount of good, which it would be difficult to overestimate. It directed the attention of a rising community, under circumstances the most unpropitious, to a large and liberal moral and intellectual culture. It sent forth hundreds of educated men who taught schools, who filled professorships, who brought the aid of science to the cause of the Revolution, who diffused in the domestic circle the blessings of learning and religion, who filled pulpits, who shone at the bar, in the halls of legislation, and at foreign courts, and whose influence on the mind and heart of man is felt at this moment, and will be felt in time to come.

WILLIAM GRAHAM.

The facts of the life of this great man are few. He sprang from a family which for a thousand years had been conspicuous in the annals of Scotland from the hovel to the palace, in arts, in arms, in eloquence, and in song. It was a daring man by the name of Graham that first broke through the wall of Agricola, which the Roman general had built between the firths of Clyde and Forth to keep off the incursions of the Northern Britons, and the ruins of which, still visible, are called to this day the ruins of Graham's Dyke. They were borderers, as distinguished from Highlanders,

and on one occasion three hundred of the family were banished to Ireland ; and it is not improbable that the blood of the fiery moss-trooper flowed in the blood of our Founder. One of the fairest personifications of the race may be seen from the pen of Sir Walter Scott in the Legend of Montrose. Michael Graham, the father of our William, emigrated from Ireland to Pennsylvania between 1720 and 1730 ; and on the 19th of December, 1746, in Paxton Township, about five miles from the present capital of Pennsylvania, William Graham was born. His parents were poor, and lived on the outskirts of civilization ; and young Graham had none of those early advantages which are so efficient in developing the faculties of the mind. He attended the common schools of the neighborhood when any such existed ; and until his 22d year he worked in the field with his father. Two things are told of him, that have no relation to each other, but which showed their effects in his subsequent life. He was fond of dancing ; and he probably engaged in a Highland fling, or cut a pigeon wing, or danced a hornpipe, as readily as any of his ancestors, who were famed for dancing, ever did before him, and with as much ease and grace as he afterwards displayed in solving by methods of his own the most abstruse problems of metaphysics, or in explaining a dark allusion in Juvenal, or a doubtful passage in Tacitus. The other was, that as his frontier home was ever liable to the inroads of the savages, he learned the use of the rifle, and he was as familiar with it, as he subsequently became with those other instruments of science which Hanover Presbytery and the good people of Augusta had procured in the midst of war and in the sacrifices of a mountain life, to promote the cause of a generous education. On one occasion at night the dogs about his father's frontier cabin began to bark, and one of his sisters detected the movements of Indians ; and the family determined to leave the house and make for the fort. With his musket loaded, and prepared for instant fight, young William headed the sally, and conducted the family in safety to the fort. And in this stern school of courage, he acquired that wonderful faculty, so often exhibited in his career, of stripping a subject of its present and temporary difficulties and of looking to distant results, which marked his course in the greatest political crisis of the age in which he lived.

At one-and-twenty that religious change which, at a later day, came over the gigantic mind of Chalmers, and which led the Scotch divine to lay all the wealth of the stars and the greenest garlands of philosophy at the foot of the Cross, came over the mind of Graham. He determined to study theology, and with only his own exertions to support him, and with only the light of a pious mother's love as a lamp to his path, he began the study of Latin. He first attended the school of the Rev. Mr. Roan and ultimately became a pupil of Finley. When he had mastered the elementary studies, he entered Princeton College, which was then radiant with the fame of its distinguished President, and with the genius of its students in the the different classes of the institution. Witherspoon, who was to sign the Declaration of Independence and the Articles of Confederation, and who looked with kind feelings on the descendants of his own ancestral land, had the peculiar gift of inspiring young men with the love of study ; and in the Senior Class was Gunning Bedford, who was to sign the present Federal Constitution ; Hugh Breckenridge, James Madison and Samuel Spring ; in the Junior Class was William Bradford, afterward a Judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and Attorney-General of the United States ; Aaron Burr, afterwards Attorney-General of New York and Vice-President of the United States, who now, after a stormy life, sleeps beside the dust of his venerable father in the shadow of the vales of Princeton, and William Smith Livingstone, also prominent in public affairs ; and among his own classmates were Henry Lee, of Legion memory ; Morgan Lewis, afterwards Governor of New York and a member of the Senate of the United States ; Aaron Ogden, afterwards Governor of New Jersey and a member the United States Senate, and John Blair Smith, afterwards President of Hampden Sidney—a name still held in tender and affectionate remembrance in the region of Virginia in which I live, and ever to be held in honor by every lover of learning and piety in this Commonwealth. He took his degree in 1773 with his class, and it was observed that he held the same rank among his fellows that he afterwards maintained in every sphere in which he happened to move. And it should also be observed for the encouragement of genius struggling with those difficulties which so often attend it, that he mainly defrayed his college expenses by his

own industry. One incident near the close of his college life is so well told by Dr. Foote and is so honorable to the parties concerned, that I ought not to pass it over. At the approach of the final examination, your distinguished father, Mr. President,¹ who I have already said was a classmate of Graham, proposed to Graham that they should review their studies together. Graham, who was afraid that the lively genius of your father might lead him astray, was disposed to decline the invitation; but young Lee persisted and Graham consented, with the condition that no conversation should be introduced during the hour of study. When the examination was over, Lee came to his friend Graham's room, and said to him: "Well, Graham, I have passed a glorious examination; and I know that I am indebted for it in a great measure to you. What recompense shall I make you?" "None at all," said Graham. After some conversation Lee left the room and soon returned; and laying on the table Belshaw's Lectures on Natural Philosophy, immediately departed. Upon opening the volume Graham found a black line had been drawn through the name of Henry Lee, and underneath was written William Graham. The volume, says Dr. Foote, is still preserved by Graham's connections in Virginia. On leaving college Graham returned to his father's house, and entered on the study of theology, under his pastor, Mr. Roan, and in 1774 he was invited to engage in a classical school in Augusta, under the direction of the Rev. John Brown of whom we have already spoken, and accepted the invitation. In 1775 he was received as a minister of the Presbyterian Church by the Presbytery at Timber Ridge, and on the 6th of May, 1776, the headship of the Academy devolved upon him, with the title of Rector, and Mr. John Montgomery as his assistant. The system of teaching pursued by Mr. Graham during the twenty years that he presided in the Academy was well designed to develop the faculties of the mind, and to prepare young men to engage with efficiency in the active duties of life. He always insisted "on the importance of classical literature as the proper foundation of a liberal education," and a thorough training in mathematics, and the sciences and knowledges dependent upon

¹ Gen. Robert E. Lee was on the platform when this address was delivered.—EDS.

these two great departments. He also taught moral and intellectual philosophy, not as sciences complete in themselves, but as an introduction to theology, being the gates called Beautiful, leading to that glorious temple not built with human hands, and whose foundations are laid in the Divine Will. While he was familiar with the existing writers on the subject, and especially with the sermons of Bishop Butler, and had introduced into the school the manuscript lectures of Dr. Witherspoon, which he had studied in Princeton, he adopted the authority of no master, and worked out an elaborate system of his own, which no less a judge than Dr. Archibald Alexander declared "to be in clearness and fulness superior to anything which has been given to the public in the numerous works which have been recently published on the subject." When we reflect that Graham had only a few imperfectly educated students from the neighboring hills and homesteads around him, and in the absence of all emulation put forth his powers so grandly, we can readily imagine what he would have done if, like Dugald Stewart, or Thomas Brown, or Thomas Chalmers, he had been surrounded by classes of hundreds of highly educated young men and a daily auditory of eminent men, to quicken his powers, and to give full scope to the excursions of his genius. And while we concede that just supremacy to the skill of Graham which it so eminently deserves, it is proper to say that he was assisted by some competent tutors, among whom the name of James Priestly should not be omitted. He was a Rockbridge boy of poor parents, whose genius was detected by Graham, who was instructed by him, and who, having been chosen a tutor in 1783, devoted his talents to Latin and Greek literature, in which he acquired great eminence. He possessed the faculty of inspiring his pupils with a love of literature, and Dr. Archibald Alexander ascribes his love of study to the instruction of Priestly. This remarkable man became the president of the Cumberland University, and died while president of that institution.

During the Revolution, while Graham was engaged in teaching his scholars, and in preaching on Sundays, he was not indisposed to unite with his countrymen in repressing the inroads of the enemy. He regarded that contest as involving religious as well as political freedom, and believed it to be the duty of

all to sustain the common cause. There has ever been a strong spice of war in the Scotch clergy. When Gibbon assigned to Buchanan the credit of having first put forth the doctrine that Christianity might be defended by the sword, he overlooked the history of that church which, during the dismal millennium of the Middle Ages, diffused from its magnificent temples, whose ruins still interest the traveller, the light of Christianity over Scotland—a light, it may be, not as pure and as brilliant as it might have been, but still a blessed and glorious light in the midst of general darkness. On one occasion when a draft was to be made from the militia of Rockbridge, and when volunteers were backward in coming forth, Graham stepped forward and the complement was soon filled. He was elected captain, but the company was not called into service. It would be interesting to inquire what would have been the result if the genius of Graham had been turned to war. He had been inured to personal danger from his infancy, he was a strict disciplinarian, and he was better versed in the sciences than most of the officers of the Revolution. He might not have met with opportunities of distinction; or, like George Rogers Clark, who was teaching a school on the Rappahannock on the breaking out of the war, he might have added an empire to his country. His character would lead us to believe that he would have accomplished all that skill, patriotism and valor could achieve in the sphere in which he happened to move. Let us rejoice that his destiny confined him to the pulpit and to the professor's chair.

After twenty years of faithful service he resigned the office of Rector. He was induced to take this step from the want of adequate support for his family. The prime of life was gone, and he was poor. When he had paid his assistants, he had but little left for himself. He had reached the age of fifty, and had devoted his great talents to the cause of education; and he was solicitous to make some provision for his large and helpless family, before the approach of old age. With this view he purchased land on the Ohio; and it was his design to settle there with some chosen friends; and it was on business connected with this settlement that he rode on horseback from the Ohio to Richmond, where he was taken ill soon after his arrival, and died at the house of his friend, Col.

Gamble,¹ on the 8th of June, 1799, at the age of fifty-three. Near the south door of the Episcopal Church on Church Hill, within the walls of which Patrick Henry uttered those memorable words, "Give me liberty, or give me death," and near the ashes of George Wythe and Edward Carrington, now repose the mortal remains of your illustrious Rector.

He was above the middle stature, rather delicate than muscular in his proportions. His eyes were dark, and when he was roused, were brilliant and piercing. There was ease and grace in all his movements, and never for a moment did he lose the full command of his faculties. He had a great fund of wit, and his sarcasm was said under provocation to be scathing, and was a formidable weapon in debate. He was most amiable in private life, and was tenderly beloved by his friends. He possessed in a remarkable degree that moral courage, without which neither battles are won, nor colleges built, churches gathered together, nor opposition overcome, nor triumphs worth the winning ever won.

The character of Graham presents to the observer three distinctive aspects, which require a passing notice: that of a preacher, that of a professor, and that of a politician. As a preacher, he did not possess that blazing eloquence with which Massillon and Bourdaloue and some even of his own contemporaries kindled the passions of their auditory, and which filled the church with those eager and bustling crowds that were wont to witness the magical action of a Garrick or a Kean, or were overawed by the dignity of a Talma or a Kemble. There was a mixture of statesmanship even in his preaching. He looked to the law and the gospel as the rule of instruction. He saw neither the conflagration of Tully, nor the torrent of Demosthenes, nor the glow of passion, nor the polish of a dazzling rhetoric, in the Sermon on the Mount; and he brought to bear upon his audience the same conclusive demonstration of doctrine that from the chair of the professor made the darkest problems of moral and intellectual philosophy clear to the dullest comprehension. It is an eloquent testimony of the mind as well as the preaching of Graham that the profound sermons of Butler were his favorite contemplations. He was not, however, wholly insensible to the influence of the moment; but on venturing into

¹ An alumnus of the Academy.—Eps.

the realm of the passions it was plain that he felt that he was a trespasser and a wayfarer there, and his stern sense of duty rebuked him back into the region of demonstration and argument. The sermon which he preached at Briery in 1789 was never forgotten by those who heard it. It remained with them through life, and the recollections of it lived after they were within their graves. The beautiful text, "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people," is still known in the neighborhood of Briery, after eighty years, as Mr. Graham's text. But it was reason, not passion, instruction not declamation, that marked his preaching. "As a clear and cogent reasoner," said a distinguished pupil, "he had no superior among his contemporaries."

The chair of the professor was the throne from which Graham wielded his greatest influence on the minds of his generation. It was the main business of his life to teach, and he sought the best means of developing the faculties of the young. He was no pretender. He sought no royal, no rapid roads to knowledge. Nor did he seek to teach many things. He thought the great object of academical education was to discipline the powers and not to fill the mind with a multiplicity of acquirements. His great object was to form the mind, and to make it work out its own victories. He saw the force of language as an element of power in the affairs of men, and the advantage of a thorough mastery of his native language by every student; and he studied the proper mode of teaching it. He saw that the Greeks, who have left us the purest specimens of writing, studied no other tongue than their own; but he saw at the same time, both that their language was the most perfect that existed, and that, though resting on a Pelasgian foundation, the old dialect had been lost in the lapse of ages and a perfect tongue had taken its place. He saw that the Greek studied no other tongue than his own, because that tongue was in the main homogeneous and had attained to perfection. But in looking at the teaching of the Romans he saw that the policy of teaching a single tongue did not apply, and that the Roman student studied the Greek tongue with all his diligence from earliest youth, and studied it as a model to his dying day. And he saw the reason of this devotion. The Latin was a compound language. It rested indeed on an Etruscan base, but it borrowed from all literatures,

and especially from the Greek. Nor did it possess those models of eloquence, and history, and poetry, in which the Greek abounded; and he saw that the ablest orators and poets and historians of Rome were those who were most intimate with the beauties of Greek literature. He then looked into the elements of our own tongue. He recognized it as not only the youngest in the family of languages, but that it was made up of more languages than any other; and that it demanded a more critical study than had been devoted either in Greece or Rome to a foreign tongue. And, looking to the example of England, he observed that that system of education which had produced her Bacons and Newtons and Lockes embraced a thorough study of the Latin and Greek classics and of the mathematics between the ages of eight and eighteen. Hence he taught the Latin and Greek languages, and, as far as he could, the languages that lean upon them, and the mathematics, and, as far as he could, the sciences which lean upon them, with his utmost energy,—believing that a youth who was thoroughly drilled in those two great departments had laid a foundation on which he might raise any superstructure of active or of studious life that might be desired. Once especially did he rebuke from his presence that weak and wretched philosophy which impels a parent to seek instruction for his child in those elementary departments alone which may be supposed to bear upon the destined professions of the child, and, overlooking that broad and generous culture which is best adapted to develop all the faculties and to brace the mind for its highest achievements, to doom a son to inferiority through life, and to grovel in the lower regions of that system of society of which he might have been one of the proudest columns and most honored ornaments. Such was the system of Graham—a system which bore rich fruits in his own day, and which is felt through his distinguished pupils in our own times.

Eminent as Graham undoubtedly was in the pulpit and in the professor's chair, those who look closely into his character would be apt to conclude that, had his lot been cast at the bar and in the Senate, he would have been more eminent still. He lived at a time when all the intellectual men were in a greater or less degree politicians. The questions that brought on the Revolution of 1776, were almost wholly theoretical. We suffered from no act of posi-

tive oppression. When independence became imminent, the clergy took an active part in the contest. One of the profession was a member of the convention of 1776 ; another became a general ; and others engaged directly or indirectly in active service during the war ; and in the convention of 1788 there were two clergymen in the body. I have already mentioned the election of Graham as captain of a company. On another occasion he led a company to the seat of war. But the question which particularly interested clerical men was our legislation in respect of religion. When the scheme of an assessment for the support of religion was brought forward, and was sustained by Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee and other prominent men, Graham, who viewed even religious questions with the eye of a statesman, was not indisposed to approve it, and he was governed by the same reasons that led Henry to favor the policy.

The Revolution had almost entirely stripped the churches of their pastors. " At the beginning of the war," says Bishop Meade, " Virginia had ninety-one clergymen officiating in one hundred and sixty-four churches and chapels ; at its close only twenty-eight ministers were found laboring in the less desolate parishes of the state." Patrick Henry saw this destitution and sought to relieve it by levying an assessment to be assigned by the taxpayer to what church he pleased.

To say that it was an Episcopal measure because Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee and other Episcopalians supported it, would be as far from the truth as it would be to assert that the Virginia resolution of independence, which was drawn, was reported to the house, and was carried by Episcopalians, or that the Declaration of Rights, which was also drawn, reported and carried by Episcopal votes, was an Episcopal measure. Had this scheme been adopted, our numerous church buildings would have been saved from ruin ; an intelligent and pious clergy would have dispensed the word of life to thousands who remained for an entire generation without the offices of religion ; and our people would have been prepared in some degree to withstand that torrent of infidelity which a few years later swept over Christendom, and the influence of which was felt in every corner of our territory. When, however, the religious controversy assumed a broader ground, he maintained the

widest views of religious freedom, and with his friend and neighbor, Andrew Moore, who represented Rockbridge in the Assembly, earnestly advocated the passage of the Act concerning Religious Freedom.

When the new State of Frankland, so called in honor of Franklin, whose advice was invoked in its hour of difficulty, was meditated within the corporate limits of North Carolina, Graham was requested to draught a form of government, and he prepared a paper for the purpose. He had ever regarded with profound admiration the genius of John Locke. Indeed, in the simplicity of their domestic habits, in the plainness and severity of their reasoning, in their superiority over the formal modes of the schools, there was a strong resemblance between them. In 1689, the year after the great British Revolution, Locke had drawn a constitution for the Carolinas, and Graham was called upon a century later to draw a plan of government for a part of the territory embraced by the constitution of his great predecessor. The constitution of Locke has come down to us; and it may be mentioned as an illustration, not of the age in which it was written—the age of Somers and of other great lawyers who were prominent in the British Revolution—but of the peculiarities of Locke, that his constitution declares that “it is a base and vile thing to plead for money or reward” in a court of justice. Graham’s plan is lost, unless it was the scheme that was adopted by the new commonwealth, and such may have been the case. But although it attracted great attention, and led to some noisy demonstrations, we do not know positively that it was laid before the convention of the new State. In that convention John Sevier, a Valley boy, and a hero of King’s Mountain, presided. David Campbell,¹ another Valley boy, was one of the three judges elected under the constitution, and Landon Carter, a tidewater boy from the banks of the lower James, was the speaker of the first Senate of the new government. These were friends and neighbors of Graham; and he did not hesitate to assist them in preparing a plan of government.² To carve a new

¹ An alumnus of the Academy.—Eds.

² Samuel Houston, a pupil of Graham’s, was a member of the convention and consulted him as to the constitution. Samuel Doak, an alumnus of the Academy, was also a member.—Eds.

State out of the territory of a State without the authority of law would be a grave and unjustifiable procedure in our own times. But in the case of Sevier and his associates it was substantially a work of self-defense. They were separated by hundreds of miles from the settlements; they were surrounded by savages who awaited a favorable moment of attack; they were beyond the protection of the laws. They had not a dollar in coin to pay taxes. And when the new government was established, its officers were paid mainly in the skins of wild beasts—the governor and the judges in fox skins, the sheriff in those of the mink, and other officers in those of coons and opossums; and though this gradation is not strictly correct, it is unquestionable that skins, domestic cloth, bacon, tallow and whiskey, according to a rate fixed by law, composed the main currency of the infant commonwealth. At all events, to justify Graham in his course respecting Frankland, it is sufficient to say that, four years later than the date of the birth of Frankland, in the Virginia Convention of 1788, Patrick Henry threatened to form a state out of the lower western tier of our own counties on the North Carolina line and of these identical counties that composed the State of Frankland. He preferred the solitudes of the interior, abounding in dark forests and untravelled streams, and inhabited by fierce savages and beasts of prey, with the protection of a flag of a single star on its folds, to the cultivated plains and magnificent waters of the East under the full blaze of the new federal system.

A fine exhibition of the ready tact and ability of Graham may be seen in the letter which he prepared in compliance with an order of the Board of Trustees with a view of laying before Gen. Washington the claims of Liberty Hall Academy to the benefaction which the Father of his Country designed, to use his own words, “to the use of a Seminary, to be erected in such part of the State as they (the Legislature) should deem most proper.” Here it is plain that there was no original purpose in the mind of Washington to fix upon a particular site. He left that question for the decision of the Assembly. But the letter of Graham settled it forever. That letter displays the qualities of a scholar, a patriot, and a statesman. It is wonderful to contemplate with what accuracy he foresaw the future and pictured before the imagi-

nation of Washington the very scene that is now before us. It is enough to say that the letter produced its desired effect; and that liberal benefaction was made which yields at this day three thousand dollars annually to your funds.

An incident grew out of the Washington endowment which throws so strong a light on the genius of Graham as to require a passing remark. At the session of the General Assembly succeeding that event, the General Assembly passed an act converting the Academy into a college bearing the name of Washington, and appointed a full board of visitors for the government of the same. This was done without the knowledge or consent of the Trustees incorporated by the act of 1782, and was wholly unconstitutional. It divested the institution of its lawful property and committed it to the control of others. It was plainly designed as an act of kindness by the Assembly. It raised the institution from an academy to a college, and it nominated a board of trustees of which any college might well have been proud. This act was the law of the land; and if the trustees appointed by its provisions had sought to take possession, we should have had the celebrated Dartmouth College case by anticipation by more than a score of years. The trustees of the Academy took the subject into consideration, and adopted a protest against the proposed change. That paper was drawn by Graham, and the arguments are those which were afterwards used by Daniel Webster in the case above mentioned. It must be stated, however, that though the present Federal Constitution was then in operation, Graham never could have consented to try a question of Virginia law before a Federal tribunal. The act was repealed at the next session of the Assembly. And it may be proper to say that a committee consisting of J. Wilson, Benjamin Grigsby and S. Houston, was instructed to have the title of Liberty Hall changed into that of a college, but for some reason the change was not made by the Assembly, though the name of Washington Academy was adopted; and it was not until 1813 that the name of the Academy was changed into that of Washington College.¹

¹ Mr. Grigsby is in error in attributing the authorship of this protest to Mr. Graham. Mr. Graham had severed his connection with the Academy before the obnoxious act was passed. The protest was drawn by the Rev. Samuel Brown,

But the most important political topic which engaged the attention of Graham was the expediency of adopting the present federal constitution. That was the first great event of a strictly political nature that stirred the American mind from its innermost recesses. The Declaration of Independence was a great conjuncture ; but it came when actual war had been raging more than a twelvemonth, and when the practical question of self-preservation and defense against the greatest military and naval power of the globe overruled every other. The federal constitution was framed by the general convention which held its sessions in Philadelphia from May to September, 1787 ; and was immediately reported to the States for their action upon it. Virginia called a convention to assemble in Richmond, in June, to take the new plan into consideration. In the interval of the two conventions, the State became one vast battle-field of debate. The most accomplished speakers appeared on the rostrum, in the pulpit after preaching was over, in the court yard and at the barbecue. It was seen soon after the smoke of the first sharp volleys had cleared away and left the scene open to the observer, that, with some remarkable exceptions on either side, the statesmen who had engaged actively in the Congress of the Confederation, who had presided on the bench of our new judiciary, and had taken an active part in the field, were inclined to support the new system ; while those eminent men who had swayed the councils of the colony and the commonwealth from the dawn of the revolution to the present date, and who were then in the full vigor of their faculties, were opposed to the adoption of the constitution without many and very thorough modifications. With the first party, at the head of which was Washington, the public men of the Valley took their stand. What the considerations were that impelled them to that course, I will state at length when I come to treat of one of your trustees, Gen. Andrew Moore. But Graham took sides with Henry, Richard Henry Lee, George Mason and others, at whose feet Washington sat, as Paul sat at the

a member of the Committee of the Board of Trustees, and the manuscript draft is in the possession of his son, the Rev. William Brown, D. D. The points made in the protest as to the unconstitutionality of the act are substantially the same as those made by Mr. Webster in his great speech in the Dartmouth College case.—EDS.

feet of Gamaliel, for a quarter of a century then past. I may say in passing, as an element of no little influence in the case, that, with certain exceptions, the religious denomination to which Graham belonged adhered to the side of the constitution; while the Episcopalians and the Baptists leaned to the other side of the question. My present office is to point out the considerations which induced Graham to bring all his abilities to bear in opposing the adoption of the constitution. Like every other Virginian of that era, he loved the union of the States, and no one could see more distinctly than he did, the absolute necessity of that union to the preservation of public liberty. It was the general conviction of that day that the treaty of peace was only a truce on the part of Great Britain, who still held the western parts in palpable violation of the treaty of Paris, and was engaged in deep intrigues with the western tribes. The question then was, not whether there should be a union with the Northern States, but what should be the terms of that union, and whether those terms were contained in the instrument proposed for adoption. Graham thought that they were not, and he brought to the discussion all the resources of his industry and all the resources of his genius. He looked at the vast territory of Virginia, stretching from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, and from the Ohio to the North Carolina line; and he saw in our fertile lands, in our mineral wealth, in the number and grandeur of our streams, in our accessibility to the sea both on the west and on the east, and in our delightful climate, the elements for the formation of a mighty commonwealth.

He saw too, that in spite of the losses sustained by the war of the Revolution—losses in population, black and white, losses in all securities, losses in a currency which, having fulfilled its office of securing the public freedom, had sunk to nothing, and losses in many other things—that the State had been steadily advancing in wealth and numbers, from the date of Independence to the year 1788, with a rapidity then unknown in her history; and that her great seaport, which had been reduced to ashes at the beginning of the war, had risen in five or six years, as if touched by the wand of a magician, into four times her former dimensions, and into twenty times her former wealth, and presented to the eye a harvest of shipping which had never before been gathered in the harbors of

the new world. But Graham possessed a quality in an eminent degree which but few statesmen of any generation possess, that of embracing all the facts of a great era in all their significance; but he worked out the legitimate results of those facts for half a century to come; and when he had ascertained them with the accuracy of deliberate calculation, he brought them palpably before him with all the distinctness of a present spectacle. But the foundation of all that prosperity rested in his view upon the right of Virginia to lay her own taxes and to regulate her own trade at her own discretion. To surrender those powers so essential to the prosperity of a State, to any authority beyond her own limits, and especially to States whose white population exceeded her own at the date of cession, and which was likely to increase in a rapid ratio, while a large part of our own population was excluded by compact from all political significance whatever, seemed to Graham a sacrifice without precedent in history, and to the last degree dangerous. Nor did he overlook the fact, that the Convention which framed the new plan of government had been convoked expressly to amend the existing confederation, and that to sanction the action of such a body was substantially to surrender all hope of amending hereafter an existing form of government under special instructions to the representative. Hence, while John Blair Smith, the rival president of Hampden Sidney and his intimate friend, advocated the constitution in opposition to Patrick Henry on the court green of Prince Edward, and while there was an almost unanimous approval of that instrument by the religious denomination to which Graham belonged, he opposed it with all his zeal. And when, during the session of the Virginia convention, it was apparent that a great change had taken place in the public mind, and that efforts were making by the people to instruct their delegates in that body to vote against the constitution, he entered warmly into this mode of opposition and succeeded in obtaining a majority of the voters of Rockbridge opposed to that instrument, and forwarded the instructions to Richmond. The representatives of the county were Andrew Moore and William McKee, and both refused to obey them.¹ Had the delegates from

¹ Andrew Moore and William McKee were elected delegates to the Convention as advocates of the adoption of the Constitution. William Graham and

Rockbridge voted against the constitution, and had the delegates of only two of the other counties who represented constituents hostile to the instrument followed their example, that constitution would have failed to receive the sanction of the body, until it had received such amendments as were deemed indispensable by its opponents. Of the course of Gen. Moore and Col. McKee in refusing to obey the will of their constituents, I will speak presently. For his course on this occasion, Graham appealed to the verdict of posterity. Almost three generations have passed since the date of his action. We are now on the very hill from which he waged his war of opposition. Yonder is the highway along which the surging streams of voters from every homestead of the county rolled on their way to the court-house to record their names on the instructions. And we are that posterity in whose unborn bosoms he lodged his appeal. The experience of eighty-two years, pronounced by the tongue and the pen and the sword, is before us. And may we not declare, whatever may be our opinion on the question of the propriety of adopting the federal constitution, that the course of Graham was marked by profound ability, by a far-seeing statesmanship, and by a love of country, which neither the authority of great names, the blandishments of applause, the fear of present unpopularity, the frowns of the church to which he belonged and of which he was a devoted pastor, nor a sense of personal interest could intimidate or impair?

Such was William Graham. Cradled in the forests of the extreme frontier of civilization, and perpetually exposed to the incursions of savages, he spent his youth and early manhood in the toils and perils of the farm. Resolved to preach the gospel, and without the means of obtaining a liberal education, he sustains himself by his industry while he pursues his elementary studies. Having entered college, and called upon with his imperfect preparation to put forth all his powers to accomplish his daily task, and withal compelled to earn the means to defray his daily expenses, he wins the applause of Witherspoon, the warmest affections of his classmates, and takes his degree with the highest honors of the

John Hays were the opposing candidates. They were opposed to the adoption of the Constitution, and were defeated by a small majority.—Eds.

institution. Devoting his talents to the pulpit and to the chair of the professor, he becomes one of the most eminent divines of the age; and he solves the most abstruse problems in mental philosophy with a skill that has been praised by some of the most famous professors of that science in our own day. Living at the epoch when Virginia was passing, amid the shock of arms, from the colony to the commonwealth, and when republican institutions were to be established, he was as ready to march to the field of battle as he was to discuss schemes and to decide upon the best means of upholding the government in a time of peace, bringing to the discussion of every political question the ability and the wariness of the statesman, and advancing in his course, alike undismayed by the voice of authority and undazzled by the specious splendor of political systems. And while performing the great business of his life, in the double capacity of a servant of his Heavenly Master, and as a professor in various departments of science, and impressing on the minds of thousands the cardinal doctrines of the Christian faith and the elements of a large and generous education, and building up an institution which should continue the good work for generations to come, this great man closed his career. And, as if the lesson of so pure and so august a life should be purified from the dross of selfishness, he died poor. The talents which would have wreathed his brow with the laurels of the forum and the senate, and filled his coffers with the glittering rewards of successful industry, were spent in a private sphere, and were devoted to his country and his God. The mere worldling—the man who regards riches as the grandest of earthly distinctions—may turn with disgust from the modest, self-sacrificing course of Graham, and even laugh at his folly. But compare the two men, and mark the result. Both look steadily to the distant future. The rich man who curls his lip at the moral beauty of a career devoted to science and religion at the sacrifice of his dazzling treasures, lays his own plans of immortality. He counts his houses, and he numbers the acres of his farms, and he tells over every dollar of his hoards, and he assigns to each of his children a sum which he deems sufficient to place them hereafter within the circle of a wealthy society. Death knocks at his door, and he is laid away amid the trappings of a costly mourning; and the pon-

derous marble is evoked from its mountain bed, and, invested by the chisel with the blazonry, it may be, of an ancient and honorable line, is placed over his ashes. But he dies as the fool dieth. His memory, unredeemed by a single spark of intellectuality, or by a feeling of kinship with his race, beyond the narrow confines of his family, decays with his body, and will be dwelt upon by the world at large with no more respect and affection than that of the beasts that bore his flouting ceremonies to the grave. How unwise in a moral and even in a pecuniary view the conduct of such a character ! He forgot altogether that he was a man and that the concerns of his fellowmen should find a lodgment in his bosom. He forgot that riches have wings and are ever ready to fly away. He forgot that the wealth of an ancestor, however vast, unless replenished by the industry of successors, rarely descends, under our institutions, to a third generation ; and that his children's children, but for the generous liberality and noble philanthropy of him whose poverty he rebuked from him, would be denied the privilege of sharing the choicest blessings of knowledge and civilization ; and he thus becomes in a few short years, in the persons of his descendants, a suppliant for the charity of him whose poverty was his scorn.

How different is the fame of a great Teacher, whose faculties, irrespective of the lucre that perisheth, at the sacrifice of private fortune, have been faithfully devoted, through a whole generation, to the moral, religious, and intellectual improvement of his race ! What a fragrance the memory of such a man sheds, not only around the sphere of his immediate labors, but over the State, and over the nation, whose ornament and dear delight he was and ever will be ! His field, in the impressive language of scripture, is the world. He makes the age in which he lives his own, and his fame looming grandly through the mists of centuries gains fresh sublimity from the progress of years, and shines with an ever increasing brightness on future generations. Though dead he yet breathes and moves in our midst in all his majesty, and he speaketh from the chair of authority, and with the lips of persuasion. Posterity bends with reverence at his grave, and looks with interest on the mouldering ruins of his infant seminary, and performs the delightful office of tracing the career of the thousands whose genius was

kindled by his instructions, who have cast the benignant light of letters and love around many a domestic hearth, whose swords have flamed on the field of battle, and whose enginery has crushed the beleaguered castle, whose eloquence has been heard in the pulpit, at the bar, and on the floor of deliberative assemblies, and decided the questions of the age, and whose patriotism, waked into vigor by his voice and example, has been the bulwark and the pride of their country. Future generations will delight to ascend the hill on which rested, amid the fallen trees of a primeval forest, and the narrow outspread of a sparse population, whose only defence was the log fort and the rifle, his humble Academy, and will delight to stray through the numerous edifices and the spacious halls which have arisen in its place; and when they pause to inspect the instruments of philosophy or the monuments of literature and science that are garnered in your treasuries, and behold the hundreds of pupils, the future guard and grace of their country, who have come hither from every part of our beloved south, and the able and accomplished men who filled the chairs of the institution, and recall the illustrious services rendered by them to their country amid the tempest of our great revolution, and in every sphere of intellectual exertion, they will feel and declare that all the glories which they behold, abounding and resplendent as they are, but serve to reflect with renewed brightness the genius of Graham, and that one of the fairest jewels in your crown of rejoicing, and in the treasury of his country, is the memory of your illustrious Founder.

JOHN MONTGOMERY.

John Montgomery, whose name is both on the Presbyterial and the chartered list of Trustees, was born in Augusta, and a graduate of Princeton in 1775. He was ordained as a minister in 1780, and accepted a call from Winchester, Cedar Creek and Opequon. After a residence of seven or eight years in this charge, he removed to the Pastures in Augusta, where he had inherited some property, and there spent the remainder of his life. Before he entered the ministry he was associated with Mr. Graham as a tutor in Liberty Hall. He is reported to have been a sound scholar, a popular

preacher, and always ready to promote the interest of the Academy. He lived to a good old age, and left numerous descendants.

JAMES WADDELL.

As I close, Mr. President, this sketch of Graham, and look over the honored names which are written on the roll of Trustees of 1776, names all of which are justly the pride of Western Virginia, and so many of which still live in their worthy descendants, I feel that the task of giving a meagre account even of their services is far beyond the limits of an occasion like the present, and that all that I can do is to take a passing glance as I go along. And after the name of the venerable Brown, the first of all is James Waddell. The pen of Wirt has made his name familiar to every reader, and I rejoice to say that it is still borne by worthy descendants. He was born of Scotch-Irish parents, in Ulster, Ireland, in July, 1739, and in the fall of the same year was brought over by them to Pennsylvania, in which colony he was educated under favorable auspices. Like Graham, he had the inestimable advantage of a pious mother whose religious training he never forgot. He made fair progress in his studies; but at the age of fourteen he met with an injury which incapacitated him for active labor, and led his parents to afford him the opportunities of a thorough education. He was hunting with his brothers, and chased a hare into a hollow tree. In the excitement of cutting him out, as his brother, says Dr. Foote, was bringing a blow with his axe, James thrust his hand under the edge, and in a twinkling it was severed almost in twain. Hastily gathering up the fingers and part of the hand, and pressing them to the stump, he ran to his parents. The mutilated hand was bandaged, and the wound healed; but the fingers and the lower part of the hand never afterwards increased in size, and were capable of very little action. Thus, as in the case of his eloquent contemporary, Drury Lacy, who lost his left hand in his youth by the bursting of a gun, the Virginia pulpit received two of its most distinguished ornaments.

He attended the Log College of Dr. Finley at Nottingham, Pennsylvania, and studied under the Rev. Mr. Campbell, who was noted for his skill in Greek. Young Waddell thus acquired

that skill in Latin and Greek, and especially in their prosody, which he retained through life, and a knowledge of the Hebrew. At the age of nineteen he left home to teach a school in South Carolina, and on his journey through Virginia called on the Rev. Samuel Davies. The immediate result of the interview was that Waddell agreed to accept a position as assistant in the school of the Rev. Mr. Todd, in the county of Louisa, and to study for the ministry. Another result was that he had the privilege of hearing Samuel Davies, and of lighting his own torch, as Patrick Henry had done before him, at the shrine of that brilliant luminary of the Presbyterian Church. An affectionate friendship existed between them, until it was ended by the early death of Davies.

In 1761 he was licensed by Hanover Presbytery to preach the gospel. His preaching became instantaneously popular. Before the end of the year he received four or five invitations to accept a pastoral charge. In the following year he accepted a call from Lancaster and Northumberland counties, where he remained until 1778, when he was called to Tinkling Spring, and afterwards divided his services between that church and the church at Staunton. After an interval of seven years, influenced by family attachments and domestic causes, he removed in 1785 to the then county of Louisa, near the present Gordonsville, where he remained till his death, which took place in September 1805, in his 66th year; and there he was buried.

In Waddell we have a fair specimen of the Scotch-Irish clergy, to whom Virginia is so deeply indebted on the score of education, of sound scholarship, of vital piety and of generous patriotism. He was critically skilled in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and it is believed in French also, and in the literature of those tongues. It is to the immortal honor of the Scotch-Irish, that, cumbered as they were by the embarrassments of a new settlement in a wilderness distant from the sea, and exposed to its imminent dangers, they would not place the hands of their Presbytery on the heads that would not learn and could not teach, but guarded their pulpits with zealous care, and exacted a high order of attainments from every candidate for the ministry. It would form a characteristic picture of that era to present on canvas a committee of a Scotch-

Irish Presbytery, convened, it may be, in a log house, or in a building rudely constructed of the stones round and about, examining, hour after hour, a candidate for the ministry in the peculiarities of the Latin and the Greek and the Hebrew, in the metaphysical refinements of theology, and in a knowledge of general literature, before he was permitted to enter on a career that then frequently involved personal danger, at all times untiring and self-denying labors, and almost always limited comforts, if not positive poverty, to the very gates of the tomb. Excellent men ! We now enjoy the results of their far-sighted wisdom and of their glorious self-denial. They thought not of present gain, but of the temporal and eternal welfare of those whom Providence had committed to their charge. They only thought of pure morals, of skill in interpreting the oracles of God, and of the diffusion of sound instruction and a pure religious faith among men. Let us ever respect the legacy which they have left us in their glorious example.

Waddell soon became known for his flowing eloquence and his apt illustrations drawn from his general reading. His tall and graceful form, his high pale forehead, his light blue eyes and his fair complexion, all heightened by a sympathetic feeling for that sad injury that had maimed him for life, arrested attention ; and his voice, full and sweet, filled pleasantly the ear ; and his action, at this period of his course, was polished and animated. From childhood his nervous system was delicate. At one period he could hardly lift a tumbler of water to his lips. But the great ailment of his life was the weakness of his eyes. Then came a cloud over his vision, and the researches of learning, and the light of day, and the faces of his wife and children could be seen no more. In this extremity the members of his family would read to him by turns ; and in preparing his discourses he would choose his text, and have the context read to him, and the parallel passages from Cruden ; and then " he would lie at full length, his right arm thrown carelessly over his head, his long fingers moving in measured beats, noting the vacuity or fulness of his thoughts, and the passage of time." After many years of total blindness there came a momentary relief. Seven years before his death, he visited Fredericktown, Maryland, with a view of being operated upon for cataract. " The

immediate effect of the operation," says Dr. Foote, "was less encouraging than had been anticipated, and he returned to his family with scarce the feeblest hope of ever seeing them, and the sweet light of heaven, again. After some time, when removing the bandages from his eyes, he thought he saw with some distinctness the divisions of the window sash, and called one of his daughters to pass her finger along the divisions of the window. By trial, he became convinced that he saw the outlines of objects correctly, though dimly. The excitement in the family was great as the word flew from child to child, '*Father can see!*' The servants caught the excitement, and '*Master can see,*' passed swiftly from mouth to mouth. He caused them all to pass in review before him that he might refresh his heart with a dim sight of those he had ever been used to look upon; and might gain some faint image of those who had been added to his household after the doors of vision had been shut, and of those too whose young bodies were rapidly increasing with their years. That was a day of rejoicing at Belle Grove. The eyes gradually recovered the power of vision sufficient for the ordinary purposes of life, and to enable him to read with properly fitted lenses. But this visit of the blessed light of heaven was of short continuance; the cataract returned."

It was after this return of his blindness that Wirt heard him preach, and wrote that animated account which is printed in all the school-books, and is the staple of one of the most charming letters of the British Spy. Waddell is described in old age as being very tall and spare; his visage long, his forehead towering upward, his face thin, and his eyes blue. He wore long white top-boots, small clothes buckled at the knees, a long loose straight-bodied coat, and a white wig. He was seldom vehement in delivery; often excited, but never boisterous; often deeply pathetic in tone and manner; very courtly in his manners, and used much gesture with both hands.¹ Such was James Waddell, one of the first trustees of your infant institution.

The late Gov. James Barbour is reported to have said that Waddell was the most eloquent man he ever heard with the exception of Patrick Henry.

¹ Dr. Foote's Sketches of Virginia, p. 384.

THE REV. CHARLES CUMMINGS.

Next to Waddell on the list of the trustees appointed by the Presbytery stands the name of the Rev. Charles Cummings. He was in truth a representative of the Scotch-Irish race to which he belonged, of the clergy of the era in which he lived, and of that abnormal magistracy which was maintained during the Revolution in the shape of Committees of Safety, and which was the efficient means for promoting the public as well as the local interests of that struggle. He was born in Ireland about the year 1743, and in early manhood emigrated to Lancaster county in this state, and studied theology, and probably taught, in the family of Dr. Waddell. In 1765 he was licensed by Hanover Presbytery to preach the gospel, and in May 1767 he was called to "Major Brown's meeting-house" in Augusta, where he was duly ordained and installed. As a mark of his early promise it may be said that he received invitations to three different places before he was licensed. In 1773 he accepted a call from the congregations of Ebbing Spring and Sinking Spring on the Holston. The names of those who invited him to this charge have been preserved by the care of the late Gov. David Campbell, and are published by Dr. Foote in his second volume. They are one hundred and thirty-eight in number, and embrace not only the ancestors of the people of Southwest Virginia, but of thousands in all the Southern States. It is a valuable document in the genealogy of the Commonwealth.

Before leaving the Northern Neck Mr. Cummings had married Mildred Carter, a daughter of John Carter of Lancaster; and in 1773, then about thirty years old, he with his family took up his abode in the wilderness of the Holston. His congregations were liable to daily attacks from the Indians. Every Sunday morning, having neatly attired himself in the dress of a minister, he put on his bullet pouch, and with rifle in hand he rode to the meeting-house. There more than a hundred brave men, equipped for instant battle, with their families, were ready to greet him. A guard was set around the house, and Mr. Cummings ascended the pulpit, and taking off his bullet pouch, and carefully placing his rifle within easy reach of his right hand, conducted the usual services. Nor were these precautions idle. During the summer

months the Indians were very troublesome, and the families of the Holston Settlement were collected in log forts for safety. "The one," says Dr. Foote, "to which Mr. Cummings always carried his family was on the land of Capt. Joseph Black, and stood on the first knoll on the Knob road, south of Abington, and on the spot where David Campbell's gate stands. In the month of July, 1776, when his family were in the fort, and he with a servant and wagon and three neighbors were going to his farm, the party were attacked by Indians, a few hundred yards from the meeting-house. Creswell, who was driving the wagon, was killed at the first fire of the Indians, and during the skirmish the two other neighbors were wounded. Mr. Cummings and his servant-man Job, both of whom were well armed, drove the Indians from their ambush, and with the aid of some men from the fort, who hearing the fire, came to their relief, brought in the dead and wounded. A statement has been published in a respectable historical work that on this occasion Mr. Cummings lost his wig. I speak from the information of an eye witness [says Gov. Campbell] when Mr. Cummings came into the fort, in saying that the story has no truth in it." Throughout the Revolution Mr. Cummings was an ardent and active patriot. He was a member of the Fincastle Committee of Safety, and when the county of Washington was organized he was the indefatigable chairman of the Committee of that county.¹ Nor was he averse to actual war. When Col. Christian, in October, 1776, made a campaign against the Cherokees, Mr. Cummings attended the troops, preaching at the stations on the route, his rifle ever at his elbow, and thus was the first preacher of the gospel within the limits of the present Tennessee. As a preacher he was most successful in swelling the number of his flock. He preached for many years, and until very old, "to one of the largest, most respectable, and most intelligent congregations ever assembled in Western Virginia." He continued to preach at Holston until near the time of his death, which occurred in March, 1812, in his eightieth year, and left a large number of

¹ He was also a member of the committee, of which Col. William Christian was chairman, which reported the patriotic and independent address of the Freeholders of Fincastle, on the 20th of January, 1775, to the Continental Congress.—EDS.

respectable descendants. Gov. Campbell, who knew him personally, and had been brought up under his eyes, thus described him : "He was of middle stature, about five feet ten inches high, well set and formed, possessing great personal firmness and dignity of character. His voice was strong and had great compass ; his articulation was clear and distinct. Without apparent effort, he could speak to be heard by ten thousand people. His mind was good without any brilliancy. He understood his own system well ; spoke always with great gravity, and required it from all who sat under the sound of his voice. He could not tolerate any movement among the congregation after preaching commenced. He uniformly spoke like one having authority, and laid down the law and the gospel with great distinctness as he understood them." And we are told elsewhere that he was a rigid Calvinist of the Old School, strict and even stern in the observance of the Sabbath, and faithful in teaching his children and servants the catechism. For the rest, he has left behind him a gracious memory in the records of his church and in the annals of the Commonwealth.

COL. WILLIAM FLEMING.

Few men served their country with greater zeal and ability than Col. William Fleming, of Belmont, the name of his seat in Boteourt, which he had chosen in honor of one of his ancestral seats in Scotland, and which was added to distinguish him from William Fleming of Cumberland, whom some present may recall, as he was in his latter years on the bench of the Court of Appeals. William Fleming, though not Scotch-Irish, was Scotch, and was born in the town of Jedburgh, on the 18th day of February, 1729. His father was of the noble family of Fleming, who held the barony of Fleming and the earldom of Wigton, and were long famous in Scottish annals. The Flemings were Catholics, and embraced with eagerness the cause of the beautiful Queen of Scots ; and in the civil dissensions of her reign were so conspicuous that Sir Walter Scott introduces not only a female of the race as one of the confidential ladies of the Queen, but the then Lord Fleming as one of the chiefs who received Mary on her escape from Lochleven. When the titles of Lord Fleming and Earl of Wigton became extinct by the death of the last possessor without a lineal

male heir, it was believed that the claims of Col Fleming, if properly urged, would have been sustained by the House of Lords ; but our old patriot, who had voted to abolish entails in Virginia, when urged to prosecute his cause was wont to say that he had two objections to such a course : the first was that he preferred the institutions of a republic to those of a monarchy ; and the second was, that he had no idea of sacrificing his other children for the sake of his eldest son who was already well provided for. It is only necessary to say that the earldom of Wigton became extinct, and that at a subsequent period the title of Lord Fleming was revived in favor of one of the family.

Col. Fleming received a thorough training in Latin at a time when Greek was hardly known in the Scotch universities, and in some of his writings which I have seen shows some skill in philology. Having resolved to study medicine he entered the University of Edinburgh, where he completed his course. From his youth he seemed fond of adventure ; and having obtained the berth of surgeon's mate in the British Navy, was in a sharp action with a Spanish man-of-war, during which he received a cut on the face that was never obliterated. His vessel was captured and was taken into a Spanish port, where he and his comrades were treated with great barbarity. It was his good fortune to receive occasional supplies from a noble Spanish lady, whose name he could never learn ; and he has been heard to say in his latter days that he would never turn a human being from his door, if for no other reason lest such a person might possibly be descended from the Spanish lady. In his 26th year, impelled by a desire to visit new countries, and perhaps by the influence of the Scotch friends of Gov. Dinwiddie, who was then governor, he determined to visit Virginia, and reached James river in the summer of 1755, when the spirits of the people were depressed by the defeat of Braddock, and when it was believed that the western country would be the seat of a long and bloody war between England and her colonies on one part and France and probably Spain on the other. Within a month after his landing he resolved to lay aside his medical profession and embark in a military career. On the 25th of August, 1755, about six weeks after the defeat of Braddock, he received from Governor Dinwiddie the commission of ensign in Col. George Washington's Virginia regiment, and served under that officer throughout the whole

of that perilous period. In 1762 he was commissioned by the Governor lieutenant, and served under Major Andrew Lewis, at Fort Chizwell, and in several expeditions of that officer ; and in the same year he was appointed by Gov. Fauquier a captain in the regiment commanded by Col. Adam Stephen. In 1774 he was appointed colonel, and led his regiment to the Ohio with others under the command of Col. Andrew Lewis. At the battle of Point Pleasant he acted a prominent part. It is well known that Col. Andrew Lewis, chief in command, sent forth his brother, Col. Charles Lewis, and Col. Fleming, with a strong detachment in the direction of the approaching enemy, who received them with a destructive volley fired from their hiding places. Both Col. Lewis and Col. Fleming were wounded at the first fire ; but as Col. Lewis and other wounded officers were carried from the ground, Col. Fleming determined to remain at all hazards. When Col. Lewis was brought to the fort, it was soon seen that he was mortally wounded, and that gallant officer died in the course of the morning. The condition of Col. Fleming seemed equally desperate. He received three balls, one of which was in the wrist of the right arm, breaking the bone ; the second was higher up on the same arm ; and the third was in the breast. In his efforts to rally the men, he greatly aggravated the wound in the lungs. When he reached the fort surgical assistance was deemed useless ; and the attention of the surgeons, who were few in number, was directed to cases not thought wholly desperate. Meantime Col. Fleming, who had sunk from exhaustion, rallied a little, and by the aid of his servant dressed his own wounds. The ball in his lungs was never extracted, produced at times acute suffering as long as he lived, and disqualified him entirely from active military service. Whenever he exerted himself, the ball, which had made a cell for itself in the lungs, would appear to move upward the height of two inches, and then fall back again, inflicting severe pain in its progress.

Although unable to endure the active labors of war, he was engaged in the civil service throughout the Revolution. On the 4th of April, 1776, he was appointed by the Committee of Safety Lieutenant and Commander-in-Chief of the County of Botetourt. On the formation of the constitution of the State, he was elected

to the Senate from the counties of Botetourt, Montgomery, Washington and Kentucky. He was thus a member of the first General Assembly of the State, and voted in favor of Mr. Jefferson's bill to abolish entails, and of other measures designed to accommodate our institutions to a republican model. At a later period he was appointed by the Assembly one of a commission to adjust disputed land titles in Kentucky, and to settle all claims against the State of Virginia. He was chosen in 1780 a member of the Council and rendered efficient aid in rescuing the public archives from the torch of Tarleton.¹ In 1788 he was a member of the convention of that year called to decide upon the present Federal Constitution and for reasons already assigned voted in favor of the adoption of that instrument. This was his last act of public service. He had now reached the seventh decade of life, and his health had been much impaired by the exposure and the wounds of a military career on the land and on the sea. With the exception of occasional trips to Kentucky, where he owned much valuable land, he spent his last days in the bosom of his family at Belmont, and with the surroundings of a wealthy patriarch. In all his domestic relations he was truly fortunate and happy. Before his removal to Botetourt he married a daughter of Israel Christian of Augusta, one of the early settlers of Augusta, and the father of Col. William Christian, of whom I will speak presently. Seven of Col. Fleming's children reached maturity and survived him. And of these, two, a son and a daughter, were living in 1860.² Col. Fleming died at Belmont on the 5th of August, 1795, aged 66, and was buried in the family burial ground, where his grave, enclosed by a stone wall, may now be seen. It is especially due to the memory of Col. Fleming in its present connexion to state that he was a warm friend of schools and colleges. He took an active part in the success of Hampden Sidney. He urged upon the Assembly the expediency of a high school for the county of Kentucky, which was incorporated with the name of Transylvania, and he was a cordial friend and trustee of this institution. He was a

¹ As a member of the Council he acted as chief executive of the State for a time in 1781, in the temporary absence of Mr. Jefferson from Richmond.—Eds.

² One of his daughters married the Rev. George A. Baxter, D. D., for many years President of Washington College.—Eds.

lover of books, and owned a good library for that day. His copy of Tillotson, carefully read and annotated by him, is in the possession of his descendants. In stature he was about the middle size; his forehead broad and massy; his nose Roman; his profile strongly marked; his eyes were blue; and his hair dark until touched with years. His teeth were sound to his dying day. He was a patriot without reproach, a brave officer, of great eminence as a physician and surgeon, one of the best of husbands and fathers, and a man whose name and virtues would confer merit on any institution with which he was connected.

COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

One of the early trustees of Liberty Hall before its incorporation was Col. William Preston, a name then confined to the straggling settlements of the Valley, but now well-known throughout the present Union. Who was William Preston? Come with me over the one hundred and thirty-five years last past, and I will answer the question. Let us attend the organization of the county court of Augusta, the Augusta of that day, stretching along the Blue Ridge to the North Carolina line, and from the Ridge to the Ohio and the Mississippi—and a glorious principality it was! That court was held on the 9th day of December, 1745, in the village of Staunton, which was so called, probably by John Lewis, in compliment to the wife of Governor Gooch, who had granted their patents to the early settlers; but whether the maiden name of Lady Gooch was Staunton, or Staunton was the name of her English home, I am unable to ascertain. The commission from the Governor was read; and it appeared that John Lewis was appointed the presiding justice of the court. He was then 67 years old, but he was to live seventeen years more, and to see other counties carved out of his own. Born in the reign of Charles the Second, this venerable patriarch saw the entire reigns of James the Second, of William and Mary, of Queen Anne, of George the First, and of George the Second, and was to count two years of the reign of George the Third—the first king born on the soil of England since the birth of Edward the Sixth—and closed his career at Bellefonte, where his ashes now repose, at the age of

84. By the side of John Lewis sat Hugh Thompson, Robert Cunningham, James Kerr, and Adam Dickinson. John Madison, the father of the future bishop and the uncle of the future president, rises in his place and reads his commission from Thomas Nelson, Secretary of the Colony, as clerk of the new county ; for it was not until the date of the Revolution, thirty years later, that the courts assumed the power of appointing their own clerks. The court proceeded to appoint a sheriff, and John Patton was invested with that office. Thomas Lewis, another of your trustees, then in the full flush of manhood, having entered his 27th year, steps forward, and reads his commission as surveyor of the new county, under the sign-manual of President Dawson of William and Mary College, the successor of the venerable Blair in that institution, and is approved by the court. The court holds its sessions from month to month, and at the May term of the following year, 1746, occurred an incident which it is my present province to notice, and which I shall read in the words of the record.

“ John Preston came into court and prayed leave to prove his importation, which was granted him ; and thereupon he made oath that, at his own charge, he had imported himself, Elizabeth his wife, William his son, and Lettice and Ann his daughters, immediately from Ireland into this colony, and that this is the first time of proving his said right, in order to partake of His Majesty’s bounty for taking up land.”

As we contemplate this December and May session of Augusta Court, how devotedly we wish that those patriarchs of our modern State, surrounded, as they then were, by the toils and the dangers of a savage wilderness, could have had a glimpse of the future of a century of years ; could have known that the record of a part of the proceedings of that day should be read on such an occasion as the present ; could have known that the name of Lewis would be honorably connected in peace and war with the greatest civil and military revolution of the eighteenth century ; that the name of Preston would be wreathed with the glories that genius and eloquence and valor could cluster about it ; that the names of Patton and Thompson and others would be more generally known than in their own time ; and that the name of Madison, which was

known in the colony even before the massacre of 1622, would shine with a radiance as enduring as the records of history !

We thus see that Col. William Preston was born in Ireland, and, as we have reason to believe, in the city of Dublin ; that he may have spent his first years in the shadow of Trinity College, where he played his pranks on that beautiful green which still attracts the admiration of the traveller. He was the only son of John Preston named in the record, who resided in Dublin,¹ and was engaged in mercantile pursuits, and who married a sister of Col. James Patton, of Donegal, Ireland. Col. Patton was a man of enterprise and vigor and was possessed of considerable wealth, and emigrating to Virginia before 1745 obtained from the governor for himself and his partners a grant of 120,000 acres of land in the Valley. He fixed his residence on the south fork of the Shenandoah, and also took up land in the present county of Montgomery ; and in 1755, while on a visit to his lands in that region, was slain by the Indians at Smithfield. The fate of John Preston was hardly more fortunate than that of Patton. He first settled at Spring Hill, afterwards occupied by Dr. Waddell, the blind preacher, and about the year 1743 purchased and occupied a tract afterwards owned by the late General Baldwin. Here in 1747, the year after he had proved his claim to land in virtue of his emigration, he died suddenly, and a neat monument now marks his place of burial. He left a widow and five children, all but one having been born in Ireland. One of his daughters married Robert Breckenridge, the grandfather of Robert and John Breckenridge, those eloquent divines of our own times. Another daughter married the Rev. Dr. John Brown, your second rector, whose eminent sons I have spoken of in their proper places, and concerning one of whom I may now say that, as the representative of the United States at the court of France, he announced to Louis the Eighteenth the celebrated utterance of his government commonly known as the Monroe Doctrine. Another daughter married Mr. Howard, whose eldest son was the first governor of Missouri ; and another married Mr. Smith and was the grandmother of the Mar-

¹ Mr. Grigsby is mistaken in saying that John Preston resided in Dublin. He was from Londonderry.—EDS.

shalls of Kentucky. Thus it seems that though John Preston lived but a short time in the new world, his posterity may be counted by hundreds.

But it is William, the only son of John Preston, that now demands our attention. He enjoyed those advantages of education within the range of a frontier settlement, and especially, as we may suppose, the instructions of Dr. Brown, his brother-in-law, who conducted your Academy. He soon exhibited talents which placed him in after life on a level with the prominent men of that day. At that era, prowess in Indian campaigns was one of the main tests of character, just as in our late contest a wound on the battlefield was a passport to the smiles of beauty. One of his early engagements was that of a surveyor under Washington, and there arose from this connection a friendly feeling between them that was cherished by Washington after the decease of Preston. In 1756 he accompanied Maj. Andrew Lewis in the Shawanese expedition, or the Sandy Creek voyage, as it is sometimes called, which involved greater hardships than any other of our incursions into the Indian territory, and which, though no enemy was present, had nearly resulted in the destruction of the whole party by starvation. The object of the expedition was confined to the breast of Major Lewis; but its aim probably was to build a fort between the Shawanese towns on the Ohio, to destroy those towns, and to punish a race of Indians, who, for a third of a century later than 1756, committed cruel murders within the settlements of Virginia. Of this expedition we fortunately possess an account from the pen of Col. Preston himself. It consisted of about 340 men, commanded by Captains Preston, Hays, one of your trustees, John Smith, Archibald Alexander, the grandfather of the celebrated divine, Robert Breckenridge, Woodson, Overton, Montgomery, and Dunlap, with Capt. Paris at the head of a number of friendly Cherokees; Maj. Andrew Lewis holding the chief command. Maj. David Stuart, the father of good Col. John Stuart of Greenbrier, accompanied the party. It set out from Fort Frederic on the 18th of February, and passing the Bear Garden and Burke's Garden reached the head of Clinch on the 26th, and on the 28th the head of Sandy Creek, which was so crooked that in

15 miles the men were forced to cross it sixty-six times. Their stores were soon exhausted, and their numbers were too great to be fed by hunting. After enduring the utmost extremity of hunger, the men on the 13th of March refused to proceed further, and resolved to return home. Capt. Preston, though feeble from famine, and though his entire company (except the officers) had determined to return, was resolved to carry out the expedition, and proposed the killing of the horses for food; but the men replied that horseflesh might answer, if they were returning, to support them home; but that it was not proper diet to sustain men enduring every hardship on a long march against an enemy. The failure of the expedition was attributed partly to the foul play of the guides; but a sufficient explanation may be found in the fact that so large a body of men left Fort Frederic in winter for a journey of hundreds of miles through a trackless wilderness with provisions for sixteen days only. In this trying scene the conduct of Capt. Preston deserves the highest praise. Neither famine, nor the severities of the season, nor the toil of climbing mountains with tottering limbs, sufficed to dismay him. It was in such a school that Andrew Lewis learned that discipline which enabled him eighteen years later to conduct his army through forests equally dense and over mountains as rough, and at the end of a weary march to gain the battle of Point Pleasant; that Hays, your trustee, learned that intrepidity with which he led his Rockbridge boys to ply the rifle on the heights of Saratoga; and that Preston was taught those lessons of self-command which subsequently marked his course, and which were seen in his march against the Cherokees, at Whitsell's Mills, and at Guilford.

In May, 1774, he was a member of the House of Burgesses; and when Col. Christian was advised by Lord Dunmore to return home, and to use his endeavors to prevent the inhabitants from deserting their homes from fears of the Indian war then impending, and to collect forces for the emergency, he called Col. Preston to his aid, and spoke in warm terms of his energy and skill on that trying occasion. Col. Preston also marched with Col. Christian to the head of Clinch, and remained in active service until the close of October, when the troubles were for a time appeased by the suc-

cessful issue of the battle of Point Pleasant.¹ In 1780 he was engaged with Col. Christian and Col. Arthur Campbell in their respective expeditions against the Cherokees. He was also at the battle of Guilford, and received the congratulations of Gen. Greene for his gallant conduct. Such was the efficiency of his service in protecting the frontiers of Virginia and North Carolina, that the latter state gave him in conjunction with Col. Campbell a vote of thanks for his energy and enterprise.

He lived to see the close of the war of the Revolution, and died at Smithfield, in June, 1783, aged 53 years. He was said to have been a man of imposing presence and of a pleasing address, and to have maintained a serene temper amidst the worriments of the forest and of the field. His height exceeded six feet, his complexion was fair and florid. Like his father, who won the hand of an Irish heiress by the beauty of his person and the elegance of his deportment, Col. Preston was regarded as remarkably handsome. His disposition was humane, as was shown by his treatment of the Indians and the Tories. He was a member of the church; and while living at Smithfield, in Montgomery, would ride once a year as far as Staunton to commune in the Presbyterian church in that town. The style of his letters and of his other writings that have survived him evinces good taste; and a library quite respectable for the times attested his love for letters. Some verses of his which have been seen by persons now living are said to show that he was no unsuccessful votary of the Muses. He married and left eleven children, all of whom have held a high place in the esteem of the world. Of these, five were sons: John, Francis, the father of the late William C. Preston, of South Carolina, James, William and Thomas; and six were daughters: Mrs. Madison, Mrs. McDowell, Mrs. Hart, Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Floyd.

COL. ARTHUR CAMPBELL.

The name which holds the first place on your roll of incorporated trustees, and which justly maintains a prominence on the

¹ He was also a member of the committee of which Col. William Christian was chairman, which drafted the address of the Fincastle Freeholders in January, 1775.—EDS.

score of age and public service among his distinguished contemporaries, is that of Col. Arthur Campbell, of Washington county. He was the son of David Campbell, whose progenitor emigrated from Ireland to Pennsylvania, and thence to Virginia; and in 1742, in the present county of Augusta, Arthur Campbell was born. When a youth of fifteen he was engaged in protecting the settlers from the Indians; and having been stationed at a fort near where the road from Staunton to the Warm Springs crosses the Cowpasture river, when on one occasion he and his companions sallied forth on a short excursion, was taken prisoner by a party of Indians and remained with them for three years, traversing in that interval the entire region now forming the states of Michigan, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. This incident, which withdrew him from the opportunities of education and which subjected him to innumerable hardships, was overruled for the advancement of his own reputation and for the benefit of his country. He became intimately acquainted with the geography of the Northwest Territory, which Virginia afterward gained by her arms, and not, perhaps, without his counsels; he learned the habits and the language and the tactics of the Indians and acquired the capacity of enduring fatigue, which was beneficial in his subsequent career. It was also observed that some traits of character, which were ever afterwards observable, might be traced to this period. On his return home to his parents, who had long mourned him as dead, he applied himself to learning, with the energy of a fully developed character, and made remarkable progress in his studies. He had run off from the Indians on the northern lakes, and made his way through a wilderness of two hundred miles to a detachment of the British army that was marching into the Indian country, and he was immediately engaged as a guide. It was his mingling with the British officers, perhaps, that first led him to perceive the importance of knowledge to the attainment of permanent and thorough success. For his conduct in guiding the army he was presented with a thousand acres of land near the present town of Louisville, Kentucky. He pursued his studies with such success as to become in due time a ready and correct writer, and from his early manhood seems to have been a favorite with the General

Assembly, and to have received every manifestation of regard from the people.

A few years before the Revolution he removed with a brother and sister to a farm called the Royal Oak on the Holston river, then a wilderness and an Indian hunting ground; and in 1776 he was chosen by the county of Fincastle, which had been separated from Botetourt four years before, a delegate to the Convention of Virginia, which met in the city of Williamsburg on the 6th day of May. That body, which dissolved the relations of Virginia with the British crown and declared her absolute independence, which instructed her delegates in Congress to bring forward a similar measure in that body, and which framed the first written constitution of a free commonwealth, holds a distinguished place in human history. To have been one of its members, and to have aided in attaining its valuable results, is an honor beside which an inscription in the roll of Battle Abbey dwindles in the comparison, and which will be a pleasing and glorious record for ages to come. And it should be said in honor of your then infant institution, that not less than four of its trustees—Thomas Lewis, John Bowyer, Samuel McDowell, and Arthur Campbell—held seats in that Assembly. And although we know from private letters that there was a disposition on the part of some of the members to shrink from the decisive action of the hour, we also know that the trustees of Liberty Hall acted with the most determined men on that occasion.¹

Col. Arthur Campbell was also a member of the first House of Delegates under the constitution, and was deeply interested in the religious and political questions discussed during that session, embracing those liberal views of which Mr. Jefferson was the representative.

On the organization of Washington county in January, 1777, he was appointed county lieutenant and commander-in-chief; and in 1779 joined Col. Sevier after the battle of Boyd's Creek with a regiment of Virginians, scouring the Cherokee country, and destroying their habitations. He returned home with a firm assurance that the punishment inflicted upon the Indians would secure

¹ He was also a member of the committee that drafted the address of the Freeholders of Fincastle in January, 1775.

the settlers for some time to come. In 1781, at the head of seven hundred mounted riflemen, he led an expedition against the Cherokees, which was entirely successful, and was the first experiment on a large scale of that mode of warfare. The result of the expedition was the negotiation of the Cherokee treaty of that date. His conduct on this occasion was reported to Congress by Governor Jefferson in most flattering terms, and was warmly praised by Girardin in his *History of Virginia*.

For thirty-five years Col. Campbell resided on his estate on the Holston, and during that time was county lieutenant and the commander of the 70th regiment. He then removed to Yellow Creek, Knox county, Kentucky, where he died of a cancer in the face at the age of sixty-nine. He married the third sister of Gen. William Campbell, the hero of King's Mountain, with whom in peace and war he was so intimately associated. Two of the sons of Arthur Campbell lost their lives during the war of 1812: Capt. James Campbell, who died at Mobile, and Col. John B. Campbell, who fell at Chippewa, where he commanded the right wing under Gen. Scott.

Col. Arthur Campbell was six feet in height, of a grave and dignified demeanor, firm and positive in action, utterly regardless of the ordinary means of acquiring popularity, and though he had some bitter enemies he counted some of the first men of the age among his personal friends. His conversational powers were said to be unusual; and from his temperate mode of life, his presidency for the third of a century in a court of justice, his correspondence with eminent men, and his habits of study, his intellectual faculties were preserved in fine play to the end of his life.

COLONEL WILLIAM CHRISTIAN.

Among the earliest trustees of Liberty Hall, and second on the roll of the incorporated institution, stands the name of Col. William Christian. It was for almost an entire generation one of the foremost in war and peace in the annals of the west, when the west was within the limits of Virginia, and was bounded by the Ohio and Mississippi. He was the only son of Israel Christian, who was among the earlier settlers of Augusta, and was of Scotch-Irish

extraction. Israel Christian followed the business of a merchant, founded a large family, which was united in marriage with the most conspicuous persons of that era, and accumulated a fortune ample enough to endow his children with respectable wealth. He was esteemed by his fellow-citizens, and represented the county of Augusta in the House of Burgesses in 1758, when George Mason was a young member from Fairfax, and Edmund Pendleton was another young member from Caroline, and George Washington was another young member from Frederick. This session of the House was one of the most important ever held in the colony, and was composed of the ablest men who had ever assembled in our councils. Of the proceedings of the body I have spoken elsewhere. Israel Christian died, I believe, before the Revolution, and left, besides his distinguished son William, several daughters, one of whom married Col. William Fleming, of Botetourt, one of your trustees; a second married Judge Caleb Wallace, another trustee; a third married Col. William Bowyer, of Botetourt; and a fourth married Col. Stephen Trigg, of Kentucky. Three counties in Kentucky named in honor of his son and two of his sons-in-law—Christian, Fleming and Trigg—afford a pleasing and lasting remembrance of family worth and distinction.

Col. William Christian was born in Augusta in 1743, was educated with great care by his father, and arriving at manhood was soon employed in the active schemes of offence and defence against the incessant attacks of the Indians. On the organization of the first two Virginia regiments in 1775, he was chosen lieutenant-colonel of the first, of which Patrick Henry was the colonel. To such distinction did he attain as a military man that in May, 1776, he was appointed colonel of the first battalion of Virginia militia, and commander-in-chief of an expedition against the Overhill Cherokee Indians, the troops under his command consisting of two battalions from Virginia and one from North Carolina, which, with other men necessarily employed, composed an army of 1600 men—an extraordinary number for that period. Again in 1780 he commanded another expedition against the Cherokees, and at Double Springs was joined by troops from North Carolina under Col. Sevier, whose original name of Xavier shows his French extraction, and who was a son of the Valley of Virginia. These

marches against the Indians were always successful. In 1781, after the successful expedition of Col. Arthur Campbell against the Cherokees, when it was decided to make a treaty with those Indians, and when it was then not known to whom the authority belonged to make treaties with Indians who roamed through the territories of several states, an application was made to Gen. Greene to appoint a commission for the purpose; and that officer complied with the request, and placed Colonel Christian at its head. It consisted of Col. Christian, Col. Arthur Campbell, Col. William Preston, and Col. Joseph Martin, of Virginia, and of some able men from North Carolina.

But though called into military service at every emergency, he was a member of the House of Burgesses, and participated in the various stages of the disputes that led to the Declaration of Independence. In May, 1774, while in Williamsburg, when the Indian troubles were brewing that led to the Battle of Point Pleasant, he was earnestly entreated by Lord Dunmore to leave his seat in the house and hasten to the West to provide against the threatened danger. He accordingly hastened to the mountains and collected troops with which he marched to the seat of war. When he had successfully accomplished the object in view, he hastened to unite his forces with those of Col. Andrew Lewis; but before he reached Camp Union, the present Lewisburg, Col. Lewis had marched to the Ohio. It is stated by Campbell, though not sustained by other authorities, that if Christian had united his forces with those of Lewis, the chief command would have devolved upon him. He hastened his march, but did not reach Lewis until the midnight after the battle of Point Pleasant, when he found that every arrangement was made for the renewal of the fight next morning. Next day he marched to meet the enemy, who had withdrawn early at the close of the fight the evening before, leaving thirty-three dead bodies which they had not been able to throw into the Ohio.

Like most of the prominent military and political actors of his time, he owned large possessions in Kentucky, whither in 1785 he removed with his family and settled on Bullskin creek, and afterwards on Oxmoor creek, an estate which is still in possession of his family, near the site of the present city of Louisville. Here

his career was destined soon to end. In the year after his arrival a party of Indians stole a number of horses in his vicinity, and he determined to pursue them. He reached a spot near where the town of Jeffersonville in Indiana now is, where he overtook two of the Indians. Col. Christian was riding in front, and was followed by Col. Bullett, his son-in-law, and Major O'Bannon. As Col. Christian dismounted, preparatory to firing, he was shot and killed by one of the Indians; and at the same instant both of the Indians were shot and mortally wounded by Col. Bullett and Maj. O'Bannon. One of the company of the name of Kelly, who ran to tomahawk the Indian whose gun had not been discharged, but who had been mortally wounded, was shot dead by the Indian, who in a dying state sprang to his feet and discharged his rifle. The body of Col. Christian was conveyed home, and was buried in the graveyard on the plantation which is still owned by his grandson. A plain slab marks the spot, and is inscribed: "Col. William Christian was killed in an action with the Indians April 9, 1786, aged 43. This monument was erected to his memory by the filial piety of his son John Henry Christian, who died Nov. 5, 1800, aged 19." So with the century expired the last male heir of William Christian.

When the intelligence of his death was spread through Kentucky, which was then a part of Virginia, and through Virginia proper, and especially in the Valley, where his talents and services were so well known and admired, grief for the sudden extinction of such a master-spirit was profound and general. None felt the loss of such a man at such a conjuncture more keenly than his brother-in-law, Patrick Henry, who wrote to his sister in a strain of pious eloquence which had probably never before fallen from his pen, and which shows that the heart of the orator responded to the tenderest emotions of domestic love. "Would to God," said the sympathizing brother, "I could say something to give relief to the dearest of women and sisters. My heart has felt in a manner new and strange to me, insomuch that, while I am endeavoring to comfort you, I want a comforter myself. I forbear to tell you how great was my love for my friend and brother. I turn my eyes to heaven where he is gone, I trust, and adore with humility the unsearchable ways of that Providence which calls us off this stage

of action at such time and in such manner as its wisdom and goodness direct." And he concludes his letter : " For, indeed, my dearest sister, you never knew how much I loved you and your husband. My heart is full. Perhaps I may never see you in this world. Oh ! may we meet in that heaven to which the merits of Jesus will carry those who love and serve him. Such is the prayer of him who thinks it his honor and pride to be your affectionate brother."

Such was William Christian—a successful soldier, where other men would have yielded to despair, and a wise statesman. After the untimely death of Gen. Andrew Lewis, he was regarded as the first military genius of the West, to whom all eyes were turned at the approach of danger. Had he lived to behold the administration of Washington, who greatly esteemed him, he would have been appointed by acclamation to command those expeditions against the Indians which in other hands resulted so disastrously. It is pleasing to state that his descendants in Kentucky are numerous and respectable, and that the estate on which his ashes repose is still owned by his grandson.

GENERAL ANDREW MOORE.

The third name on the roll of incorporated trustees is that of one who long lived in this town, who often ascended this hill and mingled in your deliberations, who fought long and bravely in the armies of the North during the Revolution, who represented Rockbridge many years in the House of Delegates, who was the first representative of Rockbridge in the House of Representatives of the United States, who was the first representative of the Valley in the Senate of the United States, who spent his last days in the shadow of your college, and whose honored dust rests in yonder cemetery. Such a description can apply to one man only, and that man is Gen. Andrew Moore.

His grandfather was one of nine brothers who came over to this country from Ireland between 1740 and 1750, most of whom settled in South Carolina, and all of whom served in the war of the Revolution, in which more than one of them are believed to have fallen. When the brothers came over to America they brought with them an aged female ancestor who could remember the siege of

Derry, during which she had been driven under the walls of that city by the generals of James the Second—a policy which that cruel king adopted with a view of forcing the besieged to surrender; and she used to tell her descendants of the dead bodies beneath the walls, some of them with tufts of grass in their mouths, which they had torn from the earth to appease their hunger.

The father of Gen. Andrew Moore was David, who was an upright and industrious farmer, and who lived at a place in the northern part of Rockbridge, then Augusta, now called Cannicello, where in 1752 Andrew was born. His mother was Miss Evans, who was of Welsh descent. He probably received his early training at the Academy before it assumed the name of Liberty Hall, under the Rev. Dr. Brown, and in early life taught school for a short time; but seeking a more active sphere, he made a voyage to the West Indies, and was cast away on a desert island, where for three weeks his companions and himself were forced to feed, in the extremity of their hunger, on a species of lizard that abounded in the island; but were relieved from their fate by a passing vessel which brought them to the United States. He now turned his attention to law, and, either in the office of Chancellor Wythe in Williamsburg, or under his advisement, pursued his legal studies, and about 1774 obtained a license to practice law. But the courts were soon closed by the Revolution; and in 1776 young Moore entered the army as a lieutenant in a company that was afterwards attached to Morgan's Rifle Corps, of which John Hays, one of your trustees, was captain. It should be observed in passing, as creditable to Rockbridge, that as soon as Moore obtained his commission as lieutenant he went to a log-rolling in the neighborhood and enlisted nineteen men in one day, that being the whole number present capable of bearing arms. He soon obtained his complement of one hundred men, and was ordered to march to the North. Nearly his whole military life was spent in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York. In the last mentioned state he was actively engaged in the capture of Burgoyne's army, and was present with his company as a part of Morgan's corps in the battle of Saratoga, which resulted in the surrender of the British forces. After having obtained the rank of Captain, and having served three successive years, as there was a great number

of supernumerary officers, he resigned his commission, and returned home. He now entered the House of Delegates as one of the representatives of Rockbridge, and was a member when the Assembly was driven from Charlottesville by the cavalry of Tarleton.

He was now placed in a position in which he was to acquire his most shining titles to the public regard. The legislature of Virginia from 1780 to 1789, when he retired from the body, was one of the best schools of statesmanship ever offered to a young politician. In that interval nearly all the great questions of that era were discussed and decided. All the leading topics of a republican system in relation to foreign and domestic affairs came before the body. The expediency of a church establishment, assessments for the support of religion, paper money, the payment of taxes in kind, the confiscation of British debts, the regulation of the customs which each State controlled according to its interests, the new judiciary system, the expediency of forming the Articles of Confederation, and at a later day, of amending them, instructions to the delegates in Congress which involved a full discussion of foreign affairs, the mode and means of conducting the war, the military expeditions of the West, the disposition of the public land which extended to the Mississippi and the Northern lakes, the navigation of the Mississippi itself, were some of the topics which tasked the wisdom and the patience of the men of that era. And although our limits will not allow us to trace the course of Gen. Moore through this period with any degree of minuteness, it is due to his memory to say that, while he particularly distinguished himself in support of the act concerning religious freedom in all the phases through which it passed and recorded his name among those who carried this measure on its final passage, his votes on the test measures of that day, which were presented in the action of the House of Delegates on the bills of the revisors and otherwise, are most honorable to him, when viewed in the light which the experience of almost ninety years has cast upon them. He was a member of the Assembly when the resolution convoking the meeting at Annapolis to propose amendments to the existing Articles of Confederation was adopted, and when subsequently the resolution inviting the meeting in Philadelphia of the convention which framed the present Federal Constitution passed the House; and

when that instrument was presented to the States for approval, he was a member of the convention which in June, 1788, met in Richmond to discuss it, and voted to ratify the same in behalf of Virginia. One incident that occurred during the session of the Convention in 1788 is so illustrative of character as to require a passing notice. As the debate in the convention proceeded, the State at large shared in the excitement of the body. The opinions of the members were scrutinized by their constituents; and it became known in Rockbridge that Moore and his colleague, McKee, who was also a trustee of yours, were determined to vote for the adoption of the constitution. Accordingly the majority of the freeholders of the county, who were opposed to that instrument, drew up instructions to Moore and McKee, requiring them to oppose the constitution at all hazards, and forwarded them to Richmond. Those instructions Moore and his colleague refused to obey, and voted to ratify the constitution.¹ This was the first deliberate refusal of a representative to obey the instructions of his constituents that had then occurred in our history, and its flagrancy was the greater, as, unlike the cases of ordinary acts of Assembly, the deed was irrevocable. On his return home he gave his constituents an opportunity of punishing him by appearing as a candidate at the next election; and the result was that he received three votes to one of the opposing candidates. Had Moore and McKee, of Rockbridge, and Thomas Lewis, of Rockingham, Archibald Stuart and Zachariah Johnston, of Augusta, and William Fleming, of Botetourt, all of whom were trustees of Liberty Hall, voted against the ratification of the Federal Constitution, the fate of that paper would have been sealed. It is a fact in the history of this college and of the State, that the Federal Constitution was carried by the vote of the Trustees of Liberty Hall.

At the first election of members of the House of Representatives under the Federal Constitution, he was chosen from the Rockbridge district, and was successively elected till 1797, a period that embraced the entire administration of Washington. Being an active member of one of the two great parties that then divided the

¹ In the election of delegates to the convention the issue of the adoption or rejection of the constitution was distinctly made, and they were therefore clearly justified in refusing to obey instructions subsequently given.—Eds.

country, he declined a re-election to Congress, and with Madison and Giles entered the House of Delegates of Virginia, which was thought a more efficient field for fighting the battle which should determine the fate of the administration of the elder Adams. During his term in Congress he often spoke with ability on the complicated and irritating questions of the day, and ranged himself with the party which was then called Republican. It would be an interesting office to record his speeches and votes as I have traced them on the journals, but our limits wholly preclude the task. In 1798-'99 and 1799-1800, he sustained in the House of Delegates the resolutions of John Taylor, of Caroline, which were drawn by Mr. Madison, and the famous Virginia Report which has held so large a place in our political annals. On the election of Jefferson to the Presidency he returned to Congress and took his seat in the House of Representatives in 1803, in which he remained one year, when he was chosen by the General Assembly a Senator of the United States, in which office he served until 1809, when he withdrew from the body, and was soon after appointed United States Marshal for the district of Virginia, and held that office until his death, on the 14th day of April, 1821, in the seventieth year of his age.

Gen. Moore was in his day the representative man of the West. Every civil and military office within the gift of Virginia and the people was freely bestowed upon him. His public career began in 1776, and from that time to the date of his death, in 1821—a lapse of forty-five years—he can hardly be said to have been out of the public service. As a soldier, as a member of the House of Delegates, as a member of both Houses of Congress, as a brigadier and major-general, and as the United States Marshal of Virginia, he performed his various duties with the approbation of his country. Though passing the ordeal of twenty-nine elections in the course of his life, he was invariably successful, excepting that he failed to be elected a member of the former Executive Council by a single vote—an office which, had it been conferred upon him, he would have promptly declined. At an early date he was chosen brigadier-general, and in 1809 he was chosen major-general. He was a most successful lawyer; and there is now living a venerable

lady,¹ at the age of ninety, who can recall his return from distant courts with his saddle-bags full of coin, which he would empty on the bed, and, casting a corner of the quilt over the glittering mass, would leave it in charge of his wife. He was a man of a large frame, not above the middle height, with dark gray eyes, and at special times paid much attention to his dress, as was the case with all whom he associated with abroad. Towards the close of the last century and in the early part of the present, he wore ruffles not only on the breast, as was common in our own times, but at the wrists; and shorts buckled at the knee, and long silk stockings. When he took his departure for Congress, which held its sessions during his term of service in New York, Philadelphia and Washington, there was quite a stir in your pleasant town. A coach with four spanking bays would be driven up before his door, and on the box, neatly attired for a journey and skilled in the mysteries of the whip, would be seated Jim Berry, a white man, and in the rear of the coach would follow the baggage wagon, driven by one of his slaves. He married Sally, the eldest daughter of Col. Andrew Reid, who long survived her husband, and was known and loved by many within the sound of my voice. He was always the advocate of a thorough education, and observing the dawning genius of his young neighbor, Archibald Alexander, afterwards so celebrated as a divine, he earnestly exhorted him to proceed to Princeton and to pursue his studies in the college of New Jersey. And I may mention here a fact which has an intimate connection with this institution. It happened that when Washington received the grant of the James River shares from the State of Virginia, Moore was a member of the House of Representatives, and was sent for by the Father of his Country to be consulted about appropriating the shares to the use of some literary institution above the falls of the rivers. Gen. Moore presented the claims of Liberty Hall, and after a consultation with his colleague from the Washington district, the late Gen. Francis Preston, who united with him in urging upon Washington the claims of the Academy, he wrote to the trustees, who presented their case in the able argument already noticed in the sketch of Graham, and received that generous benefaction

¹ Mrs. McCampbell, the sister of Mrs. Moore.—Eds.

which you still enjoy. I may also add that he probably drew your charter, and certainly guarded and guided it in its passage through the Assembly. It was my fortune to see and know this noble patriot in his venerable old age. Rather more than half a century ago, and not long before his death, he visited Norfolk on official business, performing, by the way, the whole journey on horseback; and, young as I then was, I shall never forget the pleasing impression which he made upon me. He was the first human being I ever knew who was born west of the Blue Ridge, and who lived in the mountains; and to my simple inquiries about the mountains and the Indians he made kindly answers that gratified me much. He was cheerful in conversation, and although he was employed during the day with the perplexing details of business, in the evening at the house of my mother he appeared free from care, and with his pleasant address and charming talk gained the regard of us all. He ever enjoyed the cordial and unbounded confidence of Jefferson, Madison and Monroe, all of whom survived him several years.

Such was Andrew Moore. Sprung from the Scotch-Irish race, he was ever true to its leading characteristics. His private life was without a blemish. In the flush of youth he participated in the battles fought in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and he saw the flag of Britain lowered on the hills of Saratoga, and the proud and confident hosts of Burgoyne with all their artillery and baggage the reward of the first great victory ever won by the arms of his country—a victory in the winning of which the corps to which he belonged rendered essential service. In the House of Delegates he was the constant friend and earnest advocate of civil and religious liberty, and actively upheld those laws that constitute the base of a Republican system. And in Congress, in both houses of which he held a seat for years, he never uttered a sentence or gave a vote that did not reflect credit upon his head and his heart, and that his descendants may not contemplate with a becoming pride. It is grateful to know that the name of such a man has been illustrated in the persons of his children, and is known and honored in our own times.

COL. SAMUEL McDOWELL.

We come to a particular name in the roll of the incorporated trustees which will ever be held in grateful remembrance in the Valley. Take from the history of this beautiful region the name of McDowell, and its connections with the Greenlees, the Reids, the Moffetts, the Prestons, the Moores, and others of whom I have not time to tell, but which your own memory will supply, what a blank would appear in that catalogue of stars whose light shines upon us so delightfully from every sphere of genius, moral worth, valor, true piety and high statesmanship, and which, we fondly hope, will shine upon our children for generations and ages to come!

The ancestor of the McDowells was Ephraim, who with his wife, both well stricken in years, with his daughter Mrs. Greenlee and her husband, and with his sons James and John, came from Ireland, by the way of Pennsylvania, to Augusta in 1737. They were of the Scotch-Irish race. The venerable parents went down to the grave early and in peace. John, the younger son, married Magdalene Woods, and was a skilful surveyor and man of business; and while engaged under favorable auspices in founding a fortune for his posterity, was slain suddenly by the Indians in 1743, near the junction of the North River with the James, near where the Paxton farm now is. Thus was he cut off, after a brief residence of six years in his new home. He was buried in the cemetery surrounded by a stone wall, which may still be seen near the main road leading from Staunton to this town, and in which a rude contemporaneous head-stone bears the inscription: "Here lies the body of John McDowell, deceased December 1743." He left two sons, Samuel, your trustee, and James; and a daughter Martha, who married Col. George Moffett, another of the worthiest of your trustees. Of James, the younger son of John, I will only say in passing that he married Miss Cloyd, and died in 1770, at the age of thirty-five, leaving three children, one of whom, James, married Sarah Preston, the granddaughter of John Preston, the ancestor of the Prestons, and the daughter of Colonel William Preston, another of your trustees, and whom you will recognize at once as the well known Col. James McDowell, whose dignified person was to be seen at your board at the annual celebrations of forty years, and

whom I can recall in his handsome suit of blue and buff as he entered your hall or sat on your platform nearly half a century ago ; and whose memory will ever be fresh not only on account of his long and faithful services as a trustee of the college, but as the father of that eminent and ever to be beloved and lamented christian statesman, the late Gov. James McDowell, whose eloquence, uttered on the floor of Congress, has been likened to that of Fisher Ames when the illustrious orator of the north spoke in defence of the British treaty, and drew tears from the accomplished Winthrop then filling the speaker's chair as it has rarely been filled before or since ; who, like his father, was a pupil and a trustee of your institution, and whose memory, as fresh and as perennial as these lovely mountains that look down upon his ashes, has woven one of the brightest chaplets for the brow of his *alma mater*, and for the brow of another, greater still, the common mother of us all.

But our present office is with Samuel, the eldest son of John, who was one of the trustees of 1776, as well as one of those of the incorporated institution. He was born in 1733 in Augusta, studied law, and, like most of his contemporaries of that era, took an active part in the different expeditions against the Indians. He was at the battle of Point Pleasant, where with his comrades he fought bravely. At the mature age of forty-one, after having served a period in the House of Burgesses, and witnessed the parliamentary conflicts that preceded the Revolution, he took his seat in the March convention of 1775, and brought with him to that body in connection with his colleague Thomas Lewis the truly patriotic resolutions drawn by the Rev. Mr. Balmain, and adopted by the freeholders of Augusta on the 22nd of the previous month, which made a decided protest against the right of parliament to tax the colonies, and highly approved the conduct of the first delegates to the Congress. These resolutions, strong and patriotic as they were, very wisely abstained from the introduction of topics which were then deemed premature, and had no direct relation to independence. They took the true ground held in the state papers sent forth by Congress and the House of Burgesses at that immediate period. Indeed, at that session of March, 1775, so far from thinking of independence, the convention adopted a resolution of thanks to Lord Dunmore which I now read : " Resolved,

unanimously, that the most cordial thanks of this colony are a tribute justly due to our worthy governor Lord Dunmore, for his truly wise, noble and spirited conduct on the late expedition against our Indian enemy; a conduct which at once evinces his Excellency's attention to the true interests of this colony, and a zeal in the Executive department, which no dangers can divert, or difficulties hinder, from achieving the most important services to the people who have the happiness to live under his administration."

Colonel McDowell was also a member of the convention of July of the same year, when the troubles were darkening, and when the animated contest occurred on the resolutions of Patrick Henry for putting the colony into a posture of defence, and in support of which he uttered his famous exclamation, "Give me liberty, or give me death." Believing the plan of Henry to be more in unison with the demands of the moment than the grander and more costly scheme proposed by Col. Nicholas, he voted for the creation of the first two Virginia regiments and for Henry as commander-in-chief. On his return home he had a tall poplar tree cut down and skinned, and set up in his yard as a liberty pole—the first visible standard of opposition to the British government ever reared in the Valley.

In the Convention of December, 1775, he again took his seat, as the senior member of the Augusta delegation. The death of Peyton Randolph, who had presided in the previous conventions, and who had received the special thanks of Augusta, occurred in October, and the first duty of the body was to elect a successor; and when Paul Carrington proposed the name of Col. Pendleton, McDowell cast his vote for that gentleman. A few days after the meeting the battle of the Great Bridge took place, and Col. McDowell was one of those who gave cordial praise to Woodford for his gallant conduct on that occasion. Though Col. McDowell had approved the scheme of Henry in preference to that of Col. Nicholas at the preceding session, he now deemed war as imminent, and voted to raise seven additional battalions, and for the officers who should command them. He also voted for the reappointment of the Committee of Safety, which was charged with the executive duties of the Colony.

But it was in the May Convention of 1776 that Samuel

McDowell had the opportunity of connecting his name with some of the most memorable transactions of the eighteenth century. He and his colleague Thomas Lewis had brought with them from the county committee of Augusta a representation, as it is called on the journals of the Convention, which deserves a notice even in the rapid review which I am compelled to take of the most important events in our annals. It is the first deliberate expression of the policy of establishing an independent State government and a permanent confederation of the States which our parliamentary journals contain ; for, although several counties had expressed a resolution to sustain the Conventions in all measures which should be deemed necessary for the public weal, and had shown a spirit equal to every emergency, none had made so direct and so explicit a representation of the mode of redress which the crisis required. I quote the abstract of the representation which was offered by the Augusta delegates on the 10th of May, 1776, and which is thus rather rudely condensed on the journal of the Convention : "A representation from the Committee of the County of Augusta was presented to the Convention and read : Setting forth the present unhappy situation of the country ; and, from the ministerial measures of revenge now pursuing, representing the necessity of making the confederacy of the united colonies the most perfect, independent and lasting ; and of framing an equal, free and liberal government, that may bear the test of all future ages." This memorial was presented five days before the grand committee which had been previously appointed made that report recommending a declaration of independence and the formation of a State government wholly independent of the British Crown. This memorial from Augusta, as read to the House, I have never seen, nor do I believe that it has been seen by any one now living. It may possibly be found in the clerk's office of the present Augusta county, or in the archives of the clerk of the House of Delegates in Richmond, and deserves to be stereotyped as the Magna Charta of the West. It was the fortune of Samuel McDowell to vote in favor of a dissolution of the union with Great Britain, of the Declaration of Rights, and of the first written constitution of a free commonwealth. In all the measures of that

epoch he displayed wisdom and courage, and was most zealous in making preparation for the war then impending.

In October, 1776, he was a member of the first House of Delegates under the constitution and cordially coöperated with Jefferson and George Mason in carrying through the bill abolishing entails, and in regulating religion, and in putting the new State on a republican tack. This was the most important session of the Assembly which had then been held in the colony, and it is proper to say that Samuel McDowell embraced and carried out the broadest views of a Republican system. A single illustration will show that the impolicy of such laws as those which regulated entails and the right of primogeniture was no new thought of his. On the death of his father in 1743, more than the third of a century before the passage of the acts regulating descents and abolishing entails, he became the sole heir of all his lands; but instead of appropriating the whole to his own use, as was then invariably done by common consent, he divided the patrimony equally with his brother and sister. After leaving the Assembly he was employed in the military service; and at the battle of Guilford, where his eldest son John was also present, commanded a regiment from Augusta. During the engagement he showed great gallantry, and had the men under his command behaved with equal spirit, Cornwallis, who was nearly taken as it was, would have given us no more trouble. On that field McDowell beheld the daring valor of the British Colonel Webster, who was the life and soul of the opposing host, and who was destined to end his career on that field; and though we should speak in a subdued tone of a generous enemy, as Webster assuredly was, it is due to the truth of history to say, what has never before been uttered to the public ear, and what I have from the best authority, that, although that officer did not fall by the aim of a Scotch-Irish rifle, he yielded to the ball and eight buckshot of a long ducking gun fired by a Presbyterian elder, the late Col. William Morton, of Charlotte, whose father, little Joe Morton, of pious memory, was the first to receive Samuel Davies on his first visit to Charlotte, then a part of Lunenburg.

At the close of the war Col. Samuel McDowell removed to Kentucky, which, it must be kept in mind, was as much a county of Virginia as the neighboring county of Botetourt now is, where

he was chosen the circuit judge of his district, and served a long term on the bench, dying on the 25th of October, 1817, at the age of 84. At the time of his death it was estimated that he had more than one hundred descendants in Virginia and Kentucky. He married in early life Mary McClung, and a daughter of this marriage married Col. Andrew Reid, one of the heroes of Point Pleasant, and a lifelong patron of your college. And a son of Andrew Reid was that excellent citizen whose name has been so long bound up with that of Lexington far and wide, the late Col. Samuel McDowell Reid, who was for an entire generation the clerk of the court of Rockbridge, as his father had been before him, who was the ornament and dear delight of the social sphere, and who has but lately departed from us in the fulness of years and in the possession of those precious treasures which patriotism and unblemished worth and generous piety lead in their train; nor should I pass over a sister of McDowell Reid, who married Gen. Andrew Moore of whom I have already spoken at length, and who has not many years gone from us; and one of whose sons, having the full name of his great-grandfather Samuel McDowell, I had the honor of acting with in the public counsels of forty odd years ago, but whose full name I shall not mention, because he is living, and is sitting by my side, and seems to wax strong even in the midst of the years. Nor can I pass over a sister of McDowell Reid,¹ who at the age of ninety is still living not far from my own residence in Charlotte, and from whose words I have gathered many things which had otherwise been lost forever, and who presents to our modern eyes something of the image of her venerable ancestor.

GEN. JOHN BOWYER.

But, as the time presses, I must give my likenesses of the venerable founders of your institution on a smaller scale; and I now introduce a name which has been familiar in our councils for more than a hundred years, and which still exists among us. I speak of General John Bowyer. His ancestors emigrated early into Augusta, and were of the Scotch-Irish race, though, like most of

¹ Mrs. McCampbell.—EDS.

that race, they were from an Anglo-Saxon stock, and appear in the secular and religious records of the time. Michael Bowyer was one of the committee that reported the famous memorial of the freeholders of Augusta of February 1775, was a member of the House of Delegates under the new constitution, and ten years later voted for the act concerning Religious Freedom. But our present purpose is with Gen. John Bowyer, your trustee, who was born in Augusta, as Augusta then was, and received a liberal education. In his young days he taught school for a season, but after his marriage devoted his time to agriculture and to public life. In 1775, and subsequently, he was appointed by Presbytery to collect funds and perform other offices connected with the establishment of the Academy, and was one of the trustees of 1776, as also one of those under the incorporated institution.

He was now to enter on a political career that continued with occasional intermissions to the close of the century. In the March convention of 1775, he, with Andrew Lewis for a colleague, represented the county of Botetourt, and in the July and December conventions of the same year he also appeared as a representative from Botetourt, and thus bore a part in all those important measures that led the way to independence, and which I have mentioned already in detail. And in the memorable convention of May 1776, he took his seat with Patrick Lockhart as his colleague, his old associate Andrew Lewis having been appointed brigadier-general by the Congress. I have already intimated that there was a disposition shown by some of the members to recoil from the decisive measure of a declaration of absolute independence of the British Crown; but of this question, as well as of all others brought forward by the leaders of the Revolution, Gen. Bowyer was a consistent and steady supporter. When the first Assembly under the new State constitution met in Williamsburg in October 1776, he again took his seat in the body, and gave a cordial support to Jefferson, Mason, and Wythe, in devising and adopting those measures which a change from a monarchical to a republican system had rendered indispensable. He continued in the Assembly at intervals until the adoption of the Federal constitution of 1788, and cordially supported the bills reported by the revisors. As I have more than once detailed the nature of the bills passed

by the Assembly from the adoption of the State constitution to the close of the century, I will merely say, by way of a schedule of the public life of Gen. Bowyer, that he voted for the celebrated resolutions of Patrick Henry for putting the Colony into a posture of defence, and for organizing the first two Virginia regiments, and for the bill creating seven battalions, for the establishment of the Committee of Safety, for casting off the allegiance of Virginia to the British Crown, for the Declaration of Rights, and for the Establishment of a Commonwealth under a written constitution of its own; for the bill abolishing entails, and for other measures equally important in the organization of a republican government; closing his political career by recording his vote in favor of the resolutions of '98-'99, and for the famous report of '99-1800.

When the federal government went into operation, he acted with the Republican party, and opposed some of the leading measures of the Washington and Adams administrations. After the close of the eighteenth century he did not leave his beautiful home on Thorn Hill for any public employment, so far as I can ascertain, and died at an advanced age.¹ Though married twice, he left no children, and bequeathed his estate to his nephew. Yet, though the direct line of descent was broken, it may be observed as a historical fact, that in every organic State convention of Virginia since his decease the name of Bowyer has been borne by an able and patriotic representative.

THOMAS, ALEXANDER AND ARCHIBALD STUART.

We now come to a name which was borne by three friends and trustees of the Academy; and as they were closely connected by blood and were united in life in their affections to each other and to this college, so I will join them in the same sketch. Stuart is one of the oldest and most exalted names of Scotland; and if it cannot vie in antiquity with that of Douglas, "the dark gray man" of the Scottish legends, it rose higher in the scale of office, and for more centuries than I can tell, furnished kings for the throne, and

¹ He died in 1805.—Eds.

heroes for the field, and dames whose beauty flashed for a season from the throne of France as well as of Scotland, and dazzled every beholder, and impelled brave men and wise women to deeds which sicken and sadden our hearts to this hour.

The first of the race in Scotland was, as the name implies, a steward, a master of the household of the sovereign, an office which your Academy had in its earliest days and which my own grandfather filled ; and so faithfully did the Scotch steward perform his duty, that his descendants occupied that throne before which the ancestors had bent the knee ; and as he was a faithful steward so we may say that those who have borne his name in this lovely Valley have not forgotten the virtues of their distant progenitor, but have ever approved themselves most competent and faithful stewards of the interests which the people have committed to their charge. The Stuarts, not the men that our British ancestors expelled from the British throne, but your trustees of whom I have to give an account, are Thomas and Alexander Stuart, and Archibald, the son of Alexander. Thomas and Alexander were the sons of Archibald Stuart, who was of Scotch-Irish extraction, but was born in the north of Ireland, and when of age became concerned with one of the Irish *émeutes* of the earlier part of the eighteenth century. Compelled to leave Ireland, he came to Pennsylvania, where he remained seven years ; but having been relieved by a general act of amnesty, he sent over for his family, and in 1738 removed with them to the present county of Augusta. His wife was Janet Brown, a sister of the Rev. John Brown, the second Rector of the Academy. He was an industrious and successful farmer, and left to each of his children, as appears by his will on record in the clerk's office of Augusta, a competent estate ; having died in 1759. Of the three sons whom he left behind him, Benjamin, Thomas and Alexander, were descended many of those who have so long borne the name in Eastern as well as in Western Virginia. Thomas, whose name precedes the others on the roll of trustees, was born in Pennsylvania about 1732, and coming to Virginia with his father engaged in farming, and spent a useful and pious life, leaving a large family of sons and daughters, one of the latter of whom became the wife of the Rev. Dr. Henry Ruffner, who was

the sixth Rector of the college, and whose learning and abilities were so much admired by his contemporaries.¹

Major Alexander Stuart, the second of your trustees of the name, was born in Pennsylvania, in 1735, and at the age of four accompanied his father to Virginia. It is probable that he was a pupil of the Academy under Brown or Graham. When the war of the Revolution began, he entered warmly into the military service, and was a major of a regiment of Rockbridge and Augusta men at the battle of Guilford, and from some accident to the colonel led his men into the battle. During the engagement, in which he behaved with great gallantry, as I know on the authority of the late Gen. Blackburn who was present on the field, he received several wounds, had his horse killed under him, and fell to the ground. While thus prostrated and unable to extricate himself, he was made a prisoner, and was conveyed to one of the prison-ships lying off the coast of North Carolina, where he was confined for six months. He endured great hardships during his imprisonment, but was at length exchanged. He was a man of gigantic stature, and of extraordinary strength; and his sword, a most unsightly and ponderous weapon which common men would wield with difficulty, is still preserved, with the pistols which he used at Guilford, among the heirlooms of his descendants.

After the close of the war he lived quietly on his estate, ever attending punctually to the duties assigned him in relation to the Academy, and died in a good old age, beloved and respected by all; leaving four sons and several daughters. These sons were Judge Archibald Stuart of Augusta, Judge Alexander Stuart of Missouri, Robert Stuart of Rockbridge, and James Stuart whose descendants live in Mississippi. Before I speak of Judge Archibald, your trustee, I pause for a moment, under the impulse of a patriotic feeling which I am sure will not be censured here, on the name of the second son Judge Alexander Stuart. This gentleman was the father of the late Archibald Stuart of Patrick, who was in Congress from the district of that name, who was long a member of the General Assembly, and was a member of the Virginia Convention of 1829-'30. I was with him in public life forty odd

¹ Mrs. Ruffner was the grand-daughter, not the daughter, of Thomas Stuart. Her father was Captain William Lyle.—W. H. R.

years ago, and recall with interest his stalwart form, his manly bearing, and the fearlessness with which he expressed his opinions in debate. And he has another claim to our recollection—a claim that will never be forgotten—as the father of Gen. James Ewell Brown Stuart, who has a brilliant place in the history of that great contest which has recently closed—the grandest in the history of the race to which we belong, and which will be studied by posterity with feelings of admiration mixed with the tenderest emotion. And it may be stated at this literary celebration, as a coincidence in the ancestral relations of two of the gallant generals of the Southern Confederacy, that, as the ancestor of Gen. Joseph E. Johnston gave to the college of Hampden Sidney the land on which it was built, so the ancestor of Gen. James Ewell Brown Stuart bestowed upon your institution the ground which it occupied on its transfer to its present site, and of which Dr. Campbell has left so graphic a description.

But of the Stuarts on your roll the name of Judge Archibald Stuart holds the foremost rank. Your college was his *alma mater*; and as he grew in years and renown you called him to her side. Though thirty-eight years have passed since his death, there are some now present who can remember his dignified presence at your annual commemorations. He was, as before observed, the eldest son of Maj. Alexander Stuart and of Mary Patterson of Augusta, and was born about nine miles southeast of Staunton on the 19th day of March, 1757. His boyhood was spent in Augusta, but his father having removed to the neighborhood of Brownsburg in Rockbridge, Archibald became a resident of this county, and was one of the pupils of the Academy before it had assumed the name of Liberty Hall. In the fall of 1776 he became a student of William and Mary College, and was during a part of his college course an inmate of the family of Bishop Madison. In connection with the late Chief Justice Marshall, the late Judge Spencer Roane, the late Bushrod Washington, with Samuel Hardy, who died abroad suddenly in the public service and whose name Virginia has given to one of her counties, with John Nivison, and others who became eminent in the field and in the council, he aided in forming the Phi Beta Kappa Society, which gave a branch to Harvard, which still flourishes in other northern colleges, and which, though for

more than half a century extinct in the seat of its birth, has been reorganized in its early home. When lower Virginia was overrun by the enemy, and the college exercises were suspended, young Stuart was the president of the Society, and as such was entrusted with the seal of the institution. Having been forced to leave Williamsburg, he went to North Carolina, and joined the army a short time before the battle of Guilford, and under the command of his father was present in that engagement. During the battle he had the seal of the Phi Beta Kappa in his possession; and, as the Society became extinct in the college, he retained it during his life; and it was not until many years after his death that it was found in a secret drawer of an old escritoire, and was then restored by his son the Hon. Alexander H. H. Stuart to the Society, which, after a lapse of seventy-five years, had been revived in that college.

After leaving the army young Stuart pursued the study of the law with Mr. Jefferson, and, having obtained his license, settled first in Rockbridge. In the Spring of 1783 he was a candidate for the House of Delegates, and lost his election by thirteen votes; but visiting Botetourt on business two or three days after his defeat, the citizens of that county insisted on his being a candidate on the ensuing Monday, and elected him one of the members of the county. He took his seat in the House of Delegates in 1783, and was returned in 1784 and 1785 from Botetourt, when he removed to Augusta, which was his abode for the rest of his life.

The years which he spent in the House of Delegates were those in which, as we have stated more than once already, the test questions of a political system were to be discussed and decided. Mr. Jefferson, on leaving the State for the French mission, committed the revised bills which he had reported from the committee of revisors to the charge of Mr. Madison, and that gentleman was their coryphæus on the floor. There was an able and active opposition, especially on the subjects of religious assessments and religious freedom. Indeed, of all the acts reported by Mr. Jefferson, hardly excepting the statute of descents, the act concerning religious freedom was the most important. And after a tedious postponement its fate was to be decided at the session of 1785. Mr. Madison put forth all his powers in its support; and although not a word of the debate which took place on the 17th day of December

has come down to us, there is a recollection of an uncommonly tall young man with long dark hair and dark eyes, who wrestled manfully with the opponents of the bill, and sustained Mr. Madison through that perilous day. That young man was Archibald Stuart. The bill passed the House of Delegates by a vote of 74 to 20, and among its friends were three trustees of Washington College—Andrew Moore, Zachariah Johnston, and Archibald Stuart, all having been pupils as well as trustees of the institution. He represented the county of Augusta in the House of Delegates in 1786 and 1787, during which were passed the memorable resolutions convoking the meeting at Annapolis, and afterwards the convention in Philadelphia, which framed the Federal Constitution.

Having by his vote on these resolutions laid the corner-stone of the new federal system, he beheld with absorbing interest the progress of the superstructure; and when the new plan, which seemed so beautiful to the eye, with its checks and balances, was published to the world under the auspices of Washington, he resolved to enter the convention which Virginia had summoned to decide its fate. He was accordingly returned to the convention of 1788 by the county of Augusta, and voted in that body in favor of the constitution. A single fact will show the zeal which he displayed in securing the adoption of the Federal Constitution. Learning only a day before the election that the candidates for the convention in Botetourt would be chosen without an explicit pledge to vote for the ratification of the constitution, he mounted his horse and rode night and day, a distance of seventy-five miles, until he reached the court-house of that county. The poll was already opened, but he sought an intermission of the voting until he could address the people on the impolicy of sending uncommitted delegates to the convention; and such was the effect of the speech that the voters exacted from the candidates a pledge to sustain the constitution, which they faithfully redeemed.

On his return from the convention, he withdrew from public employments, and devoted his energies to the practice of the law, in which he was uncommonly successful. He watched, however, with intense solicitude the workings of the new Federal Constitution to which he was so much attached; and in the interpretation of its

powers coincided with the views of Mr. Madison, with whom during his term of service in the Assembly and in the Federal convention he had formed an intimate and affectionate friendship. Accordingly, in 1797, when it was seen that the battle for supremacy must be transferred from Congress to the legislatures of the States, he was chosen by the republican party to a seat in the Senate of Virginia; and in 1798-99 gave a cordial support to the resolutions of John Taylor of Caroline, which are now known to have been from the pen of Madison; but he did not vote upon the celebrated report drawn by Madison and adopted by the Assembly in the following year, as he had been elected in the interval a judge of the General Court.

On the bench of that court he sat for nearly the third of a century, and performed the duties of the office with ability and integrity and to the general acceptance of the people. It was the frequently expressed opinion of the late Judge Briscoe G. Baldwin, who was himself distinguished at the bar, in the Senate, and on the bench, and whose manly form and genial spirit I recall as I visit this region of our State of which he was so long the bulwark and the dear delight, that "the judgment of Judge Stuart was but little if at all inferior to that of Chief Justice Marshall; and that if he had been placed in a position to require the constant exercise of all his faculties, he would have been one of the most eminent judges of his time."

It may be observed that, as Albemarle was one of the counties of Judge Stuart's judicial district, he often spent a night at Monticello with Mr. Jefferson, whose revised bills he had so earnestly defended on the floor of the House of Delegates, and whose administration he had so ably upheld. Their relations were intimate and confidential; and the form of a constitution for Virginia which Mr. Jefferson communicated to the Judge is still preserved among his papers. He was the Madison elector in 1808 and in 1812; the Monroe elector in 1816 and in 1820; the Crawford elector in 1824; and the Adams elector in 1828. When the judicial circuits were reorganized in 1831, he declined a reelection to his seat on the bench, and on the 11th of July of the following year this excellent man passed away.

In the intervals of his busy and arduous career he cultivated a

taste for literature and science. To him Mr. Wirt is indebted for some exceedingly graphic sketches of Patrick Henry and his contemporaries, with whom he had lived in intimate connection; and it was from his reputation for mathematical science that the Assembly appointed him a commissioner with Gen. Martin and Chancellor Taylor to run the dividing line between Virginia and Kentucky, and that in early life the mathematical chair in the College of William and Mary was offered for his acceptance. And I have always understood that he was one of those brilliant writers whose articles gave to the first volumes of the *Richmond Enquirer*, published in the earlier part of the present century, a reputation previously unknown in the annals of American journalism.

He never entirely relinquished the dress which was popular among gentlemen in the early days of the republic, and especially among those who were in the public councils, and from whom was exacted a stricter attention to the toilet than from the worthy burgesses of our own times. His hair was usually combed back from his forehead and ended in a queue. Until a short time before his death he wore breeches that buckled at the knee, and fair topped boots. In his latter days, his once dark hair had become white, and his appearance was commanding and venerable. In the general aspect of his person he is said to have had a strong resemblance to General Jackson, but was on a much larger scale. It was only in his old age that I saw and knew personally this estimable man. His appearance made a deep impression upon me, and his conversation was most engaging; and as you listened to his clear and instructive talk, and especially as you rose to take leave of him, the feeling of respect and veneration which he inspired was softened by the reflection, that he was one of the few survivors of those great men who laid the foundations of our institutions, and gave them their form and presence, and nearly all of whom had gone before him, and that he could abide but a short time longer with us. And this fear was soon realized, as before the lapse of two years he departed from us. He married, in 1791, Miss Eleanor Baldwin, a daughter of Col. Gerard Briscoe of Frederick county, Virginia, formerly of Montgomery county, Maryland. Her two sisters married Dr. Cornelius Baldwin and

Judge Hugh Holmes—names well known to our State in literature and in law.

THOMAS AND ANDREW LEWIS.

And now, Mr. President, pausing for a moment at the name of the Rev. Charles Cummings, who was of the Scotch-Irish Pennsylvania stock, and who preached on the North Mountain, at Hebron, and at Bethel, and of William Irwin, of the same Pennsylvania stock, where his name still abides with honor, we come to the names of two brothers, who were prominent in their own day and generation in the East as well as in the West, and whose memory deserves to be held in lasting remembrance. What a crowd of recollections come upon us at the mention of the names of Thomas Lewis and his brother Andrew! They too were of the Scotch-Irish stock, at least on the maternal side, and came to the Valley by the way of Pennsylvania. They were sons of John Lewis, whose ancestor fled from France during the religious persecutions of the Protestants which culminated in the reign of Louis the Fourteenth, and, it is believed, some time before the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and settled first in Wales, and then in Ireland where John was born, and grew to manhood, and was the head of an interesting and prosperous family, when the rapacity and violence of his landlord forced him in self-defence to do a deed which drove him from his home, first to Oporto, and thence to Pennsylvania, and thence in the summer of 1732 to Virginia, bringing with him his wife and children. Thomas, who was born in the country of Dublin on the 27th of April 1718, and was the oldest son, was then fourteen years old. Let me say that the whole country west of the Blue Ridge on the arrival of John Lewis was then called Orange, and that it was not till 1745 that Augusta was set apart as a county. When that event occurred, John Lewis was one of the magistrates that arranged the county, and John Madison, the father of Bishop Madison and the uncle of the president, was the first clerk, and Thomas Lewis, your trustee, who was then twenty-seven years old, was appointed to the office of the first surveyor, then and long subsequently the highroad to wealth and distinction. We have no means of knowing his early

opportunities of acquiring knowledge ; but it is probable that he received a good elementary education in Ireland, and that his father obtained in his forest home the services of some redeptioner who drilled his children in the languages and mathematics ; for it is an indubitable fact, that Thomas Lewis was not only well skilled in the sciences but was a good belles-lettres scholar. It so happens that I can take you into his library and read over the titles of some of his books to you. On one shelf was Clarendon, and Bishop Burnet's history of the Reformation of his own times, and Baker's Chronicle, and the volumes of Rushworth, which our revolutionary fathers were wont to search for precedents in their early warfare with the pen ; and on another were Tillotson and Barrow and South, and the Bayle Lecture ; and on yet another were Milton and Dryden and Shakspeare, and the early dramatists, and the novels of Fielding and Smollett, which Lewis read, as we read the novels of Scott and Cooper, as they appeared from time to time. And I will tell you further, if you will promise not to mention it, that after the death of Colonel Lewis, his excellent wife—who was a strict member of the Episcopal church to her dying day, and who survived her husband thirty years—having the good of her grandchildren in view, quietly took down from the shelf Tom Jones and Roderic Random and put them into the fire. This was the best collection of the English classics which had then been made west of the Blue Ridge.

But it is as a public man that we must present Thomas Lewis before you. He early entered the House of Burgesses, and voted for Henry's resolutions against the Stamp Act, and for the separation of the office of Treasurer from that of Speaker, two of the test questions of that age ; and he was a member of the Convention of 1775, when Henry's resolutions for arming the militia were adopted, and of the Convention of 1776, in which he presented a petition from the people of Augusta "representing the necessity of making the Confederacy of the United Colonies the most perfect, independent and lasting ; and of framing an equal, free and liberal government, that may bear the test of all future ages"—the first petition for absolute independence and for a permanent confederation of the colonies as States, presented to the Convention or to any other public body of that era. I call your attention to

this remarkable paper, not only for its political significance, but because it was drawn and signed by the people of Rockbridge as well as of the present Augusta; for it was all Augusta then. In the Convention of 1776, Thomas Lewis was placed on the ever memorable committee which reported the declaration of independence of the 15th day of May, and on the committee which drew the Declaration of Rights and the first constitution of an independent state ever recorded in the annals of nations. Throughout the war of the Revolution he remained in the civil service, and conducted the affairs of the county with diligence and skill. In 1788 he was chosen a member of the Convention which ratified the present Federal Constitution, and voted in favor of the adoption of that instrument by the body for the reasons which I will detail in another place. This was the last public act which he performed; for in the space of eighteen months after the adjournment of the body, at the age of 72, on the 31st of October 1790, this good man passed away. He died at his home on the Shenandoah three miles from Port Republic, where his remains now repose.

He was a fine specimen of the physical man. I can almost imagine that I see him before me. His height was six feet, his frame large and sinewy, without a pound of useless flesh. His form was erect even in old age, and his walk was grave and stately. In early youth his hair was jet black; his eyes were also black, but throughout life he was so short-sighted as to require glasses, and he was thus prevented from taking that active part in the field which forms the principal characteristic of his gallant brothers. He was a model in all the domestic relations. The head of a family of thirteen children, whom he lived to see attain to maturity, he not only gave them the privileges of a liberal education but inculcated upon them by word and example the strictest principles of morality and religion. He was attached to the Episcopal Church, and in drawing his will, when he pointed out the place of his grave, he requested that the beautiful burial service of that church to be read over his coffin.

You are fortunate in having such a name on the roll of your trustees. If any one should inquire of a son of Washington College who Thomas Lewis was, let him answer that he was an

accomplished gentleman, an elegant scholar, a true patriot, and a liberal christian; that his single vote in the House of Burgesses carried triumphantly through the fiercest resolution of Henry against the Stamp Act; that he was a member of that illustrious committee which reported Virginia's Declaration of Independence of the 15th of May 1776; that he aided in drawing the Virginia Declaration of Rights; and that he was a member of the committee which reported the first plan of government of an independent state recorded in human history.

ANDREW LEWIS.

But Andrew Lewis, the next name on your roll of trustees, won in his own day a reputation that eclipsed, at least in the eye of the multitude, the quiet intellectual fame of his elder brother Thomas. As he was the third son of the patriarch John Lewis, he was probably born about 1722, in Ulster, Ireland, and was doubtless well grounded in the elements of knowledge before he left the old country, and completed his course in Augusta in association with Thomas. At all events he was well instructed, and such was his standing that in 1775, when with Col. John Bowyer, another of your trustees, he took his seat in the convention of that year as a member from Botetourt, he was placed on the most important committees of the body. His military talents soon became conspicuous. He volunteered in the expedition to take possession of the Ohio region in 1754; was with Washington at Fort Necessity; commanded a company at Braddock's defeat;¹ commanded the Sandy Creek expedition in 1756; was made prisoner in the unfortunate enterprise under the British Major Grant against Duquesne, but was released when the French abandoned that post,² and vindicated on the spot the good name of the Virginia soldiers from the expressions of the British major. In 1768 he was a commissioner on the part of Virginia to conclude a treaty with the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix, New York, and in

¹ The Dinwiddie papers show that General Lewis was not at Braddock's defeat, but was on other duty. Capt. Peter Hogg probably commanded the company from Augusta. See Waddell's *Annals of Augusta*, p. 64.—Eds.

² See *American Cyclopaedia*, article Lewis.

1774 he commanded the forces at Point Pleasant, and gained a victory which thenceforth freed our soil from the regular incursions of the savages. The effect of the battle of Point Pleasant has not been fully portrayed in our history, nor have I time to dwell upon it at present. The confluence of the Kanawha and the Ohio afforded the best point for the concentration of the Indians from the extreme South, and from the extreme North—from the Gulf of Mexico to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. It was computed by a British writer, the year of the battle, that the number of Indian warriors within that vast territory could not fall short of one hundred thousand, and it was believed by prudent statesmen that England and France and Spain had each distinctive reasons for uniting the savages against the Colonists during the war of the Revolution; and it is not improbable that, but for the decisive battle of Point Pleasant, innumerable hosts of Indians would have poured down from the Alleghany and the Blue Ridge, and that the battles of that era would have been fought in the shadow of the mountains. That battle, decided by the genius of Andrew Lewis, was conclusive; and it may be a subject of just pride to Washington College, that not only the commanding general on that occasion, but several of the principal officers also, were her early trustees—among them, the modest and able Fleming, who received a wound from which he never fully recovered, and Col. William McKee; and that another of the trustees, Col. Christian, who would have been commander-in-chief if he had arrived earlier, came to the field of battle at its close with reinforcements.¹

When the war of the Revolution began, Andrew Lewis was in the civil service of Virginia. As before observed, he was a member of the Convention in 1775, but when the military arrangements were made, he was called into the field. He received the appointment of brigadier-general from Congress, and commanded the forces that drove Lord Dunmore from Gwynn's Island, pointing with his own hand the piece that was first discharged against the British encampment. It was the eager wish of Washington that Lewis should have received the appointment of major-general instead of the officer who was appointed to that station, and he wrote most

¹ Capt. John Lewis was also there.—Eps.

earnestly to him to waive for the present the question of rank. But Lewis was of too lofty a spirit to overlook so manifest a slight, and in 1777 he resigned his appointment. He was then engaged in the civil service of the state, and in 1780, in returning from a visit to the seaboard, with a constitution impaired by exposure, he was taken ill and died before reaching his home, in his 58th year.

It was observed of the Virginians who composed the Congressional delegation of 1774, that they were fine specimens of the human form. Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, who looked like a representative of the old French noblesse; Harrison, whose grand figure seemed more fitted for the field than the council; Pendleton, whose tall and elegant person and graceful deportment, which were so conspicuous in the chair of a deliberative assembly,—were men of imposing stature; but it is doubtful whether any one of them approached the standard of Andrew Lewis. “He was,” says Col. John Stuart, who married one of his sisters, and who knew him intimately, “upwards of six feet high, of uncommon strength and agility, and his form was of the most perfect symmetry. He had a stern and invincible countenance, and was of a reserved and distant deportment which rendered his presence more awful than engaging. It was observed by the Governor of New York, at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, that the earth seemed to tremble under him, as he walked along. His independent spirit despised all sycophantic means of gaining popularity, which never rendered more than his merits exacted.”

Should posterity, as they behold his stalwart statue on the Washington monument in Richmond, where he is to be seen in a hunting shirt and with a rifle in his hand, as a representative of Colonial Virginia—for this great man did not live to read the Treaty of Paris, in which Great Britain acknowledged the independence of his country—infer that he was the mere warrior, a Daniel Boone on a large scale, they will do great injustice to a character that only required a wider sphere to exhibit the heroism and the brilliant hardihood of antiquity. He held in the West the same elevated position as a soldier and a leader as Washington held in the East, and on him the eyes of the people were turned at every conjuncture. Before our recent troubles there was a scheme to rear a monument over his unmarked grave near Salem, in the

present county of Roanoke, then Botetourt, and I sincerely trust that it will be renewed and accomplished. And it should then happen that the history of Andrew Lewis, which is now only to be found in meagre and scattered details, be permanently recorded in a form acceptable to the people.

Such was Andrew Lewis—the companion of Washington in all his Indian campaigns, the hero of the most conspicuous Indian battle ever fought on our soil, and the man that Washington is reported to have said should have taken his place as the commander-in-chief of the armies of America.

SAMUEL LYLE.

Samuel Lyle was also a trustee of 1776, and a trustee of the incorporated institution. His immediate ancestor came from the North of Ireland and settled in Augusta between 1730 and 1740, and was a member of the Presbyterian church. Like the Lewises, the Lyles came from France to England prior to the revocation of the edict of Nantes. The name is wholly French, and was originally written with an apostrophe between the article and the noun that compose the word. It is not unworthy of note, as an element in the formation of national character, that the Lewises, so conspicuous for valor and statesmanship, and that the Lyles and the Lacys, so eminent in the pulpit and in the school—the last of whom are inserted on the roll of Battle Abbey, and all of them the early and steady trustees and friends of your institution—should inherit the blood of the Latin race, and be able to trace their ancestral abodes to the land of the fig and the vine. On the list of names appended to the call of the Rev. Dr. Brown in 1753, your second rector, which is the Battle Abbey roll of Rockbridge, there are four Lyles, and among them is Samuel your trustee. He showed an intelligent zeal in promoting the welfare of the Academy in its earliest stages; for he was not only a trustee but its treasurer; and even in his old age he might have been seen driving up this hill swathed in flannel and in large warm overshoes, being quite infirm and crippled with rheumatism, and bearing the purse of your institution in his hand. He married Miss McClung, and a daughter of his married the Rev. Matthew Lyle. He was noted for his piety, and was for many years an elder in the church.

WILLIAM IRWIN.

He was a member of the Scotch-Irish family. His ancestors were from Pennsylvania, and settled in Rockbridge as Rockbridge now is. He was called to the congregations of Rockfish and Mountain Plains in 1772, and in that position he spent his entire ministerial life. He withdrew from the active labors of the pulpit in his latter years. It was in a case before Hanover Presbytery in which Mr. Irwin was concerned, that Dr. Waddell delivered in his defence a speech which is referred to in our own times as an extraordinary effort of parliamentary eloquence.

CHARLES CAMPBELL.

Among the Presbyterian trustees of 1776, and also the chartered trustees, was the venerable Charles Campbell. He was the son of Charles Campbell whose remote progenitor was Duncan Campbell. This Duncan, who never left Scotland, had three sons, Dougald, Robert and John, who removed to Ireland in 1700, and settled in Coleraine in the county Derry. Most of the descendants of these three brothers, between 1730 and '40, emigrated to Pennsylvania, and thence came to Augusta as Augusta then was. The descendants of Dougald are said to have settled in what is now Rockbridge; and three brothers, sons of Robert, namely, Hugh, John and Charles, settled in Augusta proper. Charles Campbell, your trustee, the son of Charles, was born in Rockbridge in 1741, married Mary Ann Downey, and both husband and wife lived to an advanced age, she dying in 1824, aged 82, and he in 1826, aged 85. Charles Campbell did not actively embark in political affairs, but commanded a company at the siege of York; and he delighted in old age to recount the details of the siege. He was noted for his piety, was fond of books, encouraged literary institutions, and trained his numerous sons and daughters in sound learning. One of his sons, Dr. Samuel L. Campbell, who was a pupil of the Academy, a trustee, and for a short period its rector, was a good scholar, and a correct and graceful writer; and we owe to his pen not only a graphic account of the infant academy and of its early pupils, but a valuable historical memoir of the battle of

Point Pleasant. Charles Campbell, your trustee, who lived as late as 1826, is well remembered by many now living. He was about the middle size; and in his old age, as he sat as an elder in the New Providence church on the left of the pulpit, with his white hair flowing, decrepit with years, but firm in faith and zealous for the glory of God, he was a striking figure. He was long a magistrate, and did not hesitate to use the whole rigor of the law in repressing violations of the Sabbath. At your annual celebrations the good old man drove from his residence twelve miles distant to this hill in his carriage drawn by two rather old white horses, who rejoiced in the names of Grey and Goody, and listened with rapt attention to all the exercises of the day. He left numerous descendants, among whom is my valued friend Charles Campbell, who truly represents the literary zeal and the sterling integrity of his ancestor.¹

JOHN AND SAMUEL HOUSTON.

The name of Houston has been intimately connected with the Academy and the College from the beginning to the present day. It was Samuel Houston and Alexander Stuart that bestowed upon it forty acres of land each, for its site at Timber Ridge. John Houston, a trustee of 1776 and also of the incorporated body from 1784 to 1791, was of Scotch-Irish origin, and was one of the early settlers of Augusta. He cultivated his plantation on Hays's Creek, and lived a life of industry and piety.² It has been said that the true life of an ancestor is seen in his descendants; and if this be true, John Houston was fortunate. His attachment to the seminary was shared by his son Samuel, who was one of its pupils and for more than a third of a century one of the most influential trustees of the Academy and the College. Few men have left upon society a more pleasing impression than Samuel Houston. Soon after reaching manhood, he shouldered his musket and marched on foot from this town to Guilford Court House, and in the battle in that vicinity fired his rifle fourteen times. At the close of the

¹ Charles Campbell was High Sheriff of Rockbridge 1808-10, and a member of the Virginia House of Delegates 1788-9.—Eds.

² He was High Sheriff of Rockbridge 1786-'88.—Eds.

war, he entered the ministry of the Presbyterian church, and was settled in the High Bridge and Falling Spring congregations, in one or other of which he remained as long as strength allowed him to perform the duties of a pastor. In later life he was in appearance the model of a christian teacher and gentleman. He died in 1839, at the age of 81.

SAMPSON MATHEWS.

Among the trustees of 1776 is the name of Sampson Mathews. It is remarkable that for more than two hundred years the name of Mathews has held a prominent position in every great crisis of our history. During the protectorate of Cromwell one of our best colonial governors, and one of our thriftiest tobacco planters, was Capt. Samuel Mathews, who was said to have "kept a good house, lived bravely, and to be a true lover of Virginia." And during the Revolution of 1776, Col. Thomas Mathews not only held a respectable military command in the field, and was a major in the artillery regiment of practice commanded by Col. Thomas Marshall under the training of M. Loyauté, but was the speaker of the House of Delegates for many years; and so acceptable were his services in war and peace, that the General Assembly named a beautiful country overlooking the blue waters of the Chesapeake in his honor. But those of the name most conspicuous in the Valley at the birth of your institution were George and Sampson Mathews. Their ancestors were among the early settlers of Augusta, and were of the Presbyterian family. As they were not connected with the blood of the good old governor, or with that of Col. Thomas Mathews who had come over from St. Kitt's not many years before the Revolution, they probably came from Ireland and were of the Scotch-Irish race, but I cannot speak positively on the subject, as nothing exists in print bearing upon it, and I failed to obtain any family traditions. Of Gen. George Mathews I will only say in passing, that he was probably a pupil of the Academy under Alexander or Brown, that he fought bravely at Point Pleasant, at Brandywine, Germantown, and Guilford Court House; that he removed from Augusta to Georgia, where he was elected governor of that state and a senator of the United States, and through-

out whose whole course the moral and religious training of the Valley was ever to be seen.¹ But the sphere of Sampson Mathews, your trustee, was confined to Virginia. He too was born in Augusta, was a pupil of the infant academy, and mingled freely in politics. His name has become honorably connected with the Revolutionary era, not only from his active military and civic labors, but from the fact that he was one of the committee which reported to the freeholders of Augusta the patriotic resolutions of February 1775, of which I have spoken more than once. In 1778 he was elected to the Senate of Virginia by the Augusta district, and devoted his abilities to the performance of those difficult and delicate and most painful duties which devolved upon the Assembly before the victory of Yorktown had cheered the hearts and brightened the hopes of our people. As he was a pupil of the Academy in its leading stage, so he was an active friend of the institution in its more expanded state, and was chosen by the Presbytery one of its trustees. On withdrawing from the public councils he spent a quiet life on his estate, though of his latter days I have no specific information.² And I may mention by the way, that a descendant of his³ was a member of the House of Delegates in 1798-99, and 1799-1800, and that he voted, in company with George Keith Taylor, Gen. Blackburn, and Miller and Breckenridge and others whose names we cherish with a grateful pride untainted by political difference, against the resolutions of Col. John Taylor and the report of Mr. Madison.

COL. WILLIAM MCKEE.

Col. William McKee was another of the trustees of 1776 and of the incorporated institution. He was of Scotch-Irish descent, was born in Augusta, was a pupil of the Academy under Brown, and became Sheriff of Rockbridge when a sheriffalty was the turn-

¹ Governor Mathews was never a senator. He was a member of the House in the first Congress.—Eds.

² He was the first High Sheriff of Bath county.—Eds.

³ Sampson Mathews, Jr., an alumnus of Liberty Hall, who with Gen. Blackburn represented Bath in the House of Delegates. Sampson Mathews, Sr., was the ancestor of Prof. A. L. Nelson of Washington and Lee University.—Eds.

pike that led to fortune. But though he accumulated a handsome property he never for a moment forgot the claims of his country. He marched with Col. Andrew Lewis, who engaged the services of Capt. Arbuckle, whom I well remember in his venerable old age, as a guide through the unbroken forests and dreary mountains, to Point Pleasant, and shared in the laurels of that glorious fight.¹ He entered the House of Delegates from Rockbridge, and was the colleague of Gen. Andrew Moore in the Virginia Convention of 1788, when he united with that gentleman in voting for the ratification of the Federal Constitution in opposition to the positive instructions of his constituents, who subsequently approved the act. I think I have said before that the votes of Thomas Lewis, William Fleming, Archibald Stuart, Zachariah Johnston, Andrew Moore, and William McKee, all of whom were your trustees and four of them pupils of the Academy, secured the ratification of the Federal Constitution by Virginia. Without their votes that instrument would have been rejected by the state. When, after the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the great hegira to Kentucky, which had begun some years before, was quickened and stimulated, and thousands bent their way to "the bloody ground," Col. McKee united with many of his neighbors and removed to the promised land. And there he spent his latter days. I have been told by one who saw him that he was a man of middle size, that he lived on Kerr's Creek,² and that he had a very long nose and a sharp chin, which might well become a keen Indian fighter who, having flogged the Indians in his youth, was ready to encounter the risks of Kentucky savages in his old age. He was a successful financier, and an able friend of the Federal Constitution.³

¹ Although a mere youth, he was in Washington's battalion at Braddock's defeat.—Eds.

² He lived three miles west of Lexington, on the farm afterwards owned by Dr. Baxter, President of Washington College.—Eds.

³ Colonel McKee died in Garrard county, Kentucky, in 1816, in the 84th year of his age. His son Col. Samuel McKee, an alumnus of Liberty Hall, represented Kentucky in the United States Congress 1809-17, and was also United States District Judge. His son Col. William R. McKee fell at the head of his regiment at Buena Vista; and his son Lieutenant Hugh W. McKee of the United States Navy was killed in a fight with the Coreans in 1871.—Eds.

COL. GEORGE MOFFETT.

Col. George Moffett was also one of the trustees of 1776 and of the incorporated institution, and well may his descendants cherish the merits of such an ancestor. He was the son of John Moffett, who came over from Ireland in 1730 and settled in Augusta near the Stone Church, and Mary Christian. He left four sons, Robert, John, George, and William, and one daughter, Mrs. Estill. He died while on a short visit to North Carolina, and was there buried. Our present office is confined to the third son George, who was born on his father's farm in Augusta in 1735, was probably taught by Mr. Alexander, the first rector of the Academy, and having laid the foundations of a good education, early embarked in active life. His first employment was that of Deputy Sheriff of Augusta. After his marriage with a sister of Col. Samuel McDowell, he engaged in agriculture, and being pious from his youth became a member of the Presbyterian church, and was actively engaged in missions of benevolence and piety. He is said to have been a man of fine personal presence. He took up his residence on Middle River, where he resided until his death in 1811. In 1760 he received an appointment which enabled him to render valuable service to his county. He was chosen captain of a military company, whose duty it was to protect the settlement against the Indians and recover from them their prisoners and stolen effects. In the discharge of these duties, which extended through a number of years, he had some severe fights, the bloodiest of which took place on the Falling Spring farm in Alleghany county. In 1774 he was at the battle of Point Pleasant. He was a true patriot, and engaged actively in the war of the Revolution. He accompanied his brother-in-law Col. McDowell, when that officer led the Augusta troops to the South, and fought gallantly at the battle of Guilford. But it was in his character as the chief of a band of active young men defending the county from the frequent incursions of the Indians that he gained his great distinction as a soldier. Forty years ago, as the traveller wandered through the county of Augusta, he soon found that one of the most popular themes of the aged people was the exploits of Col. Moffett, and especially his rescue from the possession of the Indians of his own

sister, Mrs. Estill, the mother of the late Judge Estill, and of others who had been captured at the same time. He overtook the Indians in a dense forest near the present Beverly, W. Va. There was another trait in the character of this good man worthy of notice. He was truly conscientious, and having some doubts on the subject of holding slaves as property, he emancipated his own. It is said that the experiment was not favorable to the blacks, and that he was afterwards inclined to approve the views held by his kinsman, Gen. Moore, who in the Assembly opposed the policy of emancipation as injurious to the liberated slaves themselves, so long as a general status of slavery existed in the commonwealth. He was always a pious man. In the incipient stages of the Academy he was appointed by the Presbytery to various offices which he fulfilled most scrupulously; and he was a member of that religious community; but, entertaining some scruples on certain points of doctrine, he withdrew from it; but at a later period, on mature reflection, he returned to the fold of his ancestors. He is described as being of commanding presence, of bland and genial manners, of pleasing address, and of great personal popularity.

He died in 1811, in his 76th year, universally esteemed, and left four sons, John, James, Samuel, and William, and four daughters, Mrs. Gen. McDowell who died in Kentucky, Mrs. Dr. James McDowell of North Carolina, Mrs. Kirk of Kentucky, and Mrs. Jas. Cochran of Augusta county. He was buried at Mount Pleasant, his residence.

MAJOR JOHN HAYS.

John Hays, one of your incorporated trustees of 1782, was a descendant of one of the men whose name is written on the Brown roll of 1753, and in early manhood was actively employed in defending the frontiers of Augusta. On the first outbreak of hostilities in 1776, he was appointed a captain, and, at the head of a company of young men recruited within the present limits of Rockbridge, with young Andrew Moore as his lieutenant, he marched to the North, and fought in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York. Nor did he return home empty-handed. He married a beautiful wife in Maryland, and pitching his tent on Hays's Creek in this county, turned his attention to the peaceful

pursuits of private life. Before the close of the war he rose to the rank of Major. I can not fix the date of his death, which was on his farm in Virginia, according to one authority, while another affirms that he removed to Tennessee, where his descendants now live.¹ But we know enough to honor his memory when we can say in a single sentence that he was a son of an early settler of Augusta, that he was a pupil of your infant institution, that he led his band of Valley boys gallantly in the contested fields of Pennsylvania and New Jersey under Washington, that under Gates he helped to achieve the victory of Saratoga, and that he was a trustee of Washington Academy.

WILLIAM WILSON.

William Wilson was a clergyman. He was born in Pennsylvania in 1751, and soon after was brought to Virginia by his father, who was of the Scotch-Irish race, and who settled about twelve miles east of this town. Young Wilson soon entered the Academy, then at Mount Pleasant, and was a most promising pupil. He was equally well versed in the languages and in mathematics, and at a later day students of theology applying for admission to the ministry dreaded his critical inquisitions. In 1780 he was ordained as the pastor of the Stone Church in Augusta, and there he spent his life in the zealous and able discharge of his ministerial duties. There was connected with him a singular mental phenomenon. He fell ill of an epileptic attack, and on his recovery he had for a season almost wholly forgot his mother tongue. As he had been a good Latin and Greek scholar before his illness, so the knowledge of these languages remained, and he was compelled to use them in seeking his daily wants, until he gradually recovered his English. He was skilled in mathematics, and solved problems for intellectual recreation in his old age. He belonged to that class of our early Presbyterian preachers who made their preparations carefully in the study, but took with them into the pulpit the heads only of their discourse, relying wholly on

¹ Maj. Hays died in 1808, on his farm on Hays's Creek, where A. A. McCormick now lives.—EDS.

the inspiration of the moment for their words and illustrations—a mode of speech which may serve to explain the effect and animation of the eloquence of our early preachers. He preached at intervals to a short time before his death. One of his last sermons was listened to by Dr. Speece, who succeeded him in the Stone Church, and that critical judge pronounced it “not inferior in vigor of thought, methodical arrangement, or animation of manner, to any that he had ever heard from him.”

JOHN WILSON.

There are two gentlemen named Wilson who were appointed trustees by the Presbytery and by the Assembly, that deserve a more respectful mention. It must have already appeared to you that to give a full description of your trustees, is to put forth some of the most interesting portions of the history of the colony and the commonwealth for more than the whole of one century and the third of another. The Wilsons were of the Scotch-Irish race, and were among the early settlers of Augusta. A representative of the race soon rose to prominence and distinction in the public councils. Our grandfathers had their local as well as general topics of contention as well as ourselves. In 1748 there was a serious project of removing the capital from Williamsburg. The country had enjoyed an unusually long interval of peace under the administration of Sir William Gooch, and the pugnacious propensities of the people impelled them to seek a vent in some quarter or other. Candidates were chosen with an especial view to remove the seat of government, and as Augusta seventy years later than 1748 sent the late Briscoe G. Baldwin to remove the capital to Staunton, so their ancestors in 1748 chose John Wilson to perform the same office, that is, to remove the seat of government, though I hardly think, to Augusta, where the Governor would be liable to be roasted whole, the Speaker of the House of Burgesses to be tomahawked, and the members to run the gauntlet through the Indian villages. The Augusta delegates did not succeed in their plans: the scheme was defeated; but John Wilson and John Madison had the opportunity of expressing their parting salutations on Sir William Gooch, who was then about to depart for Europe after a most popular

administration of twenty-two years. Ten years rolled on, and there came the most violent tornado of death and destruction that ever swept the Valley. In 1755 Braddock had been defeated, and then Grant was equally unfortunate, and consternation and slaughter universally prevailed. The Indians, stimulated by the French, had become most daring, passing by our forts, and carrying off women and children into a captivity little less formidable than death itself. The letters of Washington written at this period melt our hearts and draw our tears after the lapse of one hundred and twelve years, and are the most touching ever traced by his pen. He declared that he would most willingly yield up his own life as a sacrifice for a cessation of bloodshed and for peace. At this emergency, when the settlers were rushing from their Valley homes—for France as well as the Indians were fighting us—the people were determined to choose an Assembly of the ablest men whom the Colony contained. Then for the first time George Mason appeared in the public councils, and Pendleton and Washington himself, then at the age of twenty-six, were also chosen. It is recorded by Burke that it was the ablest body of men that had ever met in council in America, and he has put down the name of every member on his pages. To this body Augusta looked with an anxious eye, for she composed with Frederick the only two counties in the Valley, and she chose John Wilson and Israel Christian as her delegates. It is enough to say that her representatives performed their duty, and aided in taking those measures which ultimately led to the expulsion of the French from Canada, and the annexation of that province to the British dominions.

Sprung from such a stock, John Wilson, your trustee, evinced the deepest interest in your Academy as long as he lived. In 1770, being engaged in mercantile affairs, he was a member of the Merchants' Association, which was assembled in Williamsburg to take measures in defence of the rights and interests of the Colony, and carried into effect the resolutions of the body in Augusta. At his death he left a son, the late Captain William Wilson, who was the Treasurer of the Academy and the College for forty years.¹

¹ John Wilson was a bachelor and the uncle and guardian, not the father, of Capt. William Wilson.—Eps.

WILLIAM ALEXANDER.

The name that stands fourth on the list of the incorporated trustees would, if treated in the length and breadth of its antecedents and consequents, alone consume the time allotted to me at present. What a host of associations are conjured up by the name of Alexander! But I can dwell but a few moments on its history. William Alexander, your trustee, was the eldest son of Archibald Alexander, who came over from Ireland to Pennsylvania in 1737, and removed to Augusta in 1747. William was born near Nottingham, Pennsylvania, in 1738, and was nine years old when he came to Virginia. He grew to manhood amid the hardships of a frontier life. He embarked in mercantile pursuits, and kept a store at the Point; but as all business was broken up by the Revolution, he acted as deputy to his father, who was sheriff of the county. He never engaged in public affairs. He is reported to have been in the Sandy Creek Voyage under Maj. Andrew Lewis; but it was his father and not himself who encountered the fearful exposure of that disastrous expedition. He was ever a warm friend of the Academy, which, on its removal to Lexington, was built on his grounds, and he was its treasurer as well as trustee for a number of years. He married Agnes Ann, a daughter of Andrew Reid, and left a family of three sons and five daughters, the last of whom has but recently deceased. He was a man of small stature, with black hair and black eyes, and on special occasions he was attentive to his dress. He was quick in his movements and talked very rapidly. While he lived in Lexington, his residence was not far from the site of the present Presbyterian church, if not directly upon it. In his old age, as he was walking in the street, he was struck by a stone thrown by an idle boy on one of his eyes, and he lost the use of it forever. We like to know how looked and walked and dressed and talked a man who was the father of the Rev. Dr. Archibald Alexander of Princeton, and the grandfather of two such men as James Waddell and Joseph Addison Alexander.

CALEB WALLACE.

Caleb Wallace was a remarkable man among his contemporaries, and well deserved a position in the incorporated board, which he had already held by the appointment of Presbytery. The tide of Scotch-Irish emigration from Pennsylvania coursed mainly along the Valley, but there was a lesser stream that ran along the eastern base of the Blue Ridge to the county of Charlotte, and thence farther south, which bore on its way a number of worthy families, which were to send forth their representatives to succeeding times. On this eastern tide came the ancestors of the late Mr. Calhoun and of Caleb Wallace. Caleb was born in the county of Charlotte about the year 1750, on a creek which still bears his name, was graduated at Princeton in 1770, where he had the late ex-president James Madison as a college mate. Both were pious young men during their college course, were among the best scholars of their class, and enjoyed the confidence of Witherspoon. Both excelled in that cool and clear argumentation which was an invaluable weapon in the early stages of our Revolutionary contest and both brought their utmost powers to bear upon the question of a church establishment and religious freedom. When Wallace finished his course at college, he studied Theology and became a licentiate of the Presbytery of New Castle. In October 1774, he was ordained as the pastor of Cub Creek and Little Falling Run congregations. At the meeting in October, 1776, of the first general assembly under the constitution, he repaired to Williamsburg, and bore with him the memorial of the Hanover Presbytery, which professed the warmest zeal in the support of independence, but protested with equal earnestness against the continuation of the Episcopal church as an establishment. And here it should be said that the objections of the Presbytery lay not against the Episcopal church as a true church of our common Lord and Master, but against that or any other church whatsoever, even their own, as an establishment. Indeed Davies and Waddell and Graham have more than once expressed publicly their approval of the doctrinal articles of the church of England. It should seem at this day that the fourteenth article of the Declaration of Rights had settled the

question of church and state conclusively ; but it was soon seen that a bill to continue the establishment was introduced in the House of Delegates. Mr. Wallace exerted all his industry to prevent its passage, and, it is believed, appeared before the Committee on Religion and argued the question at length. In the prosecution of his purpose he remained eight weeks in Williamsburg. In 1779, having lost his wife, who was Miss Sally McDowell of Rockbridge, he removed from Cub Creek to Botetourt, where he remained until the close of the war. During the Revolution he upheld the cause of his country by his tongue and his pen. Several of his letters still extant attest his patriotic fervor. Writing in 1777 to the Rev. Mr. Caldwell of New Jersey, a noble Virginian, who fell untimely near the end of the war, and who, by the way, used to preach with pistols in his belt, as a price had been set on his head by the British,—Wallace says: “An American ought to seek an emancipation from the British king, ministry, and parliament, at the risk of all his earthly possessions of whatever name ; nor is it the fear of danger that has prevented my preaching this doctrine in the army at headquarters.” He adds: “I meddle very little with matters of civil concern, only to countenance the recruiting business, as far as I have it in my power ; and sometimes I have a fight with the prejudices—I would rather say the perverseness—of such as are inclining to toryism among us ; but we have reason to rejoice that we have few such cattle with us.”

In 1782 he removed to Woodford county, Kentucky ; and withdrawing from the ministry, he studied law, rose to distinction at the bar, and was chosen a judge of the Supreme Court of that State. He was appointed by the Assembly one of the Commissioners to settle the numerous claims in Kentucky against Virginia—a very delicate office, which he and his colleagues Fleming and McDowell executed promptly and satisfactorily. He married for his second wife a daughter of Israel Christian, and his descendants still reside in Kentucky. He possessed fine powers of disquisition, was a ready speaker, and maintained intimate relations with the first statesmen of the Revolution. He attained to a good old age.

JOHN TRIMBLE.

The eighth of the incorporated trustees was John Trimble. He was the son of James Trimble, who with his two brothers Alexander and John emigrated from Ireland to Pennsylvania. Alexander remained in Pennsylvania, and John settled in Kentucky, where his descendants still flourish. James, who was the eldest brother, came to Virginia not later than 1750, and settled on the farm and built a house not one hundred yards distant from the residence of Joseph Steele, Esq., one of your trustees for thirty years past. James died early and left a son John who was your trustee. John did not survive his father more than ten years, and died not very long after the date of the charter, leaving a widow who has recently departed from us in her 97th year.¹ He is still remembered as a man of the kindest feelings, of warm attachments to his relations and friends, and pure in all his transactions with the world. Some striking acts of his generosity are fondly remembered by his collateral relations. He was of the Scotch-Irish race, and was an advocate of churches, schools and academies. The fact that his name was enrolled in the charter is sufficient proof of his standing and moral and intellectual worth.

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL.

Of Alexander Campbell, the sixth on the roll of incorporated trustees, I learn that he came from Pennsylvania, that he lived on Timber Ridge, that he always came on sacramental and academical occasions to Lexington, where he was the guest of Col. Andrew Reid, that he was a pious man and much interested in

¹ Mr. Grigsby has confounded John Trimble with Alexander Trimble, the husband of the lady to whom he refers, and who was his (Mr. Grigsby's) aunt. John Trimble married Mary Ann Alexander, the half-sister of William Alexander. She removed to Tennessee soon after the death of her husband. Her grandson John Trimble was Judge of the Nashville district, and represented the Nashville district in the United States Congress for several sessions. He died a few years ago at Republican Hill, near Nashville, at an advanced age.—EDS.

the cause of education, and that he lived until near the beginning of the present century.¹

ZACHARIAH JOHNSTON.

Among the trustees who, though not mentioned in the charter, were elected under its provisions a short time after its date, stands a name that was so long connected with the political and religious questions of that era, that I may be excused for dwelling a moment on it. I allude to Zachariah Johnston. He was born in Augusta between 1750 and '60, of parents who emigrated from Ireland and chose their homes in Augusta, was a pupil of the Academy as well as a trustee, and gave indications of a strong and discriminating mind. He entered the House of Delegates during the Revolution, and gave up all his faculties to the purpose of shaping the new measures to a republican model. He accordingly supported with great earnestness the revised bills reported by Mr. Jefferson, which it was the policy of their opponents to keep on the table, or if called up, to emasculate them of their wisest provisions. It is well known that Mr. Jefferson, when he withdrew from the House to embark for France, left the care of the revised bills to Mr. Madison, who fully redeemed the confidence of his friend by the tact and patience and ability which he displayed in effecting their passage. He had indeed most strenuous coadjutors, and among those was Zachariah Johnston. His simple and unadorned but caustic and fearless logic, which was in strong contrast with the deep and elaborate speculations of Mr. Madison, was ever ready and was always effective. It was in 1785, when the act for establishing Religious Freedom was on its passage, that he made a capital speech, in which he took the ground which I have mentioned already more than once, and which was that the hostility of the Presbyterian population of the Valley to an establishment had no bearing upon the Episcopal church as a church of Christ, but that it was directed against an establishment of any church, even their

¹ Mr. Campbell died in 1805. He was for many years Surveyor of Rockbridge county, then an office of great importance. The late John L. Campbell, LL. D., Professor of Chemistry and Geology in Washington and Lee University, was his grandson.—EDS.

own, in connection with the state. A single passage only of Johnston's speech in the debate has been preserved, and I quote it to show not only his line of argument but his style of thought. "Mr. Chairman, I am a Presbyterian, a rigid Presbyterian as we are called; my parents before me were of the same profession; I was educated in that line. Since I became a man, I have examined for myself, and I have seen no cause to dissent. But, sir, the very day that the Presbyterians shall be established by law, and become a body politic, the same day Zachariah Johnston will be a dissenter. Dissent from that *religion* I cannot in honesty, but from that establishment I will." And his name goes down to posterity in favor of the passage of the act for establishing Religious Freedom. He was the colleague of Judge Stuart in the Federal Convention of 1788, which ratified on the part of Virginia the present federal constitution, and made an animated speech in its favor, which has been preserved entire, and which will speak for itself. Mr. Johnston was a man of religious temperament, of great simplicity of manners, and utterly void of hypocrisy and deceit. I wish I were able to present a domestic portrait of this good man; but my knowledge in that respect is very limited.¹

GEN. WILLIAM CAMPBELL.

As the student wanders through the gallery of the portraits of the early friends of Washington College, and gazes with fond delight on the faces of Graham, of Thomas Lewis, of Andrew Lewis the hero of Point Pleasant, of William Christian, of William Preston, of William Fleming, of Arthur Campbell, of Andrew Moore, of the Stuarts, father, brother and son, and of their well-known associates,—he seeks with eager interest another face, the face of a noble patriot who was connected with them all, not only in the political and military events of their age, but in their affection for your institution; and inquires, with a faltering voice: Where is Gen. William Campbell, and why is it that the

¹ Mr. Johnston removed from Augusta to Stone Castle, two miles south of Lexington, in 1793, and represented Rockbridge in the House of Delegates in 1797-8, and was chiefly instrumental in securing the repeal of the obnoxious act of 1796 before referred to. He died at Stone Castle, January 7, 1800.—EDS.

Hero of King's Mountain is not found among his compeers? Sad as the answer is and ever will be to the patriot heart of our country, it must be told. He was a pupil of the Academy, and displayed the deepest interest in its welfare and a magnanimous pride in his *alma mater*, but when, in 1782, the friends of the institution were seeking among our chief citizens for the names to be recorded in the charter, they thought of the name of Campbell, and then it came over them with all the intensity of a recent affliction, that the Hero of King's Mountain had gone down to his grave a few months before. While in command of his regiment at the siege of York, he was taken ill of a fever, and even before the flag of Britain was lowered on the ramparts, he fell, after a short and severe struggle with the most insatiable and remorseless of all conquerors. But though he died before the trustees were enrolled in your charter, where our fathers would have delighted to place him, let us perform that office in their behalf.

Gen. William Campbell was the son of Charles, who was of the race of the Campbells of whom I have spoken elsewhere. Charles Campbell married Margaret Buchanan, and died young, leaving one son, the hero of King's Mountain; and four daughters, one of whom married Col. Arthur Campbell who is the first named of the charter of 1782; a second married Capt. Taylor, the father of the late Judge Allen Taylor, another trustee of the College; a third married Mr. Richard Poston, and a fourth married Mr. Thomas Tate.

Gen. Campbell was born in the county of Augusta as it then was, in 1745, and was one of the early pupils of the Academy. On reaching manhood he was prompt to join in the measures of defence and attack against the Indians who infested the new settlements on the Holston, whither, on the death of his father, he had removed his mother and sister; and we trace him in the bloody fight at Point Pleasant, as marching in the respective campaigns of Col. Christian and Col. Arthur Campbell against the Cherokees, and in other actions on the frontier, which called forth a vote of thanks from North Carolina. But it was on the seventh day of October 1780, that Col. Campbell and his gallant colleagues from North and South Carolina achieved that distinction which has connected his name inseparably with the war of the Revolution. I

cannot here say one word of the battle of King's Mountain, more especially as the affair has been so eloquently detailed by his distinguished grandson now living,¹ and have time to speak of its ever memorable effect on the spirits of the people. When Campbell and his colleagues led their forces against Ferguson, the South was almost conquered by the British. Despair darkened every bosom, and hope seemed to have gone out. Charleston had been taken in the preceding May, and on the 29th of the same month Col. Buford was defeated at Waxhaw, on the 16th of the following August Gen. Gates lost the battle of Camden, and on the 18th of the same month Sumter was surprised, and South Carolina was under the heel of Cornwallis. Amid such a scene of gloom and disaster the victory of King's Mountain shone forth like a rainbow in a tempestuous sky. Let dates, which are stronger than words, tell the wondrous tale. It was on the 7th of October, 1780, that Col. Campbell received from the hands of Capt. Dupeister, the senior officer on the death of Ferguson, the standard of England, which Ferguson fondly hoped to wave over the Valley of Virginia; on the 17th of the following January, Morgan fought the battle of the Cowpens; on the 15th of March occurred the battle of Guilford, which resulted in the retreat of Cornwallis to Wilmington; on the 8th of the following September, the immortal field of Eutaw was fought and won; and on the 19th of October, Cornwallis surrendered at York.

But the services of Col. Campbell did not close with the battle of King's Mountain. He marched with his regiment to Guilford, and aided materially in that engagement. And in 1781 he joined Lafayette at Albemarle Old Court House and marched to the siege of York, but he died suddenly before the surrender. This last triumph was not reserved to the patriot, and at the age of thirty-six he was laid in his grave. That funeral was a solemn scene. The young and heroic Lafayette was seen bending in grief and tears over the coffin of his friend. That scene he never forgot. Forty-three years later he described to one of the descendants of Campbell that touching spectacle. Col. Campbell was buried at Rocky Mills, in Hanover, and when after many years his remains

¹ General John S. Preston.

were removed to his home in Washington, it was found that time had dealt gently with them.

In stature he had the proportions of a hero. He was over six feet in height; his frame was large and compact and muscular; his hair was inclined to red; his eyes were gray or a deep blue; his features were prominent, and his profile was said to be symmetrical. Indeed we are told by elderly men who knew him, that his grandson the late Col. William Campbell Preston of South Carolina was in his figure and movements a fair image of his illustrious ancestor. Col. Campbell was an affectionate son. Letters still extant show his tenderness to his mother and his generous conduct to his sisters. He married in 1775 a sister of Patrick Henry and left at his death a son, who died young, and one daughter, who married Gen. Francis Preston, second son of Col. William Preston. Of the children of this marriage, of whom the late Col. William C. Preston of South Carolina was one, there survive Col. John S. Preston of the same State, Col. Thomas L. Preston, and Mrs. Gen. Carrington of Albemarle county. I have said that he married the sister of Patrick Henry, who is said to have possessed the genius of her illustrious brother. Gen. Campbell is said to have been a man of quick and stern temper and was the terror of Tories, with whom, if caught in the act of treason, as at the battle of King's Mountain, he dealt peremptorily and condignly; but he never allowed himself to show any excitement in the presence of his wife.

WILLIAM MCPHEETERS.

William McPheeters, a trustee of 1776, was born in Pennsylvania in 1729, and was a son of a gentleman of the same name, who came from Ireland to Pennsylvania, and emigrated to Augusta about the year 1740. He settled at Bethel on the waters of the Middle River, near the North Mountain. He was a truly pious man, was an elder in the church of which the Rev. Archibald Scott, one of your trustees, was the pastor, and was a magistrate of Augusta and High Sheriff of that county 1788-90. His life was spent upon his farm in the employments of agriculture and in the interchange of good feelings with his neighbors. Like his Scotch-Irish brethren, he was impressed with the importance of education,

and especially of an educated ministry, and took a peculiar pride in fostering the Academy, of which his son, so long and so favorably known in Virginia and North Carolina, was a pupil.¹ He has left numerous descendants, the death of one of whom, who was remarkable for his genius and eloquence, has been lately lamented by the lovers of eloquence and piety in Missouri, and Kentucky, and Virginia.²

CONCLUSION.

And I come to a close. And when I had finished my specific task of recording the services of your early trustees and professors, I could not withhold a glance at their immediate successors Samuel L. Campbell, and Baxter, and Marshall, and Vethake, and Ruffner, and Junkin,—all of whom but one I knew, and all of whom are gone. And as I called up their images before me, it seemed as if I felt their living presence, and could behold the genial smile as they looked down on their beloved institution in its present palmy state—a state those good men longed to see but died without the sight—and could gather from them words of gratulation and cheer for every student within your walls and for every officer within your courts; and while they uttered words of encouragement and praise to all, I could catch from those lips, now touched with earthly guile no more, one glorious accord concerning him who led our armies through the late perilous war, and—the grandest of all his victories—made a lodgment in the inner hearts of a whole people; that in training the youth of his beloved country in the ways of wisdom and knowledge and peace, and in the “love of God that passeth all understanding,” he is winning a wreath as worthy as ever rested on his brow—a wreath whose beauty will not only shine in the eyes of living men, but will endure forever.

¹ The Rev. William McPheeters, D. D., a distinguished Presbyterian minister, and a trustee of Washington College 1807–12.—EDS.

² The Rev. Samuel Brown McPheeters, his grandson, the distinguished Presbyterian minister of St. Louis, Mo.—EDS.

APPENDIX.

This valuable address was retained by Mr. Grigsby for several years after its delivery in 1870, to enable him to complete it by giving sketches of all the early trustees. He died, however, without doing so. We now add brief sketches of those omitted by him.—W. McL.

JOHN GRATTAN.

Among the trustees appointed by Hanover Presbytery in 1776 to manage the Academy was John Grattan. He was born in Ireland, and was said to be of the same family with Henry Grattan the Irish Orator. While quite a young man he went to Scotland and there married a Miss Brown and soon afterwards came to America and settled in Philadelphia, where he resided several years. He moved to the Valley of Virginia and became a merchant in the town of Staunton. He participated in the meeting of the freeholders of Augusta, held on the 22nd of February, 1775, which passed the celebrated resolutions referred to by Mr. Grigsby.

While he was too old to bear arms during the revolutionary war, he was an ardent whig, and supported the cause with all the ardor of his nature. His son John Grattan was an officer in one of Virginia's regiments, and died in service in Georgia. He patented a large tract of land on the north branch of the Shenandoah, in what was then Augusta county, but afterwards Rockingham county. He built the first flour mill west of the Blue Ridge. The mill is still standing, and the old homestead, where he spent the latter part of his life, is owned by his grandson Judge George G. Grattan. When the county of Rockingham was formed in 1778 his residence fell into the new county, and he was commissioned one of the justices of the county court, being fourth on the list. He was a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian of the old Covenanters faith, and was for many years an elder in old Augusta Stone Church. He died about 1790, leaving a son and several daughters. His son Robert Grattan commanded a company of cavalry that was sent to quell the whiskey insurrection in Western Pennsylvania. His son Maj. Robert Grattan remained at the old homestead in Rockingham, and was elected a Trustee of Washington College in 1854, and served until his early death in 1856.

One of the daughters of John Grattan married Col. Robert Gamble, an alumnus of the Academy and a distinguished officer of the Revolution. He commanded one of the companies that stormed Stony Point, and was the first to enter the fort when it was captured by General Anthony Wayne. One of Col. Grattan's daughters married the celebrated William Wirt; another married William H. Cabell, Governor of Virginia, and for many years a Judge of the Court of Appeals of Virginia.

SAMUEL DOAK, D. D.

Samuel Doak was one of the trustees appointed by Hanover Presbytery in 1782, to supply vacancies in the body appointed in 1776. He was the son of Samuel Doak (the ancestor of Gen. Robert Doak Lilley, who served the University so zealously and efficiently as general agent) and Jane Mitchell, who emigrated very young from the North of Ireland and settled in Chester county, Pennsylvania. After their marriage, they removed to Virginia and settled in Augusta county near the present village of Greenville. Their son Samuel was born in 1749. At the age of sixteen he was admitted to full communion in the Presbyterian Church of New Providence; and soon after commenced a course of classical study with Robert Alexander, who resided about two miles from his father's house. He continued in the school after it passed under the care of the Rev. John Brown, who was assisted by a Dr. Edmondson and Ebenezer Smith. In October, 1773, he entered Princeton College, where he graduated in 1775. Returning to Virginia, he married Esther Montgomery, sister of the Rev. John Montgomery who was appointed a trustee at the same time with him. Shortly after, he became a tutor in Hampden Sidney College, and pursued divinity under the Rev. John Blair Smith the President of the College. He was licensed as a preacher by Hanover Presbytery in October, 1777. He commenced preaching in Washington county, Virginia, and after remaining there some time he removed to Washington county, Tennessee, where he organized several churches and an institution of learning, which was chartered by the Legislature of North Carolina in 1788 under the name of Martin Academy, and was the first literary institution established in the great Valley of the Mississippi. In 1795 it was changed into a college and received the name of Washington. He continued President of the College until 1808, when he resigned in favor of his son, the Rev. John M. Doak, M. D., and removed to Bethel. During his presidency the College prospered

greatly and supplied the opportunities for education for ministers, lawyers and doctors in the early days of Tennessee. At Bethel he opened an academy to prepare youth for college, and named it Tusculum, where he passed the remainder of his days in usefulness and honor. He was a distinguished preacher and teacher, and died on the 12th day of December, 1830, in his eighty-second year. Foote, in his *Sketches of North Carolina*, quotes a gentleman who knew him well as saying: "His praise is in all the churches. During the Revolutionary War, he was a warm, decided, and uniform friend of civil and religious liberty, took part in the defence of his country, was a member of the convention that in 1784-5 gave rise to the insurrectionary state of Franklin; was upon the committee that reported an article of its constitution making provision for the support of learning; and to the close of life was still its devoted servant, advocate and patron. A rigid opposer of innovation in religious tenets; very old-school in all his notions and actions; uncompromising in his love of the truth, and his hostility to error or heresy, a John Knox in his character, fearless, firm, nearly dogmatical and intolerant; but no one has been more useful to church or state, except it be Hall or Coldwell in North Carolina, or Waddell in South Carolina and Georgia. A volume would not exhaust the incidents of his life."

REV. EDWARD CRAWFORD.

Edward Crawford was one of the Presbyterian trustees appointed in 1782 and was also elected a member of the incorporated body in 1791, and served until 1795. He was born in Augusta county, near Buffalo Gap, and was the son of Alexander Crawford and Mary McPheeters. He was a student at the Augusta Academy when under the care of the Rev. John Brown, and subsequently entered Princeton College, where he graduated in 1775, in the same class with Samuel Doak. He was a member of Lexington Presbytery at its organization on the 26th of September, 1786, and was the moderator of the Presbytery at its meetings in April and September, 1792, at Lexington and Harrisonburg. He preached in Randolph county and then in Botetourt. About 1795 he removed to Tennessee, and greatly assisted his old friend and class-mate, Samuel Doak, in the conduct and management of Washington College, Tennessee, of which he was one of the chartered trustees. He preached for many years in Tennessee, and was a useful citizen, and especially a friend of education. The date of his death is unknown.

REV. ARCHIBALD SCOTT.

Rev. Archibald Scott was born in Scotland and emigrated to Pennsylvania at an early age. He was an agricultural laborer, but his religious deportment and the studious employment of all his leisure hours in the acquisition of useful knowledge attracted the attention of Dr. Cooper, a Presbyterian minister. Upon further acquaintance he encouraged him to commence a course of study for the sacred ministry. He pursued his classical studies under a Mr. Finley, whose course of instruction was extensive though principally confined to the classics. He then came to the Valley of Virginia and entered Liberty Hall Academy under Mr. Graham. In 1777 he was licensed to preach the gospel with Edward Crawford and Samuel Doak. He became the pastor of Brown's Meeting House and North Mountain church, now known as Hebron and Bethel, and continued in this charge during his life. He was a devoted and earnest preacher, and exercised great influence in the church and in the community. He was appointed a trustee by Presbytery in 1782, and elected a member of the corporate body in 1784. He closed his useful life on the 4th day of March, 1799, at his residence, six miles southwest of Staunton. The University recognizes among its alumni many of his descendants.

JAMES MCCONNELL.

James McConnell, one of the Presbyterian trustees of 1782, graduated at Princeton in 1773, and became a Presbyterian minister. He was pastor of Oxford, High Bridge and Falling Spring churches in Rockbridge county. After serving these churches for several years, he removed in 1787 beyond the Alleghanies.

BENJAMIN ERWIN.

Benjamin Erwin was one of the trustees appointed by Presbytery in 1782. He graduated at Princeton in 1776, and coming to Virginia was ordained by Hanover Presbytery in 1780 pastor of Mossy Creek and Cook's Creek churches. He died pastor of his first charge. Rev. George A. Baxter, D. D., grew up under his ministry.

CAPT. JOHN LEWIS.

Among the trustees appointed by Hanover Presbytery in 1776 was Capt. John Lewis at the Warm Springs. He was the son of Thomas

Lewis, of whom a sketch is given by Mr. Grigsby, and was born near Port Republic in the present county of Rockingham in 1749. He removed to the Warm Springs, and became the owner of that celebrated summer resort. He commanded a company in Col. Charles Lewis's regiment at Point Pleasant, and was dangerously wounded. He was subsequently an officer in the Revolution and was distinguished for his gallantry and devotion to duty. He died at the Warm Springs in 1788, at the age of thirty-nine, in the midst of a career of great usefulness.

JAMES McCORKLE.

James McCorkle was born in the north of Ireland, and emigrated to America and settled in Staunton, where he successfully pursued the business of a merchant. He joined the tide of emigration which set toward southwestern Virginia about 1770, and settled at Ingles Ferry on New River, where he engaged most successfully in merchandising. He subsequently became the owner of the splendid estate known as Dunkards Bottoms, in that part of Montgomery county comprised in the present county of Pulaski, and formerly owned by Israel Christian.

He was commissioned a justice of the peace by Gov. Nelson in 1773. Among his associates on the bench were Col. William Christian, Col. William Preston, Daniel Trigg and James McGavock. He was the High Sheriff of Montgomery county 1778-80. He was a leading citizen of southwest Virginia, and died and was buried in 1794, at Dunkards Bottoms.

JOSEPH WALKER.

Joseph Walker came with the first tide of emigration from Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, to the Valley of Virginia, and settled near the present town of Lexington. He was one of the three granters of the land upon which Liberty Hall Academy was built, which was burned in 1803, and the picturesque ruins of which can still be seen from the University. He afterwards removed to a large farm on Buffalo, including what is now known as Buffalo Mills. He was for many years a Justice of the Peace, was High Sheriff of the county, and was a ruling elder in both Monmouth and Falling Spring churches. He was appointed by Hanover Presbytery in 1782 a trustee, and was one of the trustees named in the charter. He continued to serve until 1815, a period of more than thirty years, and the records of the Board attest his punctual attendance, and his fidelity to duty. He was a

large man, of dark complexion, commanding in appearance, and rather taciturn. His wife was Jane Moore, the aunt of Mary Moore, the "Captive of Abb's Valley," who lived with him after her return from captivity. His daughter married the Rev. Samuel Houston referred to by Mr. Grigsby in his sketch of John Houston, and his grandson the Rev. Samuel R. Houston was for many years a member of the Board.

WILLIAM WARD AND JAMES TROTTER.

Of William Ward and James Trotter we have been able to get but little definite information. They were both doubtless born in the north of Ireland and came with the tide of immigration that set toward the Valley between 1740 and 1750.

William Ward lived in Augusta near Robert Alexander's school, and removed to South Carolina about 1779.

James Trotter settled in Augusta county near Mount Sidney about 1749. He subsequently removed to the neighborhood of the present village of Middlebrook, where he died about 1791. His son George Trotter laid out the village of Middlebrook and subsequently removed to Lexington, Kentucky.

JOHN LYLE.

Most of what is now known of this excellent man is derived from a memoir of him written by the Rev. Dr. Archibald Alexander of Princeton, but not published, and from an article by the same hand in the *Biblical Repertory* of April, 1848.

He was of the Scotch-Irish stock. His father, also named John Lyle, had emigrated from the north of Ireland in the early part of the eighteenth century, and settled first in Pennsylvania. But after a time he removed to what is now Rockbridge county, Virginia, and fixed his abode on Timber Ridge, about three miles southwest of where the village of Fairfield now stands. The date of his removal to Rockbridge is not known; but it was certainly before 1753, for in that year he was one of the signers of the call of the Rev. John Brown to the pastorate of the Timber Ridge church.

John Lyle, the trustee, son of the emigrant, was born either in Pennsylvania or in Virginia, on the 10th of July, 1746. He grew to manhood and spent all the days of a long and useful life on Timber Ridge, where he owned a small farm, which he cultivated with his own hands, being conscientiously opposed to becoming a slave-holder. Of

his personal appearance Dr. Alexander says: "John Lyle grew to be a large man, above six feet in height, and was what is vulgarly called raw-boned. His face was somewhat marked by small-pox; but his appearance was dignified and his countenance benignant." He seems to have taken but little part in military or political affairs; but was active in charitable work, and specially zealous in the cause of education and religion. In 1782 the Presbytery appointed him one of the trustees of Liberty Hall; in 1784 he became a member of the incorporated board, and for over thirty years thereafter he was one of the most earnest and active trustees of the Academy and the College, as the records testify. His private life was singularly pure and unselfish. Of his course as a church officer Dr. Alexander says: "As a faithful and efficient elder in the Presbyterian church I have never known his superior, if I have his equal. He had furnished his mind by diligent reading, with knowledge in all branches of theology; and was especially thoroughly conversant with the most judicious and spiritual authors on experimental religion." And in another connection he says:

"Elder John Lyle, as he was called to distinguish him from others of the same name, was in my opinion a man of eminent piety. In the period succeeding the war of the Revolution vital piety had sunk very low in the Valley of Virginia; most professors seemed to have little of the genuine spirit of religion; and fell into undue conformity to the world and its fashions and amusements. But during this time of general declension John Lyle and his wife stood forth as shining examples of vital godliness and holy living."

John Lyle died at his residence in Rockbridge, in September, 1815, in his 70th year. His wife was Flora Reid, a sister of Dr. Alexander's mother. The Rev. John Lyle, "the pioneer preacher of Kentucky," so prominent in the early history of the Presbyterian church in that state, was his son. Joel Reid Lyle of Paris, Ky., was another son. Both were pupils of the Academy.—D. C. L.

This completes the sketches of the trustees mentioned in the charter of 1782, and those previously appointed by the Presbytery.

Sketches of the trustees appointed since 1782 will be prepared and published from time to time in these papers.

W. McL.

ADDRESS

BEFORE THE

ALUMNI ASSOCIATION OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE,

June 29, 1843,

BY THE

REV. ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER, D. D.

Gentlemen, Alumni of Washington College :

It is a truth as fully established by experience as any other, that the human mind is eminently susceptible of improvement by culture. Indeed it cannot be denied that without some kind of education the intellectual faculties will not be developed ; although the body might grow up to manhood, the mind would remain in a state of infantile feebleness. This truth is beautifully illustrated by a classic writer, who compares the uncultivated mind to the statue while it remains in the block of marble.

But although the necessity of education to improve the mind is acknowledged by all, yet there exists much difference of opinion respecting the best means of cultivating and strengthening the various powers and faculties which appertain to human nature. This is a subject on which knowledge can only be acquired by experience or the observation of facts. Here, mere theory is rather hurtful than beneficial. It is, indeed, by no means certain, that the best method of training and improving the faculties of the mind has been discovered. It would therefore be unwarrantable to assert that the systems of education heretofore in use were incapable of improvement. New discoveries may be made in

regard to the laws of mind, as well as those of matter ; but the difficulty in this investigation is, that we cannot make experiments with safety. The mind of every human being is too precious a material to be made the subject of experiments, to ascertain what improvements might be made in the methods by which it should be educated. No man would consent to have his son trained in some untried way, the effect of which could not be foreseen. There have, indeed, been many pretenders, who professed to be in possession of the secret of bringing forward the faculties of man much more rapidly, and of elevating them to a much higher standard, than can be done by the system in common use. But experience has taught the most credulous, that all such pretensions are vain. The common beaten track, along which so many have risen to eminence and celebrity, is, after all, the safest and best. When new discoveries are made in the science of education, they will probably be incidental, and should be cautiously and gradually introduced. It is not disputed that very extraordinary effects may be produced on particular faculties by an artificial method of training. I have seen boys taught on the Pestalozzian plan, who could perform wonders at the black board, in various kinds of intricate calculation ; but I never could ascertain that the youth thus educated ever rose to eminence in any profession or art. We know to what extraordinary feats of activity children have been trained, to qualify them to become successful mountebanks ; but would any judicious man suppose that children thus trained to perform prodigies could be better prepared than others to be useful farmers, mechanics, or soldiers ? And there is little reason to believe that a precocious and extraordinary development of the mental faculties, by an artificial process, will qualify a man successfully to perform the duties of those professions in society, which require the best exercise of the powers of judgment, invention, and accurate reasoning. It is probable that assiduous efforts to elicit the exercise of the intellectual faculties at a period earlier than that in which in the common course of nature they appear, are rather injurious than beneficial to the mind. A precocious child may excite the wonder of visitors, and gratify the vanity of parents and teachers, but can furnish no proof that this premature development will lead to superior intellectual energy. Such youth soon arrive at the acme of their

maturity; that is, the too early development of the faculties probably has the consequence of an early decay. It is a proverb in more languages than one—*soon ripe, soon rotten*. It is not meant to discourage early education, but to suggest, that the kind of training should be adapted to the age of the pupil. Children are capable, at a very early age, of improving culture, both intellectual and moral; but the judicious plan seems to be, not to attempt to forestall the process of nature, but to aid her by meeting the opening faculties with such exercise and nutriment as is suited to give them strength and a right direction. In cities, where the children of the better class of citizens are necessarily kept, most of their time, in the house, or in the school, their progress in learning is often surprisingly rapid until the age of fourteen or fifteen, but here most of them stop; and though so many make a good beginning, very few attain to eminence in classical literature; for this, however, other reasons may be assigned; [but it may not be useless to remark, that those parents judge wisely, who, having sons to educate, send them to a good school in the country. And where parents, residing in cities, are in circumstances to spend the summer months in the country, the effect on the minds as well as the bodies of their children will be very beneficial. The best part of education, as far as the mere vigor of body and mind is concerned, is derived from a familiar converse with the objects of nature.] Children reared from their infancy in crowded cities, and confined to school from the time they can speak and walk, have been fitly compared to plants raised in a hot-house. They are commonly precocious, and bring forth early fruit; but it has a sickly appearance, and never acquires much strength, but soon falls in decay; and the fruit thus produced wants the genuine flavor and fragrance of the same species when it comes to maturity in the open air and under the common influences of heaven. Injury may not only be done to the mind by attempting to force a too early maturity, but also by exercising unduly some one faculty, while the others are neglected. We know that particular muscles and members of the body may be strengthened at the expense of the other parts; but though this may be beneficial for the execution of some special work, it is for general purposes a disadvantage. And so the mind may, by a particular mode of treatment, acquire an extraordinary

vigor of some one faculty ; but such training is not judicious. A just balance, so to speak, should be preserved between all the faculties, so that while no one should greatly preponderate, no one should remain dormant. The memory being the first of our intellectual faculties which is developed, and being susceptible of continual improvement, it is more frequently cultivated unduly, or improperly, than any other. Indeed, in the earlier stages of education, the memory is principally the faculty with which the teacher has to do ; and the power which at this age it possesses of acquiring and retaining language should be carefully improved. But it is an error to suppose that such a memory may not be too retentive. Suppose a person to retain in memory, infallibly, every word and idea which ever entered the mind,—would such a memory be advantageous ? I think not. The mind of such a person would be encumbered with a multitude of useless ideas, which would be continually recurring, and associating themselves with other thoughts, so as to produce confusion and perplexity, and embarrass the reasoning faculty in its operation. A much more useful memory would be that which retained only important and useful things, while it let others slip. A good memory is the very opposite of a sieve, which suffers the wheat to fall through, but retains the chaff ; yet there are found among men, memories which greatly resemble the sieve ; for while they suffer good things to pass away they are very retentive of those ideas which are frivolous and corrupting. The art of mnemonics is curious, and has, by forming strong and arbitrary associations of ideas, performed wonders ; but I have never known anyone benefited by it. Indeed, I am of opinion that it is positively injurious, by fixing in the mind such associations as must be cumbersome and inconvenient ; especially in close reasoning, when it is desirable to exclude from our thoughts every irrelevant idea. If it were of importance for a man to be able to retain in memory long catalogues of names, such as the dynasties of princes, this art could afford much aid ; but in regard to such things and many others, it is better to have them in books than in minds. A memory tenacious of words in their order, is the lamest kind of memory ; while that which disregards words and retains ideas in their proper relations, in a comprehensive, systematic manner, is the best. The reason why many young men do not realize the expectations which their

recitations in college encouraged is, that they trusted too much to memory, while their judgment and reasoning faculty were but little exercised. In all cases where lessons are recited from text-books, the man of verbal memory will excel ; while a competitor who depends more on his own judgment may appear on a common examination far inferior, although in reality he may be much the superior of the two.

There is often a great mistake made even by intelligent teachers, in regard to the real talents of young men. The case of a mere verbal memory has already been brought to view ; but there is another no less common, when a scholar excels every other, in his class, in the quickness of his apprehension, and also in the celerity with which he commits his lesson to memory. Such persons always appear on recitations and examinations to great advantage, and are usually considered as possessed of superior mental endowments. But this judgment is often erroneous. Another may require much longer time to apprehend any new subject, but the very circumstance of its requiring a longer time for him to understand the point in question, leads him to take a more deliberate view of it, in all its bearings ; and it is proverbial, that that which is quickly memorized is readily forgotten, whereas that which is fixed in the memory by dint of effort it more apt to remain. Quickness of apprehension also is commonly united with volubility of speech ; while slowness in taking up a new subject is usually attended with a slow method of communication. Hence the former, though not really superior, enjoys great advantages in all hasty and superficial trials of talent and scholarship. And hence it comes to pass that in many cases college honors are no certain criterion by which to judge of the degrees of eminence to which students will arise when they enter upon their professional career. Men of slow movement are also under a greater necessity of improving all their time, and thus acquire habits of patient study and regular industry.

Of all qualifications in a student, there is none which is more certainly connected with future eminence than an inextinguishable thirst for knowledge—universal knowledge, as far as it is attainable. This very desire, however, may mislead, if not wisely directed ; as, for example, if a young man under its influence should undertake to pursue all kinds of knowledge at once. He would

waste his time and energies amidst a multiplicity of objects, and would become accurately acquainted with none. The principles of mental philosophy would lead to the conclusion that a man can pursue, advantageously, only one branch of knowledge at once, unless some other can be made to serve as a relaxation of the mind. Some successful students confine their attention so closely to one study, that they feel a kind of indifference to all others, and do not wish to be interrupted by anything else in the steady pursuit of their favorite object. Such men are commonly great in their own profession, but very deficient in general knowledge. I have known a man who was a profound lawyer, and thoroughly versed in all the intricacies of the legal profession, who knew no more of the improvements in modern science than a child. What he might have learned at college he had long since forgotten; and when his eye met a scientific paragraph in the periodical papers which he perused, he would immediately turn away his attention to something else. Another, who practised at the same bar, was also accurately learned in all that related to his profession, and delighted in legal studies; but he had a mind forever awake to every species of knowledge, and wherever he was he would find sources of information. An old volume in the window of a tavern, or even an old almanac, would be seized with avidity; and he would derive some information from every book and every person with whom he came in contact. And here it may be remarked to the younger part of my audience, that there is scarcely a man, or woman, in the world, from whom something might not be learned. This thirst of knowledge, when it does not draw the mind off from the proper studies of our profession, may lead us, without any loss of time, to amass an amazing store of general knowledge, and will fit us to be entertaining and instructive to all with whom we may associate.

The maxim which should be adopted by all who have enjoyed the benefit of a liberal education is, not to suffer any acquisition which they have made to be lost. If it was worth acquiring, it is worth preserving, especially as this can be done with so much ease. Yet there is nothing in which the alumni of our colleges are, in fact, more generally censurable. Most of them no sooner leave their *alma mater* than they turn away their minds from all their college studies. They do not deliberately form the purpose to

forget all that they have learned, but they actually pursue the course which leads to this result. A very short space, every day, or even twice a week, would, employed in these studies, enable the student not only to preserve the learning which he had acquired, but to increase it. And if this course were immediately pursued, it would be, from the first, a pleasing relaxation from business, or from severe professional studies. But after a few years' neglect, this knowledge seems to be encrusted with so thick a coating of rust, that to commence an attempt to recover what is so entirely lost appears like beginning an education anew. But I wish to state one fact, which can only be learned by experience, and therefore is frequently unknown to the young,—which is, that knowledge, of any kind, which has been once possessed, however it may seem to be utterly obliterated, can easily be recovered. There is no need to go over the whole process of learning every thing anew in detail; but when the mind is a short time exercised in the reminiscence of a subject once known, suddenly the whole is revived as it formerly existed in the mind. This is an important law of the mind which should be extensively known.

It has appeared to me expedient, on the principle that perfection in any art or business depends very much on the division of labor, that every educated man should select some one branch of science or literature to which he would direct such special attention as to become master of it. By this means we should have men so skilled in every branch as to be capable of giving instruction on it either by lectures or from the press.

The field of learning has become so wide that no man can be accurate in his knowledge of every department. To excel in any particular branch, much time and attention must be devoted to it. And this special attention to some favorite object need not interfere with professional pursuits, nor with the steady pursuit of general knowledge. It might be made the amusement of vacant hours, which otherwise would run to waste. And if a man should never have occasion to make use of such knowledge by endeavoring to instruct others, still it would richly repay him for the time and attention bestowed upon it; as every one knows by experience how much more satisfaction the accurate knowledge of a subject affords, than that which is partial and superficial.

There was a time, in this country, when there was danger of the learned languages being excluded from a course of liberal education. The prejudice against the study of Latin and Greek was so strong, that many parents were borne along with the current, and actually insisted that their sons should be educated in the sciences and in English literature, while the Latin and Greek classics were laid aside. The influence which these sentiments obtained over public opinion may be judged of from the fact, that in the "Annals of Yale College, it is stated that in the year 1827, a committee was appointed to inquire into the expediency of so altering the regular course of instruction in this college, as to leave out of said course the study of the dead languages, substituting other studies, therefor." And in some other colleges, the Greek language was dispensed with, and some modern language substituted in its place. And the effect was to turn away the attention of youth from the dead languages, by which means classical learning has, in this country, been much retarded. But there is reason to hope that the tide has turned, and that now there is an increasing opinion that these languages are an important branch of a liberal education which cannot, without great injury, be laid aside. The arguments, however, in favor of excluding them are so popular, and have been handled so adroitly, that there are still some who consider this study as useless, or at least as far less valuable than many branches of science which might be substituted in their place. And it may be expected that objections will continue to be made to the common course pursued in our schools and colleges, on this account. It may therefore be proper briefly to remark, that the opinion which is hostile to the study of Latin and Greek as a part of liberal education, mistakes the primary object of education. The argument goes on the supposition that the accumulation of useful knowledge is the only thing to be considered in judging of the efficiency of different plans; whereas, the most important end of education is to develope, exercise, strengthen, and direct the several faculties of the mind. When these are well disciplined, the acquisition of every kind of knowledge will be easy; without it the accumulation of stores of knowledge will be of little value; or, to speak more correctly, the mind which has not been properly trained is incapable of acquiring the most important branches of

knowledge. It may be asked whether the mind may not be as well trained by learning other things, which may be turned to some useful purpose. To which we reply, that it has been found by long experience that the study of these ancient languages has the effect of exercising not only the memory but also the judgment. Besides, the compositions found in these languages are written with consummate skill ; and as specimens of exquisite taste, both in prose and verse, have nothing superior and scarcely any parallel in the writings of other nations. And a good taste in pupils is most effectually cultivated by intimate acquaintance with the best models. Our young men who possess a talent for the fine arts, judge wisely in going to Italy, where they have before them the most perfect specimens of the arts in every department. But as the exquisite poems, orations, and histories of the ancients are capable of being easily transported from place to place, and multiplied by the press, we have no occasion to go abroad for these, but every student may have them in possession in his own study, and by a daily familiarity with these models it cannot be otherwise but that the taste of the scholar will be gradually refined, and the judgment in regard to such matters be rendered correct.

One of the things in the state of our country which prevents the alumni of our colleges from rising to eminence in their respective professions is, that the demand for their services and the openings for employment are so great, that they are induced to enter into public life much too soon. It is indeed true that many continue to improve after engaging in the duties of public or professional life ; but it will be found that the degree of improvement will be in an exact ratio to the point from which they set out. The more knowledge a man has, the greater is his capacity for improving in knowledge. That man, therefore, who goes into public life with a mind well disciplined, and well furnished with professional and general knowledge, will rise faster than one who commences with lower attainments. As the professions which engage the attention of literary men become full, there will be an increasing necessity for those who aspire to honorable and useful distinction, not to venture on the theatre of public life until their minds are fully matured, and their knowledge enlarged and systematized. Hereafter men of superficial education and meagre attainments need not expect to

rise as did men of this description in former times : pre-eminence in any learned profession can only be expected now, by those who have devoted years to preparatory studies.

But while it is true that many young men improve after entering on the practice of their profession, there are others who never advance : they remain stationary or rather retrograde in their course. Such bring no honor to their profession, but rather disgrace ; and are commonly useless members of society.

In answer to all that has been said in favor of regular education and long continued preparation, it has been alleged, that some of our greatest men have reached to the eminence which they possess, without any regular course of liberal education, and without the habit of close and systematic study. The fact cannot be denied, and should be considered as an exception to a well established general rule ; and every one knows that a general rule is rather established than subverted by the existence of a few exceptions. In reply to the objection it is sometimes said, that, eminent as these characters are, they would have been more so, if they had enjoyed the advantages of a regular and liberal education. But the truth of this is not evident. I am of opinion, that some minds, peculiarly constituted, acquire greater power, and rise to greater eminence, by being thrown into circumstances favorable to the development and vigor of their faculties, than if they had been trained in the regular course of scholastic studies. But it would be folly to neglect regular education and attention to study and discipline, which for ages have been found useful to most, because a small number of men have arisen, by an uncommon road, to superior excellence, without having been trained in the usual way. I have seen a boy of six years of age, who had never learned the first rules of arithmetic, who could in a minute answer questions which a practised accountant could not answer in less than five or ten minutes ; but would it be wise for this reason to omit teaching children the common rules of arithmetic ? It is however true, that men whose minds rise to a high degree of vigor in an extraordinary way, do always labor under some peculiar disadvantages ; their knowledge, though great and accurate, is confined to particular branches, while other departments are left untouched. A distinguished man, in this state, informed me, a few days since, that

one of our greatest statesmen and most effective orators knew no more of the British poets than a child. That such a man should be ignorant of the higher mathematics and sublimer parts of astronomy, would not be wonderful, but that he should be unacquainted with Milton and Shakespeare is really surprising. One excellent end of a regular college education is, that the youth is carried through a circle of the sciences, and surveys the general condition of polite literature. It is important to have some general acquaintance with the encyclopedia of human knowledge, and with the present state of advancement in each particular branch.

The greatest difficulty which now occurs in conducting a liberal education is, to know how much to include in the college course. The field of learning has become so extensive, that an attempt to comprehend every branch would necessarily render the course superficial; and it should be a fixed principle in education, not to build a large structure upon a slender foundation. Solidity and strength should never be sacrificed for extent and variety. Some branches of knowledge, both useful and ornamental, must be omitted, or slightly touched, in our literary institutions; and by those who desire an acquaintance with them, may be better acquired in other places. The rule should be to render the student thorough in the elementary and fundamental parts, and to add, of others, as much as can be comprehended in the time allotted to the course; still giving precedence to those branches which are most important and useful.

It seems to me that the importance of education in all its stages requires that more qualified persons should devote their time and attention to teaching. The profession of an instructor in the lower and higher schools, should be held in much greater esteem, and more liberally remunerated, than they have been in time past. Well qualified instructors should constitute another learned profession, and should be considered as standing on equal ground with gentlemen of the other learned professions. But well qualified teachers we cannot have in sufficient numbers, unless seminaries for the education of teachers, and normal schools, be instituted. By means of these, education in the kingdom of Prussia has been placed on a better footing, and extended more generally to all classes of people, than in any country on the globe. What has

there been accomplished by a wise exertion of arbitrary power ought to be effected here by the voluntary and energetic action of the whole people. Great good often springs from small beginnings. The acorn grows up to be a sturdy oak in the forest. It is difficult to bring great schemes of benevolence into operation at once. Human wisdom is not sufficient to adapt them to all the varying contingencies which must be met. I like Dr. Chalmers' idea of beginning near home, and cultivating a small field thoroughly, and gradually enlarging our operations, and combining our efforts with those of others, as may be found convenient. The establishment of a good school for teachers, in this Valley, would be an enterprise deserving universal patronage, and could not but be a rich blessing to the country. And why would not this place be suitable for such an institution?

The most dangerous error on the subject of education which is becoming prevalent in this country is that of excluding religious instruction from our schools; especially from common schools. This error has been committed by some of the States of this Union which have done most for the general promotion of education.

As religion is the most important of all subjects, it may seem strange, at first view, that there should exist any objection to its being made part of every system of education. But there are some plausible objections, which deserve to be noticed. It is alleged that the minds of youth should not be prejudiced in favor of any religion, before the judgment has come to maturity; that the minds of children should be left unoccupied until they are capable of judging for themselves on this important subject.

If this plan were pursued on all subjects, as well as religion, it would put an end to the education of youth, and we see not why the objection is not applicable to every species of knowledge concerning which there can be any diversity of opinion. But the true and sufficient answer to this objection is, that the human mind cannot be kept free from the influence of all religious opinions and impressions, and if we neglect to inculcate sound principles, such as are erroneous and dangerous will be adopted. The only way to keep out error is to pre-occupy the mind with truth. The heart of man is like a rich garden, which, if neglected, will teem with

noxious weeds, to prevent the growth of which the ground must be cultivated and good seed must be sowed. And if it were possible to keep the mind entirely unoccupied until manhood, the consequence would be that the powers of the mind would remain dormant, and its condition more deplorable than if it had been occupied with any system of instruction whatever, for every such system contains much truth; and among Protestant Christians, the instructions given to children are generally composed of the most important and necessary truths. Besides, religion is as much needed by the young, as by those of mature age. And the inculcation of its doctrines cannot be neglected without the greatest injury to the child.

Another objection, now more popular and prevalent, is, that since the people are divided into so many sects and denominations in our country, religion cannot make a part of the system of education, without interfering with the creeds or consciences of one sect or another. This may be a valid reason for not teaching, in common schools, the peculiarities of any one denomination, but it is no reason at all why those things should not be taught in which all Protestants agree. As all admit that the Bible is true and the source of all correct information on the subject of religion, there can be no reasonable objection to having it read in schools. This ancient and sacred book should be studied, if for nothing else, as a most venerable record of antiquity. The truth is, no education can be complete, even as it relates to the early history of the world, and of ancient nations, without the Bible. The early histories of other nations do not reach back with any distinctness, even to the time when the history of the Old Testament closes; and the history of early times by all profane authors is so deformed with monstrous fables that it furnishes no real instruction. The only difficulty which arises from the use of the Bible in our schools is the opposition of the Romanists, who do not approve our version, and who, indeed, are unwilling to have their children made acquainted with the contents of the Holy Scriptures, except such parts as their priests choose to communicate. Their people have not the privilege which the Bereans enjoyed, of daily searching the Sacred Scriptures, to see whether what is taught by their teachers is true or not: they must believe everything with an implicit faith; so that for them,

ignorance is better than knowledge. But as it regards these people, the difficulty only occurs in our large cities and a few other places, where Papists abound. Happily, in most parts of our country, this class of people are not found, or in numbers so small that no exceptions need be made to accommodate them. And where they are numerous, they should be left to pursue their own course, undisturbed by the civil authority; and their children should be permitted to be gathered into schools of their own; but they should not be allowed to interrupt that course of instruction which is judged to be the most efficient, in a country where four-fifths of the people are Protestants. Religion, I repeat it again, is infinitely the most important and necessary part of education. Leave this out, and it will be doubtful whether our schools will not do more harm than good, for sound morality rests on religion as its basis.

Gentlemen of the Alumni, the object of your association doubtless is, to promote the permanent prosperity of your beloved and respected *alma mater*. The character and success of every literary institution depends very much upon its Alumni in two ways. First, they stamp its character by the talents, scholarship, and principles which they exhibit, when they come before the world, in their respective professions, and public occupations. In this way they honor or disgrace the place of their education, without any direct design to promote its prosperity, or the reverse; for the public must and will judge of a college or seminary, not by a few specimens favorable or unfavorable—but by the general character of her Alumni. The more eminent, then, gentlemen, you become, for wisdom and integrity in your several pursuits, the more honor will you reflect on your *alma mater*, and the want of ability or of virtuous principle in any of you, cannot fail, in some degree, to inflict a wound on her reputation. It may be, that more is expected of the Faculties of literary institutions, in disciplining the minds and moulding the characters of their pupils, than is reasonable; but the public possess no other means of appreciating the character and efficiency of such institutions, than the virtues and attainments of those instructed and trained in their halls; and the making this the criterion by which to judge of the comparative excellence of different colleges is fair, and devolves upon their

professors and teachers a responsibility which ought to be felt, and which cannot but be salutary to the community.

The other way in which the Alumni of a college may promote her prosperity is, by individual and associated effort to advance her interests. By defending her against calumny and misrepresentation ; by communicating information respecting the facilities and advantages of education which she possesses ; by lending their aid to give effect to applications to the Legislature, or to the public, for funds which may be needed ; and especially, by selecting some one object connected with her reputation and interests, which by their combined efforts they will promote. Such, for example, as the enlargement of her library. This is an object well worthy of the vigorous and persevering efforts of the Alumni of Washington College. There is no reason why American institutions for educating youth may not stand on a level with the most celebrated of Europe, with this one exception, that compared with theirs our libraries are small and meagre. Foreigners who visit our country, speak with contempt—as they justly may—of the insignificance of all the libraries in this country. Indeed, if they were all collected into one, it would not be so complete as the library of some single institution in Europe which might be mentioned. As to professors and teachers, there is no reason why our colleges should be inferior to theirs ; for it cannot be doubted, that American genius is not inferior to European ; and many of our young men study in the best institutions of foreign countries ; and it is not found difficult to induce Europeans who have acquired celebrity to come as professors to this country. But it will be long before we can vie with the European universities in the extent and richness of our libraries. No doubt our colleges are too much multiplied, but the evil will correct itself ; and, after a while, only those which are really needed will continue in operation ; and of these, those which shall possess the most extensive and valuable libraries will acquire a permanent pre-eminence. The attraction of distinguished and eloquent professors will be variable, but that college, or university, which shall establish a library superior to all others in the country, will possess a standing recommendation not only to students, but to able professors and authors, who need such a library to complete works of learning which may be profit-

able to the whole community. I cannot forbear, therefore, to recommend this object to the special attention of the Alumni of Washington College, now convened.

I cannot conclude this address without pronouncing a brief eulogy on the man who deserves to be called the Father of this College, and whose memory should be venerated by all its Alumni. I mean the Rev. WILLIAM GRAHAM.

Mr. Graham was born in one of the eastern counties of Pennsylvania, and until the age of manhood was brought up in the business of agriculture, which he understood well and of which he was always fond. But at this period of his life, having undergone a great change in his religious views and feelings, he resolved to prepare for the work of the holy ministry. The obstacles in his way were, indeed, great, but being encouraged by the counsels and aided by the efforts and prayers of a most excellent mother, to whom he attributed in a great measure his success in this important enterprise, he ventured, under all discouragements, to go forward in endeavoring to obtain a liberal education, depending on the guidance and aid of Divine Providence. Having prepared himself to enter the College of New Jersey, at Princeton, he entered that institution, in company with a number of young men, who became eminent in the church or state. Among them as a scholar he stood pre-eminent; for during the college course he gained a whole year; that is he anticipated the studies of the senior year, before the class entered on them, and was permitted to retire from college till the time of the examination of his class, when he attended with them, and was graduated in the year 1773. As his father was unable, conveniently, to bear the expenses of his son while at college, he contributed to his own support, by teaching in the grammar school, then under the special direction of Dr. Witherspoon, the President of the college. Having completed his college course, he pursued his theological studies under the tuition of the Rev. Mr. Roane, a pious and distinguished divine, who resided in the vicinity of his father. But, during the whole period of his education, he was constantly engaged in the study of theology. But, among all his teachers he gave the preference to his excellent mother; and has been heard to say, that he learned

more of practical religion from her, than from all persons and books beside.

When the Presbytery of Hanover determined to establish a school in this Valley, for the rearing of young men for the ministry, they applied to the Rev. Samuel Stanhope Smith, then itinerating in the State, to recommend a suitable person to take charge of their school, upon which he at once recommended Mr. Graham ; and at their request wrote to him to come on to the Valley of Virginia.¹ Before this time, a classical school had been taught at a place called Mount Pleasant, near to the little town of Fairfield. Here Mr. Graham commenced his labors as a teacher ; and here we find the germ whence sprung this college. The acorn was then planted from which has proceeded the oak which is now spreading its branches abroad.

It was not long, however, before it was judged expedient to remove the infant school to Timber Ridge meeting house, where a convenient house for the Rector was built, and also an Academy and other small buildings for the accommodation of the students. A considerable sum was now raised, by subscription, for the purchase of books and a philosophical apparatus, and Mr. Graham was entrusted with the business of selecting and purchasing such articles as he should judge most useful and necessary ; and accordingly, he took a journey to Philadelphia, and executed, judiciously, the trust reposed in him. He also took a journey into New England, to solicit benefactions for the rising Academy, and not without some success, though not considerable. At this time, the prospects of the infant institution were very encouraging, and if no untoward events had occurred, there is reason to believe that it would have speedily risen to great eminence and usefulness. But the revolutionary war having burst on the country, threatening ruin and desolation, the attention of all *true* men was turned to the defence of the country ; and from no part of the United States, it is believed, did more young men enter the public service, than from this very region ; for in this whole country, half a dozen could not be found who were not true friends to the liberty and independence

¹ At the same meeting of the Presbytery of Hanover at which Mr. Graham was appointed Rector, Mr. John Montgomery was appointed Tutor.

of the country. Not only the youth who would have commenced a course of education were taken, but even those already in the institution, fired with an ardent patriotism, laid down their books, and seized the sword and the rifle. And it may truly be said, that the patriotic fire burned in no bosom with a warmer flame than in that of the rector of this Academy. On a certain occasion, when by the invitation of the executive authority of the State it was resolved to raise a volunteer company of riflemen to go into active service, and there appeared much backwardness in the men to come forward, he stepped out and had his own name enrolled, which produced such an effect that the company was immediately filled, of which he was unanimously chosen captain, and all necessary preparations were made for marching to the seat of war; when Gen. Washington signified to the governors of the States, that he did not wish any more volunteer companies to join the army.

The abandonment of the houses erected at Timber Ridge appears to have taken place—though without authority—as a matter of necessity. The income from the Academy was small, and his salary for preaching to the two congregations of Timber Ridge and Hall's Meeting House (now Monmouth) being paid in depreciated currency, it was impossible for him to support his family. He therefore resolved to return to farming, which, as has been said, he well understood. Accordingly, he purchased a small farm on the North River, within a mile or two of this spot.

The school at Timber Ridge was, however, continued for some time after Mr. Graham retired to his farm, and he endeavored to perform the duties of a rector, by visiting it and giving instruction several times in each week. But this being found very inconvenient to himself and disadvantageous to the school, after due deliberation, he resolved to relinquish the establishment at Timber Ridge, and to open a school in his own house. Here, the person who now addresses you, at an early age, commenced his course of classical learning. Even at this time, there was a respectable number of students in the school, most of them having reached the age and stature of men. After some time, a frame edifice was erected on ground given for the purpose, and the school was continued until, in the year 1782, application was made to the legis-

lature for an act of incorporation ; and accordingly, a number of trustees were formed into a body corporate, to have full charge of the Academy, which received the name of LIBERTY HALL ; which name it retained until it was endowed by General Washington, when his name was substituted for that which it had before borne. Before this donation was received, Mr. Graham had resigned his office of rector, or president ; though it is understood that he used all his influence to secure this important endowment ; and that he was the author of the letter addressed to General Washington, by the trustees, in favor of this institution.

Though Mr. Graham had some formidable opposers who had taken up strong prejudices against him, and although, after the close of the war, the character of the students who frequented the Academy was greatly deteriorated, and the difficulties which environed him were many and perplexing ; yet it must be conceded, that in resigning his important post at this time, he was not guided by his usual wisdom. Whatever be the character of youth, every civil and sacred interest requires that their education should be in the hands of pious men, and generally of ministers of the Gospel. And how can we hope for a reformation among the youth of our country, but by religious and moral instruction, and the exercise of salutary discipline. It is not expedient to bring distinctly into view, on this occasion, the disappointment which attended his favorite scheme of planting in the West a little colony of select families of like mind, who might live in peace, far from the contentions, bustle, and turmoil of the world. All such schemes must fail in the present state of human nature.

It is a remarkable fact, that this institution, although not honored with the name of a college, by its charter possessed all the powers of a college, being expressly authorized to grant literary degrees ; and although there were then no periodical commencements, yet in several instances the degree of bachelor of arts was granted, and in one instance, at least, publicly. The course of study in the Academy was precisely the same as that pursued at Princeton while Mr. Graham was a student in that college ; even the manuscript lectures of Dr. Witherspoon were copied, and studied by the students.

After this brief history, I will, as concisely as possible, give the character of this distinguished man, whose memory appears to be in danger of falling into oblivion.

Mr. Graham possessed a mind formed for profound and accurate investigation. He had studied the Latin and Greek classics with great care, and relished the beauties of these exquisite compositions. With those authors taught in the schools he was familiar, by a long practice in teaching, and always insisted on the importance of classical literature, as the proper foundation of a liberal education.

He had a strong inclination to the study of Natural Philosophy, and took pleasure in making experiments with such apparatus as he possessed; and he had procured for the Academy as good an one as was then possessed by most of the colleges. In these experiments much time was employed, on which inquisitive persons, not connected with the Academy, were freely permitted to attend.

As he was an ardent patriot, and a thorough republican, the times in which he lived led him to bestow much attention on the science of government; and one of the few pieces which he wrote for the press was on this subject. By some he was censured for meddling with politics, but it should be remembered, that at that time, this country, having cast off its allegiance to Great Britain, and declared itself independent, had to lay the foundation of governments, both for the States, and the nation; and that the welfare of posterity as well as of the existing inhabitants of the country, was involved in the wisdom with which this work was done. The talents of every man capable of thinking and judging on such subjects, seemed to be fairly put into requisition. It is a sound maxim that men living at one time, must not be judged by the maxims of an age in which all circumstances are greatly changed. At the adoption of the federal constitution, which according to its original draft he did not approve, he relinquished all attention to politics during the remainder of his life.

The science, however, which engaged his attention more than all others, except theology, was the PHILOSOPHY OF THE MIND! In this he took great delight, and to it devoted much time and attention. Though acquainted with the best treatises which had then been published, his investigations were not carried on so much

by books, as by a patient and repeated analysis of the various processes of thought as they arose in his own mind, and by reducing the phenomena thus observed to a regular system. The speaker is of opinion, that the system of mental philosophy which he thus formed, was, in clearness and fulness, superior to any thing which has been given to the public, in the numerous works which have recently been published on this subject. And it is greatly to be regretted that his lectures were never fully committed to writing, and published, for the benefit of the world. It was, however, a fault, in this man of profound thought, that he made little use of the pen. And it was also a defect, that in the latter years of his life he addicted himself little to reading the productions of other men; and perhaps entertained too low an opinion of the value of books.

But it is time that we should consider Mr. Graham as a theologian and a preacher. From the time of his ordination by the Presbytery of Hanover in 1775, he became a teacher of theology. Most of those who entered the holy ministry in this Valley pursued their preparatory studies under his direction. And after the great revival which commenced in this Valley in the year 1789, Mr. Graham had a theological class of seven or eight members under his tuition, which was kept up for several years. It was his custom to devote one day in the week to hearing the written discourses of these candidates, and to a free discussion of theological points. In these exercises he appeared to take great delight; and the students were always gratified and commonly convinced by his lucid statements and cogent reasonings. As most of those who enjoyed the benefit of his instructions in this incipient theological seminary are not now in the world, it may not be improper to say, that some of them rose to eminence in the church, and as professors or presidents of literary institutions. The influence which he gained over the minds of his pupils, while under his care, was unbounded. Seldom did any one of them venture to maintain an opinion different from those which he inculcated. Yet he encouraged the utmost freedom of discussion; and seemed to aim, not so much to bring his pupils to think as he did, as to teach them to think on all subjects for themselves. A slavish subjection to any human authority he repudiated; and therefore never

attempted to add weight to his opinions by referring to a long list of authors, of great name; but uniformly insisted, that all opinions should be subjected to the test of Scripture and reason. Some of his students have been heard to say, that the chief benefit which they derived from his instructions was, that by this means they were led to the free and independent exercise of their own faculties in the investigation of truth.

Mr. Graham, in his theological creed, was strictly orthodox, according to the standards of his own church, which he greatly venerated; but in his method of explaining some of the knotty points in theology he departed considerably from the common track; and was of opinion that many things which have been involved in perplexity and obscurity by the manner in which they have been treated, are capable of being easily and satisfactorily explained by the application of sound principles of philosophy. As a preacher, he was always instructive and evangelical; though, in common, his delivery was rather feeble and embarrassed, than forcible; but when his feelings were excited, his voice became penetrating, and his whole manner awakening and impressive. And his profound study of the human heart enabled him to describe the various exercises of the Christian with a clearness and truth which often greatly surprised his pious hearers; for it seemed to them as if he could read the very inmost sentiments of their minds; which he described more perfectly than they could do themselves. When it was his object to elucidate some difficult point, it was his custom to open his trenches, so to speak, at a great distance; removing out of the way every obstacle, until he was prepared to make his assault on the main fortress. Thus, insensibly he led his hearers along, step by step, gaining their assent first to one proposition and then to another, until at last they could not easily avoid acquiescence in the conclusion to which he wished to bring them. As a clear and cogent reasoner, he had no superior among his contemporaries; and his pre-eminence in the exercise of this faculty, was acknowledged by all unprejudiced persons.

It has been hinted that Mr. Graham had enemies, who often had influence to impede or thwart his favorite schemes; and candor requires that it should be acknowledged, that he sometimes

imprudently made enemies of those who might have been efficient friends, by too free an indulgence of satirical and sarcastical remarks; which weapon he could wield with great power. And it must also be conceded, that towards his opponents he never manifested much of a conciliatory temper, but seemed rather disposed to stand aloof from them, and to set them at defiance.

In the government of youth, Mr. Graham was from the first a rigid and unyielding disciplinarian. He laid it down as a principle, that, at every risk, authority must be maintained; and when this was by any one resisted, however formidable the student might be in physical strength, or however many might combine to frustrate the regular exercise of discipline, he fearlessly went forward in the discharge of his duty, and generally triumphed over all opposition; and often inflicted severe castigation on the thoughtless persons who dared to rebel against lawful authority. Whether his rigor might not, in some instances, have been extreme, is a question on which judicious men would differ in opinion, and which need not be discussed.

As has been already hinted, the great error of his life was the relinquishment of the important station in which Providence had placed him, and for which he was so eminently qualified; and that at a time of life when he possessed the ability of being more useful than at any former period. Having removed to the banks of the Ohio river, he fell into great embarrassments, in the midst of which he died, in consequence of a violent fever contracted by exposure to frequent, drenching rains, while on a journey to Richmond. In that city he breathed his last, in the house of his friend, the late Col. Robert Gamble: and his remains were deposited very near the south door of the Episcopal Church on the hill, over which a plain marble slab, with a short inscription, is placed.

The extent of the influence exerted by this one man over the literature and religion of this region, cannot be calculated. As the stream which fertilizes a large district is small in its origin, but goes on continually increasing until it becomes a mighty river; so the influence of the Rev. William Graham did not cease when he died, but has gone on increasing, by means of his disciples, who have been scattered far and wide over the West and the South.

A debt of gratitude is due to him which cannot easily be repaid. Instead of a monument of marble, which has been richly deserved, an ample memoir of his life, with a particular history of this college in its various vicissitudes and conditions, and of some of its principal Alumni, educated under the tuition of Mr. Graham, would be a suitable tribute to his memory. And this work would seem to devolve naturally on some member of the Faculty. That it may be speedily undertaken, and faithfully executed, would no doubt be the ardent wish of every Alumnus present.

I wish also to preserve from oblivion the memory of the first tutor in this institution, after it was incorporated, Dr. James Priestley; a man of lively genius, and extraordinary attainments in some departments of literature. Mr. Priestley was the son of a poor but very pious man in this county. Mr. Graham having, in catechising the youth of his charge, noticed the readiness and accuracy with which this boy answered all the questions proposed to him, obtained the consent of his parents to take him into his own family, that he might give him a liberal education. The boy being endowed with a most retentive memory and a vivid imagination, soon became a distinguished scholar, and a tutor in the Academy. His memory was so extraordinary, that in hearing his pupils, he had no occasion to take a book into his hands. His principal attention was directed to Greek literature, in the accurate knowledge of which he greatly excelled. He sometimes entertained his pupils by spouting, with astonishing vehemence, the orations of Demosthenes, in Greek. Mr. Priestley devoted his whole life to the promotion of classical literature. The principal theatre of his labors was Georgetown, (District of Columbia,) Annapolis, and Baltimore, in the State of Maryland. In each of the forementioned places he established and superintended schools of a high grade of excellence.

His fame as a teacher of youth having spread extensively, he was selected as the first President of the Cumberland University, at Nashville, Tennessee. Here he spent the last years of his life; and though all were impressed with a high idea of his extraordinary learning, and his high qualifications as a classical teacher; yet he did not succeed well in organizing and arranging an infant college. He was indeed a very eccentric, though a very amiable

man ; and married a woman as eccentric as himself. Among the peculiar opinions which he fondly cherished, one was, that our future felicity would depend very much upon the degree of intellectual culture bestowed on the mind, as well as on its moral improvement ; an opinion which has been ingeniously maintained by a writer in one of our popular periodicals, recently.

Dr. Priestly possessed an enthusiastic ardor in favor of education which I have never seen surpassed ; and he succeeded in inspiring his pupils with something of the same. From him the speaker derived the first impulse in his literary course, and, therefore, he feels a pleasure in having this opportunity of paying a deserved tribute to the memory of a teacher, who was an ornament to this institution, in its earliest days.

In conclusion I would remark, that I feel myself this day placed in solemn circumstances. Of all those who were connected with this institution when I entered it, and for some years afterwards, whether as trustees, teachers, or students, there is not one remaining upon earth but myself. And very soon some other person who addresses the Alumni of Washington College may say the same in regard to those who now hear me. Time rolls swiftly on, and will soon bear on its rapid current the youngest and strongest among us to the ocean of eternity. Let us all then make it our chief care and study to prepare for an event which none can escape. While we are permitted to live, may we be found diligently fulfilling the duties of our respective stations in society ; endeavoring by all the means in our power to promote the welfare of our fellow creatures. Liberal learning is calculated to raise men not only above the gross pursuits of sensuality, but also to elevate them above the sordid pursuits of selfishness. Let us endeavor so to act, that on a retrospect of our lives, our conduct may meet with the approbation of our own consciences, and with the approbation of our God !

Having now finished what I wished to communicate, at this time, I must, my beloved friends, take a solemn and lasting farewell of you all ; never again expecting to see the faces of most of you in the flesh. May Heaven's richest blessings attend you !

CONCLUDING NOTE.

The Rev. James W. Alexander, D. D., in his life of his father the Rev. Dr. Archibald Alexander, gives an account of the circumstances under which this address was delivered, which we now copy as a matter of interest to the reader :

“Notwithstanding the adverse prognostics of this letter (referring to a letter of Dr. Alexander to his sister, written in 1842, in which he expressed a doubt whether at his age and in the state of his health he would ever be able to visit Virginia again), he was permitted to revisit Virginia in the summer of 1843. On this occasion he delivered a discourse before the Alumni Association of Washington College, on the Commencement Day, June 29th. From the crowd of persons and the extreme heat, he was during the address seized with a faintness, which was alarming, and which made it necessary for him to be carried into the open air. No expostulations, however, could induce him to desist. He was especially desirous to say something in honor of his old teacher, Mr. Graham. He therefore returned and completed the delivery of the address. Its last words were these : ‘ Having now finished what I wished to communicate at this time, I must, my beloved friends, take a solemn and last farewell of you all ; expecting never again to see the face of most of you in the flesh. May Heaven’s richest blessings attend you ! ’ From the columns of a religious journal, published some time after the event, we derive the following statement : ‘ I shall never forget some circumstances connected with his last visit to Virginia. It was the summer of 1843. He came, as he told me when I met with him, reckoning upon it as his last visit to his native region. Dr. Alexander opened the Commencement exercises with a short prayer. A generation long gone by seemed to be represented in him, and while he sat looking down upon the scene, and partaking of the varying emotions that swayed the auditory, I could not but fancy what thoughts and feelings must have been passing through his mind, far out of the range of those that were present to the minds of others there. He had been one of the early students of Liberty Hall Academy, under its first rector, William Graham, a man of eminent talents and piety, who well deserves to be honored as the father of learning in West Virginia, and who was the preceptor likewise of Baxter, Speece, J. H. Rice, and other men of note, both in church and state.

“ In the afternoon the audience again filled the spacious building to hear Dr. Alexander, the most of them for the last time. The heat of the crowded house, and the effort of the occasion, coming after the fatigue and excitement of the morning, were too much for an aged man, like Dr. Alexander. He faltered in the midst of his discourse, grew pale, stopped and sank back into his seat, every heart in the vast assembly beating quick at such an interruption. In a few moments he rose, and renewed the effort; but it would not do. It was not long before he gave way, and had to be carried out of the house in his chair. I had listened in painful anxiety from the time that he had commenced again, and the feelings of the audience were now all absorbed in concern for him. Who could tell but that the cords of an aged and feeble life, too tensely stretched, might suddenly snap, and the scene wind up with a melancholy and thrilling event.

“ Friends gathered around him, and begged that he would leave off, suggesting that, with his consent, the address would be printed. He declared his intention of going on. It was then suggested that the rest should be read by some person for him. But no, he persisted strangely, and as it almost seemed, obstinately. What was the secret of his pertinacity? He had an office to perform; he had a tribute to pay on that last occasion. And there, under the shadow of the old church, surrounded by the descendants of his own paternal family, and of his contemporaries, amidst the tombs of his own generation, and within a few yards of the graves of his own parents, he sat and read his tribute to Mr. Graham—the audience clustering around him, and hanging with fixed and tearful attention on his closing words. He sketched the character of Graham, spoke of his services to the cause of learning and religion, and concluded with a few impressive remarks, in which he spoke of himself as the sole survivor of the whole number of officers and students connected with Liberty Hall at the time of his entrance, and for two or three years afterwards, and exhorted those about him, as one who never expected to see them again, to seek salvation through the infinite merits of a Redeemer.

“ The address has been printed. But it needs that one should have been present to feel the full impression of it, as delivered.

“ That face and form, that group, the old church, the church-yard with its monuments, all seen amid the lengthening shadows of declining day, formed a scene for a painter's pencil. It was a most striking and appropriate picture for the last page of such a man's pilgrimage to the place of his birth and of his fathers' graves.

N. L.

“Concerning this visit, his eldest brother, Andrew Alexander, Esq., thus wrote: ‘We have been very much gratified with the visit of your father. There were frequently present the three brothers and two sisters. It is not common for so many aged brothers and sisters to meet; the youngest being sixty-seven years old. It is not at all probable that we shall ever again meet in this world.’ It is instructive to add, that at this present writing, only one of that venerable circle survives.”—*Life of Dr. Archibald Alexander*, pp. 554-557.

WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY

LEXINGTON, VIRGINIA

HISTORICAL PAPERS

No. 3.—1892

1. THE SCOTCH-IRISH SETTLERS IN THE VALLEY OF VIRGINIA: ALUMNI ADDRESS AT WASHINGTON COLLEGE, JULY 1, 1859. BY COL. BOLIVAR CHRISTIAN.
 2. NOTES ON WASHINGTON ACADEMY AND WASHINGTON COLLEGE: PREPARED IN 1873, AT THE REQUEST OF THE ALUMNI ASSOCIATION. BY HON. SIDNEY S. BAXTER.
 3. MEMORIAL TRIBUTES TO THE REV. GEO. A. BAXTER, D. D.
 4. SKETCHES OF TRUSTEES, CONTINUED.
 5. SAMUEL AND WILLIAM LYLE, JAMES RAMSEY, JOHN MONTGOMERY, TRUSTEES; WILLIAM MCCLUNG, AND MANY ALUMNI. BY WILLIAM HENRY RUFFNER, LL. D.
-

BALTIMORE:
JOHN MURPHY & CO.
1892.

PREFACE.

This number contains the valuable address of Col. Bolivar Christian on "The Scotch-Irish Settlers in the Valley of Virginia," now nearly out of print; Notes on Washington Academy and Washington College, by the Hon. Sidney S. Baxter; Memorial Tributes to the Rev. George A. Baxter, D. D.; and a continuation of Sketches of Trustees.

In preparing these Sketches we have been greatly aided by the Rev. William Brown, D. D., Mrs. S. C. P. Miller, Judge William P. Houston, and William H. Ruffner, LL. D. These will be continued in succeeding numbers.

We hope to publish in the next number a continuation of Dr. Ruffner's history of the institution by his son Dr. William Henry Ruffner.

WILLIAM McLAUGHLIN,
WILLIAM A. GLASGOW,
HENRY ALEXANDER WHITE,

Committee.

WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY,
February, 1892.

CONTENTS.

| | PAGE. |
|--|-------|
| THE SCOTCH-IRISH SETTLERS IN THE VALLEY OF VIRGINIA: ALUMNI ADDRESS AT WASHINGTON COLLEGE, LEXINGTON, VA., JULY 1, 1859. BY COL. BOLIVAR CHRISTIAN, OF STAUNTON, VA. | |
| What the term Scotch-Irish implies..... | 3 |
| Scots transplanted to Ulster under James I..... | 4 |
| Persecutions while yet in Scotland..... | 4 |
| Condition of Scotch-Irish in Ulster..... | 6 |
| Migration to Pennsylvania..... | 6 |
| Removal to the Valley of Virginia..... | 7 |
| State of the Valley at that time..... | 7 |
| Characteristics of the Early Settlers..... | 9 |
| Rev. John Craig..... | 11 |
| Bishop Burnet's description of Scotch Covenanters applicable to early Presbyterian Congregations in the Valley..... | 12 |
| First Vestrymen of Augusta parish dissenters..... | 14 |
| Extracts from Court Records of Augusta County..... | 15 |
| Court-house and Jail described... .. | 18 |
| Gabriel Jones, the King's Attorney..... | 19 |
| Certain Items of County Levies..... | 20 |
| Samples of Sheriffs' Returns..... | 21 |
| Indian Incursions..... | 23 |
| Augusta Companies in the Indian Wars..... | 24 |
| Instances of Indian magnanimity..... | 26 |
| Pontiac, Chief of the Ottawas..... | 27 |
| Pontiac's War..... | 28 |
| Cornstalk described..... | 30 |
| Battle of Point Pleasant..... | 30 |
| Death of Cornstalk..... | 31 |
| Address of Freeholders of Fincastle County to Continental Congress. | 33 |
| Instructions of Freeholders of Augusta County to their Delegates in Convention..... | 34 |

| | PAGE. |
|---|-------|
| Address of Freeholders of Botetourt County..... | 36 |
| The Battle of Guilford..... | 37 |
| The Battle of King's Mountain..... | 38 |
| Tarleton's Raid..... | 39 |
| Various Memorials from Hanover Presbytery..... | 41 |
| Conclusion | 42 |

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF WASHINGTON ACADEMY AND COLLEGE, FROM
1799 TO 1829: PREPARED IN 1873, AT THE REQUEST OF THE ALUMNI
ASSOCIATION, BY HON. SIDNEY S. BAXTER.

| | |
|--|----|
| Law incorporating Washington College repealed..... | 45 |
| Dr. Baxter appointed Professor..... | 45 |
| Dr. Baxter elected Rector..... | 46 |
| Mr. Blain elected Professor..... | 46 |
| Burning of Liberty Hall Academy..... | 46 |
| Purchase of College Grounds..... | 47 |
| Dr. Baxter made President of Washington College..... | 48 |
| John Robinson's Bequest..... | 48 |
| Resignation of President and Professors..... | 49 |
| Course of Study under Dr. Baxter..... | 49 |
| Mode of Instruction..... | 50 |
| Mental Discipline the aim..... | 51 |
| Prejudice against Study of Ancient Languages..... | 52 |
| Methods of Discipline..... | 52 |
| Sketch of Dr. Baxter..... | 53 |
| Sketch of Rev. Daniel Blain..... | 55 |
| Sketch of Rev. Andrew Herron..... | 56 |
| Sketch of Rev. Henry Ruffner, D. D..... | 56 |
| Sketch of Mr. Edward Graham..... | 57 |
| Endowments of the College..... | 58 |
| Stock of the James River Company..... | 58 |
| The Cincinnati Fund..... | 60 |

NOTICES OF THE LIFE, CHARACTER, AND WORK OF DR. BAXTER PUBLISHED AFTER HIS DEATH:

| | |
|---|----|
| By Rev. Stuart Robinson, D. D., in the <i>Watchman of the South</i> | 65 |
| By Rev. John H. Boccock, D. D.: Address before the Society of Alumni of Union Theological Seminary, June, 1848..... | 69 |
| By Rev. B. M. Smith, D. D., in the <i>Staunton Spectator</i> , 1846..... | 71 |
| By Rev. William Brown, D. D., in <i>The Central Presbyterian</i> | 75 |

SKETCHES OF TRUSTEES.

| | PAGE. |
|---|-------|
| Rev. Samuel Carrick. By W. McL..... | 85 |
| Thomas Edgar. By W. McL..... | 86 |
| Rev. James Mitchel. By W. McL..... | 87 |
| Rev. Samuel Houston. By W. P. H..... | 88 |
| Rev. John P. Campbell, M. D. By W. McL..... | 89 |
| Dr. Samuel L. Campbell. By W. McL..... | 93 |
| Col. James McDowell. By Mrs. S. C. P. Miller, of Princeton, N. J. | 95 |
| Benjamin Grigsby. By W. McL..... | 115 |
| Rev. Samuel Brown. By W. B..... | 116 |

SAMUEL AND WILLIAM LYLE, JAMES RAMSEY, JOHN MONTGOMERY,
TRUSTEES; WILLIAM MCCLUNG AND MANY ALUMNI: OR, THE LYLE
CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE. BY WILLIAM
HENRY RUFFNER, LL. D.

| | |
|---|-----|
| Family of Samuel and William Lyle..... | 130 |
| The Four Immigrant Lyles..... | 133 |
| Matthew Lyle, Immigrant..... | 134 |
| John Lyle, Immigrant..... | 138 |
| Daniel Lyle, Immigrant..... | 140 |
| Samuel Lyle, Immigrant..... | 142 |
| William Lyle, Trustee..... | 146 |
| Dr. James Ramsey, Trustee..... | 157 |
| Rev. John Montgomery, Trustee..... | 159 |
| The Valley of the North River..... | 162 |
| Application and Concluding Remarks..... | 164 |

THE SCOTCH-IRISH SETTLERS IN THE VALLEY OF VIRGINIA.

CORRESPONDENCE.

WASHINGTON COLLEGE,

LEXINGTON, VA., *July 2nd, 1859.*

DEAR SIR:—

The Association of Alumni of this Institution, wishing to give to the Address with which you favored them last evening as permanent a form and as wide a circulation as possible, appointed the undersigned a Committee to transmit to you the following resolution:

“Resolved, That the thanks of this Association be tendered to BOLIVAR CHRISTIAN, Esq., for the very entertaining and instructive Address to which we have just listened with so much pleasure, and, in order that others besides the large and intelligent audience in attendance may have the benefit of the interesting and important matter in which it so richly abounds, that a Committee of three members be appointed to request a copy for publication.”

While we hereby express the wishes of those we have the honor to represent, we add our own earnest solicitations that you will comply with the request embodied in the foregoing resolution.

We are, with high regard, your Fellow-Alumni,

ALPHONSO SMITH,
JOHN L. CAMPBELL,
GREENLEE DAVIDSON.

To Col. BOLIVAR CHRISTIAN, *Staunton, Va.*

STAUNTON, July 29th, 1859.

Gentlemen:

Although conscious of the imperfections in the address you request for publication, yet as it was written for the Alumni of Washington College, I feel that they have a right to dispose of the manuscript as they shall determine.

If it may awaken the attention of others to its subject, the object of its preparation will be accomplished; and if other facts illustrating the settlement of this

Valley may be thus elicited and communicated to the Society of Alumni or to some proper person for preservation, its wider publication may be permissible.

While it has seemed unnecessary to encumber the MS. with notes of reference, I have been careful to state nothing but on authentic tradition, or as corroborated by reliable history. The plan of the Address was to omit all familiar history not indispensable to embody the floating traditions and unpublished incidents concerning the Scotch-Irish of Augusta. The sources of information are the fading memories of the old settlers; the records of the courts and of the Virginia Legislature; Hening's Statutes; American Archives; the various histories of Scotland and Ireland, of Virginia and the adjoining States; and the Sketches of Monette, Foote, Kercheval, Davidson, Collins, Chambers, and others.

Appreciating the kindly manner in which you have conveyed the request of the Alumni Association—I remain, with friendly esteem, yours truly,

BOLIVAR CHRISTIAN.

TO MESSRS. ALPHONSO SMITH, JOHN L. CAMPBELL, GREENLEE DAVIDSON,
Committee of Alumni Association, Lexington, Va.

ADDRESS.

GENTLEMEN OF THE ALUMNI:

Our Alma Mater was born of the habitual esteem for learning among the Scotch-Irish settlers of this Valley. It had a genial nurture in the classic taste and training of their pastors—hereditary exemplars for their people, not more in piety than in political virtue. Its primal dowry was a tribute from the Father of his Country to patriotism and valor, so long and often illustrated under his own eye, from the fatal day of Braddock's defeat till Freedom's crowning conflict on the plains of Yorktown.

The Alumni of Washington College may well find it a fitting duty to trace out, in all its associations, the unwritten history of the Scotch-Irish Settlers in the Valley of Virginia. Of this race most of the Alumni are themselves direct descendants, and dispersed as they now are in every part of this continent, it can be but a labor of love for each to gather as he may, even from the four winds

themselves, some Sybilline leaves, or floating traditions, to illustrate a history rich in story of brave men and noble deeds—

———“*Sed omnes illachrymabiles
Urgentur, ignotique longâ
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.*”

Let us then in a spirit of filial love—akin to that of the pious Æneas—attempt the task of rescuing from impending oblivion ever so little of the honored memory of our fathers before it be too late forever. Let us patiently, for the sake of the charity of the undertaking, wander awhile, like Old Mortality, among the graves of the past, and with humble but persistent effort retouch the fading tombstones of virtue.

We propose not to travel along the broad highways of History, but mostly on a more rugged route, amidst remote forests and rude mountains, where only weird Tradition has her trackless haunts. We will attempt not in this brief hour to treat such a theme in artistic style, but only to present, as we have gathered, something of the traits and incidents characteristic of the people and the times in the early days of our Valley, and to leave to some more epic pen to trace the moving story in all its fair proportions and poetic contrasts—from the simple wigwam homes, the virgin prairies, and forest-covered mountains of this new world, far back to its origin amidst the moors and time-honored highlands of Ancient Scotland, where—

“*Splendor falls on castle walls
And snowy summits old in story.*”

The familiar term Scotch-Irish implies, not the amalgamation of distinct Scotch and Irish families, but, like Anglo-Saxon and Indo-Briton, simply that the people of one country were transplanted into the other. The Scotch-Irish settlers in the Valley of Virginia are direct descendants of the Scotch who colonized the North of Ireland during the religious troubles of Great Britain, from the reign of Henry VIII. continuously to the time of William III.

Their lineage is more distinctly traced from the date of the unsuccessful rebellion of the Earls of Tyrconnel and Tyrone, that

forfeited to the British crown the factious province of Ulster. Thither James I. transplanted colonies of Scotch and English during the early part of the seventeenth century. The Rev'd Andrew Stewart, a cotemporaneous writer, records, that "of the English not many came over, for it is to be observed that being a great deal more tenderly bred at home in England, and entertained in better quarters than they could find in Ireland, they were unwilling to flock thither except to good land, such as they had before at home, or to good cities where they might trade; both of which, in those days, were scarce enough here. Besides, the marshiness and fogginess of this island were still found unwholesome to English bodies. The King, too, had a natural love to have Ireland planted with Scots, as being, besides their loyalty, of a middle temper between the English tender and the Irish rude breeding, and a great deal more likely to adventure to plant Ulster." . . . Among these colonists are mentioned the Ellises, Leslies, Hills, Conways, Wilsons and others, "gentlemen of England and worthy persons"—and the Forbesees, Grahams, Stuarts, Hamiltons, Montgomerys, Alexanders, Shaws, Moores, Boyds, Barclays and Baileys, described as "knights and gentlemen of Scotland whose posterity hold good to this day." And here, this evening, I may well repeat this quaint encomium in the presence of many of their lineal posterity, still bearing with honor the same names and "holding good" to this day—two full centuries later.

In the channel thus opened the tide of emigration fluctuated from Scotland to Ireland throughout the succeeding century, swollen too long and often from the ruthless persecutions of the unflinching Covenanters by the faithless Charles and his successors, down to the time of the momentous revolution of 1688, which placed the Presbyterian Prince of Orange on the throne of Great Britain.

The history of these people while yet in Scotland, written in the blood of their sufferings, illustrates a character which bore fruit for their descendants in later years and other lands. Under the extraordinary trials and intense excitement of the times they exhibited devotion to their principles of faith and freedom to a degree readily magnified by their enemies and exaggerated almost to insane fanati-

cism. Many of them, men of high estate of the nobility of Scotland, sacrificed everything for the common cause, undergoing a persecution which, in the opinion of Bishop Burnet himself, "surpassed even the merciless rigors of the Duke of Alva." Proclaiming, in a loyal petition to a perjured King, that "the only desire of our hearts is for the preservation of true religion amongst us, which we hold far dearer than our lives and fortunes," they resisted to the bitter end the canons and liturgy prepared by the impious Charles without the sanction of any church; driven from their time-honored kirk, they still gathered in conventicles like Maybole, and Ayr, and Remfred, and Teviotdale;—renewing, ever and anon, with heartiest zeal, their fealty to their fathers' "SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT,"—that *Magna Charta* of Scottish rights,—and rallying under their "brave banners," emblazoned at once with the ancient thistle of Scotland and the shibboleth of their own faith in the famous golden letters, "FOR CHRIST'S CROWN AND COVENANT,"—they awaited, undaunted, the wrath of tyranny defied. Overborne at last by the oppressor's power, goaded by the insolence and cruel tortures of Claverhouse, and Carstairs, Sharp, Dalzell, and Drummond, too many sealed their testimony with their blood, and the survivors of the red fields of Bothwell-moor, Airmoss, and Pentland Hills, homeless and hopeless, sought a resting place and refuge amid the fens and bogs of Ulster.

"Ah, days by Scotia still deplored !
 When faithless king, and bigot lord,
 On their own subjects drew the sword.

* * * * *

"But FIRM in faith of Gospel truth,
 Stood hoary age, and guileless youth,
 Against oppressors void of ruth,
 In cold blood killing wantonly.

"Their preachers silent and deposed,
 Their house of prayer against them closed,
 Homeless, on mountain heaths exposed !

But though in dark adversity,
 Their harps were NOT on willows hung,
 But tuneful still, and ever strung,
 Till mountain echoes round them rung
 To notes of bravest melody."

They and their descendants, thus saved as by fire, would scarce submit patiently to like oppression in their new-found homes in Ireland. Under the rule of William and Mary, Queen Anne, and the Georges, their condition here was endurable only for its contrast with their former sufferings,—the equivocal consolation of the companions of Ulysses, "*tulinus duriora*." Strained constructions of the Act of Toleration;—tithes and taxes on the wreck of their estates to support an established church, not of their choice;—restraints in the exercise of their cherished opinions;—disabilities and degradations to be endured for conscience' sake;—peculiar dangers from dwelling amidst such bitter and powerful enemies of their faith, already malignantly gloating over one massacre, and muttering threats for more,—all combined to make them an unhappy and restless people.

It was then that, like the delusive whisperings of hope in the captive's dream, prophetic tidings came wafting across the wide ocean, that in the far-off forests of America the Huguenot and Puritan had found a refuge from persecution and "full freedom to worship God." And though the tempest-tossed Eagle-Wing, years before, had so trustingly sailed from the same shores only to be driven back a wreck—as their fathers feared and believed by the warning hand of Providence—they yet remembered that the frailer Mayflower, freighted with the hopes of others tried like themselves, had passed over the deep waters in safety. They trusted that now the fullness of time for their departure had come, that the measure of their afflictions in this land was full, and a home in this new world would fulfil, for their relief, the promise of their God, so often hopefully dwelt upon in all their congregations:—"For thou, O God, hast proved us; and thou hast tried us as silver is tried; thou broughtest us into the net, thou laydest affliction upon our loins; thou hast caused men to ride over our heads; we went through fire and through water, BUT THOU BROUGHTEST US OUT UNTO A WEALTHY PLACE."

Gathering what little of worldly gear was left from out of their troubles; many with naught save the Bible, but which alone had so often before, in their sorrowful history, seemed to suffice for even more than spiritual sustenance in many a dreary day—precious as is the one draught of sweet water that cheers the patient camel

through the weary wastes of the desert—sadly but trustfully they turned away, as they well knew *forever*, from the homes and the graves of their fathers and fathers' fathers for long centuries gone. Without any known or definite destination within that distant land to which they turned, they hopefully embarked, and in long and wearisome voyages crossing a wide and fathomless ocean that rolled its waves like the dark waters of Lethe over all the crowding memories of their past, they only knew that now their anchors dropped upon the silent shores of another continent, within whose trackless forests they fondly hoped to find at last that peace for body and soul elsewhere so vainly sought. The outcasts of Eden were not more desolate—

“Some natural tears they dropt, but wiped them soon;
The world was all before them where to choose
Their place of rest, and Providence their guide.”

It was upon the banks of the Delaware they landed, and some rested for a season in the province of Penn, naturally looking for sympathy from a people who in the old world had suffered like themselves for conscience' sake. Others, following their native instincts, passed on towards the blue mountains whose towering peaks and waving outlines along the distant horizon recalled the memories of their childhood's home among the hills and heath-clad highlands of Scotland. Ascending the tops of the Kittochtinny—the Indian term for Blue Ridge—they gazed with charmed eye upon this lovely Valley, blooming in all its pristine beauty before them, as on “some fairy land they'd longed to see.” It fulfilled their fondest dreams of that promised land of peace, as it lay enwrapped in its primal silence, broken only by the sighing of winds among the forest trees, the song of birds, and the sounds of murmuring waters. The long lines of mountain peaks, fading away in distant view, stood ranged on either side like guardian sentinels, while clouds of purple and of gold, gathering along the loftiest crests, hung around the blue horizon like waving banners of welcome.

Tradition relates that the various Indian tribes long held this Valley sacred as a neutral hunting ground. The growth of forest trees was prevented by annual firings at the close of the hunting season, and thus its fertile soil by each returning summer would

spread the waving grass over all its plains, and the flowering dogwood, the redbud, azalea, rhododendron, and laurel would crown all its hills with beauty. Lowing herds of buffalo, the stately elk, and the graceful deer in countless numbers found their favorite haunts among the green pastures and beside the still waters of this beautiful vestal land. Like the classic isle of Leuce, it was a modern Elysium, where the forest warriors, elsewhere foes, might here in perfect truce pursue together the pleasures of the chase. Here the wanderers found a genial home, and within a short score of years following their first permanent settlement in 1732, spread along the banks of the Opequon and Cedar creek in the Northern portion of the Valley, and soon over all the waters of the Cohongoruton, and far up its branches to the triple forks of the silvery Sherando.¹ Pressing on southward and westward, they settled the sources of the James and the Roanoke, the Greenbrier, and the head waters of the Holston.

The government of Virginia with a wise policy encouraged these infant settlements by liberal grants of choice lands, total exemption from taxation for a term of years, and guaranty for freedom in all their forms of religious worship. Thus was secured for the frontier a bold and hardy and loyal people, a palisade of defence in savage warfare, and a proper nursery for pioneers to push her empire westward to the inviting valley of the Mississippi.

The mountain boundaries of this isolated land stood as obstacles alike to visitors from abroad and wanderers from their own folds. Settled in clusters of families of the same faith and fatherland, strangers to all others on this side the broad Atlantic, their social desires were satisfied solely within the confines of their own new homes. The luxuriant soil, and abundant game of the forests, afforded in profusion the comforts of their simple life. The pack-horse now and then wending a solitary way across rugged mountains and through trackless forests to the distant cities of Newcastle or to Williamsburg, "when they needed money to pay their quitrents,"² measured their commercial intercourse with the outside world.

¹Original Indian name for Shenandoah, or "Silver Water."

²Deposition (in old chancery suit in Augusta) of Mrs. Greenlee, daughter of Ephraim McDowell, the first permanent settler in Rockbridge, and ancestor of Governor McDowell.

They could but be a peculiar people. With all the piety, they had none of the ascetic sanctity of the Puritan ; with a jealous sense of honor, they had something like the chivalry of the Cavaliers, yet without wealth they escaped the enervating influences of luxury. The common sacrifices of all their fortunes in long contests with the oppressor in their native country left all poor alike, and a common suffering and kindred sympathies subdued all social distinctions. Their untiring struggles for freedom of thought and life, "bequeathed from bleeding sire to son," had brought through succeeding generations a physical and mental training that made them independent in spirit, self-reliant in strength, and "hardy as the Nemean lion's nerve." True types of their ancestral Scottish character, which ever shows to most advantage in adversity, and has been well likened to the sycamore of their native hills, that scorns to be biased in its growth by sun or wind or tempest, but shoots its branches defiantly in every direction, shows no weather-side to the storm, and is broken before it will ever bend.

Religious observance, if not innate, was at least their second nature. Like faithful Abraham, they built the altar wherever they pitched the tent. The Bible mostly furnished their library of faith and of philosophy, enclosing Rouse's version of David's psalms for their poetry. Every tradition extant shows how these sacred words were interwoven like golden threads in all their daily discourse. When the captive survivors of the Kerr's Creek massacre, in this (Rockbridge) county, reached the Shawnee towns on the banks of the Muskingum, the Indians in cruel sport called on them to sing. Unappalled by the bloody scenes they had already witnessed, and the fearful tortures awaiting them, within that dark wilderness of forest where all hope of rescue seemed forbidden, undaunted by the fiendish revellings of their savage captors, they sang aloud with the most pious fervour from the 137th Psalm, as they oft had done in more hopeful days within the sacred walls of old Timber Ridge Church :

"On Babel's streams we sat and wept when Zion we thought on,
In midst thereof we hanged our harps the willow trees among,
For then a song required they who did us captive bring,
Our spoilers called for mirth and said, a song of Zion sing."

From this very familiarity with these sacred psalms, it may well be feared they did not always apply them in such sanctified use as expressions for solace in sorrow ; but in the fulness of heart in other emotions the mouth might well speak these ready words, and naturally enough in the confidential language of faithful love. A lineal descendant tells how his ancestor, when a disconsolate lover because not allowed to visit the lady of his heart from the opposition of her parents, contrived still to interpret his love by the words of the sweet singer of Israel—"closing the correspondence" with the stanza from the 63d Psalm :—

"Oh daughter take good heed, incline and give good ear,
Thou must forget thy kindred all, and father's house most dear,
Thy beauty to the king shall then delightful be,
And do thou humbly worship him, because thy lord is he."

On this hint she acted, and returned to "the king" her answers in kind. On a concerted day the daring lover dashed before the house on a strong charger, and in full view of "brothers and kinsmen and all," like another Lord Lochinvar :—

"So light to the croupe the fair lady he swung,
So light to the saddle before her he sprung,
She is won, they are gone, over bank, bush, and scaur,
They'll have fleet steeds to follow *that* young Lochinvar."

They had constant controversies over doctrines and texts of the Bible. The oldest newspaper extant in Augusta county contains an advertisement by a lay member of the "Stone Church," appointing a day on which he proposed to discuss his tenets in regard to a certain text, and inviting all who differed in opinion to meet him then and there.

When these men commenced a controversy it was ever most stoutly and persistently maintained ; for they were seldom convinced against their will, and if vanquished, would argue still. An old resident of Hays Creek, in Rockbridge county, contended all his life for his particular theory, as to what tribe of Indians were interred in the mound on that Creek ; and on his death-bed made it his most solemn request to be buried on the hill facing the Indian graves, that he might, as he said, be "the first to see the truth of his theory *established* at the resurrection."

The ministers of the Gospel were true exponents of their people's characteristics. The Rev. John Craig, a Master of Arts of the University of Edinburgh, was for one-third of a century pastor of the "Augusta Church." He walked five miles to service on every Sunday, and in time of the Indian troubles carried a rifle on his shoulder. "Preaching" commenced at 10 o'clock, A. M., and with a recess of one hour at midday was continued till sunset. One of his sermons, still extant, is divided into fifty-five heads. Walking ever in the example of the upright man of David's psalm, he "spoke truth in the heart," and was "moved not" even in the least thing from the straightest line of integrity. In choosing the site for a church, the congregation disregarded his opposition, and the "Tinkling Spring" was selected; whereupon he declared that "none of that water should ever 'tinkle' down his throat"; and for thirty years he kept his word,—through his long sermons, in the parching summer days, never once allaying his thirst with a drop from that cool and limpid spring—

"For though he promise to his hurt
He makes his promise good."

Brave and patriotic, after Braddock's disastrous expedition had left the Valley exposed to the raids of the ruthless savages, and the helpless inhabitants in utter consternation were counselling safety in flight, his Journal, yet extant, says, "I opposed that scheme as a scandal to our nation, falling below our brave ancestors, making ourselves a reproach among Virginians, a dishonor to our friends at home, an evidence of cowardice, want of faith, and noble Christian dependence on God, as able to save and deliver from the heathen; and withal a lasting blot forever on all our posterity." He advised the building of forts in convenient places for refuge. His appeal and example had its effect, "for my own flock," he adds, "required me to go before them in the work, which I did cheerfully, though it cost me one-third of my estate; but the people followed, and my congregation, in less than two months, was well fortified." And they maintained their homes most bravely through all the fiery trials of these times. Honored forever among all their posterity be the name of the noble and pious old patriot! Surviving the subsequent struggles of his adopted country for the freedom he so

dearly prized, he fell at last like fruit fully ripe, but mourned by all, and leaving a memory to be revered, and examples of life and faith that like all

—"the actions of the just
Smell sweet, and blossom in the dust."

Let him be taken as the type and ante-type of the Presbyterian preachers of the Valley, for time will fail to tell of Brown, and Wilson, and Waddell, and Scott, and Graham, and many others; men of thorough learning and approved piety, whose names their descendants should not willingly let die, whose appeals for patriotism will echo in this land while its everlasting hills abide, whose lessons of piety and faith will be effectual for time and for eternity, whose canonized memory will remain among their successors as a monument forever, and stand before them like that lofty "tower which David builded for an armory, whereon there hang a thousand bucklers,—shields of mighty men."

A description of the old covenanters of Scotland, in "Burnet's Own Times," will, in many particulars, singularly illustrate the life of the Scotch-Irish settlers of this Valley, and show an unadulterated descent, and most tenacious maintenance of the customs of their ancestors. Bishop Burnet can scarcely be accused of partiality, and amidst all his charges of affectation, fanaticism and enthusiasm, we may well believe he gives a faithful picture of the old covenanting congregations of his day, by its strong family likeness to the early Presbyterian congregations of this Valley. Of the covenanting ministers ejected by the Glasgow Act, he writes, "they were a grave and solemn sort of people. Their spirits were eager, and their tempers sour. But they had an appearance that created respect. They used to visit their parishes much; were full of the Scripture, were ready at extempore prayer, and had brought the people to such a degree of knowledge, that cottagers and servants would have prayed extempore. Their ministers brought their people about them on Sunday nights, where the sermon was talked over; and every one, women as well as men, were desired to speak their own experience; and by these means they had a comprehension of matters of religion greater than I have seen among people of that sort anywhere. The preachers went all in one *tract*, of raising

observations on points of doctrine out of their text, and proving these by reasons, and then of applying those, and showing the use that was to be made of such a point of doctrine, both for instruction and terror, for exhortation and comfort, for trial of themselves upon it, and for furnishing them with proper directions and helps. And this was so methodical that the people grew to follow a sermon quite through every branch of it. As they lived in great familiarity with their people, and used to pray and talk oft with them in private, so it can hardly be imagined to what a degree they were loved and revered by them. They kept scandalous persons under a severe discipline: for breach of Sabbath, for an oath, or the least disorder in drunkenness, persons were cited before the church session, that consisted of ten or twelve of the chief of the parish, who, with the minister, had this care upon them,—and were solemnly reproved for it.”

The unexplored records of the courts held for Augusta county, at Staunton, and the church-warden's book for Augusta parish, furnish materials, scanty as they are, that illustrate the lives and characters of this peculiar people. For the purposes of history these records are necessarily insufficient, but give here and there in the technical and curt recitals of court proceedings some incidental contemporaneous facts which can be confirmed, explained and expanded from other sources; while around them all the mellow light of tradition still falls to impart to these quaint old papers something of the sanctity and value of the illuminated manuscripts of the middle ages.

The court of Orange county had jurisdiction, and its Clerk's office was for a whole decade the depository of the title deeds, and such other papers pertaining to this territory as indispensable necessity required to be recorded. In the year 1738 all Virginia west of the Blue Ridge was laid off into two counties, called Frederick and Augusta, in honor of the Prince of Wales, and the Princess Augusta. Frederick embraced the northeastern portion of the Valley, while Augusta extended throughout the West “to the utmost limits of Virginia.” The inhabitants were exempted from “all public levies for ten years;” but in 1742, “at the humble suit of the inhabitants of Augusta,” an act passed “appointing James Patton, John Christian, and John Buchanan to levy a tax on each tithable, to pay for destroying wolves, relieving the poor, building bridges, and clearing roads” within said county.

The church-warden's book for the Parish of Augusta, commences early in the year 1746. It was doubtless difficult, if not impossible, at that date for the freeholders to find "twelve able and discreet men of the county" from choice "conformable to the doctrine and discipline of the church of England" to serve as their vestry. It is not surprising, therefore, that probably all of the vestry elect were "dissenters," and certainly some of the number who continued as vestrymen for the succeeding quarter of a century were all the time ruling elders in the Presbyterian churches of Augusta.

In that day of little sectarian excitement between Protestant denominations, it was not so unusual in any part of Virginia to find dissenters take with the oath of secular office a declaration of conformity to the doctrine of the established church, and yet retain their connection with dissenting denominations. The first twelve vestrymen elected by the freeholders of the county in 1745 were all, perhaps, descendants, and some bore the family names of conspicuous Presbyterian covenanters of Scotland; and for over twenty years no notice by the vestry or the Assembly is taken of the fact of their being non-conformists. The usual oaths of conformity were meantime taken, but the vestrymen remained zealous dissenters. But on the 21st of November, 1767, the following appears on the vestry book: "Ordered, that a minute be taken that the following vestrymen hath subscribed a declaration in Vestry, to be conformable to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, according to law, viz: Col. John Buchanan, Mr. Geo. Matthews, Mr. James Lockhart, Mr. John Buchanan, Mr. John Archer, Mr. John Page, and Mr. Wm. Fleming, and enter their dissent against Mr. Israel Christian's signing the proceedings of this Vestry, as he refused signing the declaration in Vestry." The proceedings were signed by all as before, but on the "21st November, 1789, it is ordered that Mr. Thomas Madison be chosen vestryman in room of Capt. Israel Christian, and Capt. Peter Hogg in room of Maj. Robt. Breckenridge, the said Breckenridge and Christian having refused subscribing to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England." (Signed) WM. PRESTON,¹ Clerk of Vestry.

¹"Maj. Breckenridge" was ancestor of the Breckenridges of Kentucky, and "Wm. Preston" ancestor of William C. Preston, of South Carolina. Geo. Matthews was afterwards Governor and United States Senator of Georgia, and Wm. Fleming an acting Governor of Virginia.

In November, 1769, the Assembly passed an Act "dissolving the Vestry of the Parish of Augusta," because "it is represented that a majority of the Vestry are dissenters, &c.," and ordering "an election of twelve new vestrymen." But this Act seems to have been totally disregarded by the "freeholders," the same vestrymen continuing in office long after. The office of vestryman was in effect not a religious one, but simply to discharge the duties of a magistrate of police, of overseers of the poor, to lay the county levies, and to collect fines for "swearing," "drunkenness," and other "foibles," which official duties, from the frequency of their "returns," must have occupied no little of their surplus time. The Vestry was finally dissolved during the revolutionary war.

The first court for Augusta County was held at Staunton on the 9th of December, 1745. The magistrates and officers were appointed by the Crown of England, through the Governor of the colony. The court when once organized went to work with a will, and, true to Scotch-Irish instincts, seem to have executed with a special vengeance the Act of Good Queen Anne, "for the effectual suppression of vice, and punishment of wicked blasphemers and dissolute persons." This Act seems to have been construed by them as cumulative of the divine decalogue, the "presentments" being made mostly in the order of the offences therein denounced. And the court meted out to unfortunate offenders the full measure of the law, in all its bearings. Some extracts, taken at random through a series of years from the records, will illustrate at once the character of the courts and of the people.

May 17th, 1746.—The grand-jury, by James Trimble, foreman, made the following "presentment," among others similar :

"Robert Harper, for being drunk, and swearing 3 prophane oaths."

"Col. Thomas Chew, [a lawyer,] and John Bramham, [deputy sheriff,] as common swearers."

"James ——, as a disturber of the common peace of the neighbors by carrying lies ; and also as a common lyer."

"Valentine Sevier,¹ for swearing 6 prophane oaths."

¹ Father of General John Sevier, Governor of Tennessee, and of the revolutionary "State of Frankland."

"John Bramham, [deputy Sheriff,] for prophanely desiring God to damn Capt. George Robinson and his company."

"Edward Bogle, for damning the court, and swearing four oaths in their presence," was "put in the stocks for two hours, and fined 20 shillings."

November 28th, 1750.—The Grand Jury presented, among others, "Samuel Hutts, for breach of the Sabbath in singing prophane songs."

"James Frame, for a breach of the Sabbath in unnecessarily travelling ten miles."

"Jacob Coger, for breach of the peace by driving hogs over the Blue Ridge on the Sabbath day."

Very many presentments were for "being drunk," and the fines therefor averaged about 5 shillings—such appearing to have been about the market price for the privilege. Where the opportunity for the expensive luxury was afforded may be inferred from the following orders of court, establishing rates for ordinary-keepers in 1746, 1747 and 1748 :

"Ordered, that the several and respective Ordinary-keepers in this county do sell and entertain according to the under-mentioned Rates, and that they presume not to take or demand more of any person whatever—

| | £ | s. | d. |
|--|-----|----|----|
| For a hot diet..... | 00 | 0 | 9 |
| " Cold diet..... | 00 | 0 | 6 |
| " Lodging, with clean sheets..... | 00 | 0 | 3 |
| " Lodging, with Feather-bed and clean sheets..... | 00. | 0 | 3½ |
| " Stabledge and fodder, a night..... | 00 | 0 | 6 |
| " Corn or oats, the gallon..... | 00 | 0 | 6 |
| " Madeira wine, the quart..... | 00 | 4 | 0 |
| " Punch, the quart, with <i>white</i> sugar—three gills of Rum, and so in proportion for a greater or lesser quantity..... | 00 | 1 | 3 |
| " Ditto do with <i>brown</i> sugar..... | 00 | 1 | 0 |
| " Rum and all cordial spirits, the gallon..... | 00 | 5 | 0 |
| " Whiskey, the gallon, and so in proportion, (well made)..... | 00 | 6 | 0 |
| " Whiskey punch, the quart, with <i>white</i> sugar..... | 00 | 1 | 0 |
| " Ditto do <i>brown</i> sugar..... | 00 | 0 | 9 |
| " Virginia ale, the gallon, and so in proportion..... | 00 | 1 | 4 |
| " Cider, the gallon, Bottled or otherwise..... | 00 | 2 | 0 |

| | £. | s. | d. |
|--|----|----|----|
| For Apple or peach Brandy, the gallon..... | 00 | 2 | 0 |
| “ New England Rum, the gallon..... | 00 | 1 | 6 |
| “ French Brandy, the gallon..... | 00 | 5 | 0 |
| “ Sangaree, the quart..... | 00 | 0 | 7½ |
| “ Port wine, the quart..... | 00 | 0 | 7½ |
| “ Claret, the quart bottle..... | 00 | 0 | 7½ |

“JOHN MADISON, Cl. Curizæ.”¹

The court, after arranging such a bill of fare as the foregoing, could but be lenient on occasion to such as were unwarily led into temptation, and we find the following entry in point :

“ May 17th, 1753.—Order’d that ye presentm’t ag’st Patrick Shirkey for being drunk be dismissed—the court being of opinion that it was inadvertently done, he being an honest fellow.”

Whatever else might be said of this county court, it cannot be alleged they were anywise wanting in the virtue of loyalty, as the following and other like entries on their records will show :

“ Feby : 10th, 1746.—The Court being informed that James McClune hath spoke treasonable words, it is ordered that the sheriff bring him before the Court to answer for the same.”

“ May 17th, 1749.—Jacob Castle being accused by the oath of Adam Harman for threatening to goe over to and be aiding and assisting to the French against his Majesty’s forces, as appears by precept under the hand of John Buchanan and George Robinson, gentlemen, it’s ordered that the sheriff take the said Castle into custody.”

Nov. 27th, 1751.—The Grand Jury present Owen Crawford for drinking a health to King James, the Pretender, and refusing to drink a health to King George.

Owen found it good for his own “health” to leave the country before the trial could be held, and the presentment was dismissed subsequently “on motion of the King’s Attorney.”

March 17th, 1756.—“Francis Farguson being brought before the court by warrant under the hand of Robert McClanahan, gent, for damning Robert Dinwiddie, Esqr.,” [then Governor of the

¹ Father of Bishop Madison.

Colony,] “for a Scotch peddling puppy”—was found guilty, but “excused on apologizing and giving security to keep the peace.”

The Court, moreover, seems to have had as loyal an appreciation of its own dignity, as would appear from more than one order akin to the following concerning one of its “female subjects,” who must herself have been a lineal descendant of the famous Janet Geddes, of Gray Friar’s memory :

“May 17th, 1754.—Anne, wife of ———, having come into court, and abused William Wilson, Gent., one of the Justices for this County, by calling him a rogue, and that on his coming off the bench ‘she would give it to him with the Devil’—it’s ordered that the sheriff take her to the ducking stool.”

This imposing Court had jurisdiction over a territory comprising all the counties of Western Virginia, (except Frederick,) and also what now constitutes adjoining States; its jail was filled with offenders from as far as the city of Pittsburg, now in Pennsylvania. The court usually met at 7 o’clock in the morning and sat till night. As curiosity may well exist to know something of the state in which these dignitaries of the British Crown were accustomed to sit, it may fortunately be gratified by the following extract from one of its *Grand Jury presentments* :

“At a court con’d and held for Augusta county, May 21st, 1748.

“The grand jury made the following presentment :

“We have viewed and Examined this Court-house and prison, and find the court-house to be thirty-eight feet three inches long, and eighteen feet three inches wide in the clear, built with logs hewed on both sides, not layed close, some of the cracks between the logs quite open, four or five inches wide and four or five feet long, and some stopped with chunks and clay, but not one quite close; two small holes cut for windows, but no glass nor shutters to them; the inside not finished nor fitting for his Majesty’s Judicature to sit. The Jury Rooms too small and not furnished with tables, benches, &c., fitting for a grand and petty jury to sit; and no part of it finished as it ought to be, excepting only the roof, which was lately repaired.

"The prison to be twenty-two feet three inches long, and seventeen feet three inches wide, from outside to outside, built with square logs near one foot thick, holes at ye corners and elsewhere two or three inches wide, and so poorly dove-tailed at the corners, that it would be a very easy matter to pull it all down. The chymney that was formerly built in a very poor manner, now part of it is down, so that there is an open way to the roof which a man might easily break with his foot or hands.

"For which reasons we present them.

"WM. CHRISTIAN, foreman."

Although George Wythe, the Pendletons and others "qualified and took their places at the bar," as lawyers, some as early as 1747, they do not appear to have been regular practitioners; and the people seem to have been at more inconvenience for lawyers then than is now the case at the Staunton bar, as would appear from the following order of court:

"August 28th, 1751.—On petition of Andrew Bird, &c., that James Porteus in his lifetime brought suit for him against Peter Scholl, and that said Scholl hath imployed Gabriel Jones and John Harvie, Gents., the only attornies that attend this bar, and praying that one of said attornies be assigned him. Ordered that John Harvie, Gent, be assigned," &c.

An order of court was entered as early as February 12th, 1746, which does not appear from the records to have ever been rescinded, and the court at the present day might find it profitable, as a source of revenue at least, and of consternation to the bar, to enforce. It is to be hoped the necessity for such an order is no greater now than it should have been then with their only two attorneys.

"February 12th, 1746.—Ordered that any attorney interrupting another at the bar, or speaking when he is not employed, forfeit five shillings."

Gabriel Jones was the first, and for years the only lawyer residing in the county. He lived near the present town of Port Republic, in Rockingham county, and the road he travelled to court was opened, in 1746, by an order for "laying off a road from the clerk's office," long kept at Port Republic, "to the court-house,"

and is still known as "the lawyer's road." His influence with the court was naturally great, and he was justly regarded as indispensable. It is a current tradition that the late Judge Holmes, when a young man, mischievous and witty, once as opposing counsel provoked Mr. Jones into such a furious passion that he became very profane. The court consulted long as to what should be done; to punish "Squire Jones" was out of the question, but the dignity of the bench and the majesty of the law had to be preserved, and finally the presiding justice pronounced as the decision of the court, "That if Mr. Holmes did not quit worrying Mr. Jones, and making him swear so profanely, then Mr. Holmes should be sent to jail."

The county levies, as laid by the courts, are also suggestive of historic incidents:

On the 20th November, 1746, the levy was laid on 961 tithables, at "34 pounds of tobacco, or 2 shillings and 1 penny per poll." In 1747 the levy was on 1670, in 1750 on 2122, in 1752 on 2317 tithables.

The usual subjects of county expense were "premiums on wolves' heads,"—"salary of the deputy attorney of the king," [Gabriel Jones]—"Burgesses' wages," [James Patton]—and the following as a standing item, viz: "To Robert McClenahan to find small beer; candles; to keep the court-house in order; to find stabledge for Justices', attornies', and officers' horses, 1600 pounds of tobacco."

In a levy made November 19th, 1755, are the following items:

"To John Harrison for burying some Robbers by him killed; and for expenses to Dr. Lynn for dressing the wounds of one of them, 640 pounds. "To John Harrison for going for a coroner, and other expenses about the above mentioned Robbers, 310 pounds of tobacco." Making about \$10 in money for the complete job—and no further notice appears on the records concerning this killing of "some Robbers." But at a court held previously, viz: February 19th, 1751, is this entry, "The petition of John and Reuben Harrison, praying a reward for killing two persons under the command of Utes Perkins, who were endeavouring to rob them, was read and ordered to be certified."

From these, and other frequent entries concerning "Utes Perkins and his followers," it is obvious, that during several years about that date there was an organized band of robbers within the then limits of Augusta county. It is not known that any tradition is extant concerning the matter. In 1744 an Act of Assembly was passed, "to punish horse-stealing, and receivers of stolen cattle and horses," and recites in one section that "the crime of horse-stealing is of late years much increased, especially in the frontier counties of this colony," &c., &c. This has reference doubtless to Augusta, and it is probable that "Perkins and his company" were principally horse thieves, as entries show that they generally appeared with horses in possession.

The sheriffs' returns upon unsatisfied executions were likewise illustrative of the times. Discarding such classic technicalities of the profession as "Nulla bona," and "non est inventus," and the like, they adopted a more practical and pointed style. A few specimens must suffice:

"August 15, 1749.—*Our Sovereign Lord the King vs. Sam'l Stalnaker, ca. sa.*—Not executed by reason of badness of the weather and freshets.

"RO. BRECKINRIDGE, D. S."

"*Elliott vs. Johnson.*—Not executed by reason of the flux being in the house.

"RO. BRECKINRIDGE, D. S."

"Nov'r, 1752.—*Williams vs. Bulger.*—Not executed by reason of an axe.

"JOHN LEWIS, D. S."

"May 1753.—*Williams vs. Bulger.*—Not executed by reason of a gun.

"J. LEWIS, D. S."

"Nov'r, 1756.—Not executed by reason the defendant outrode me, so that I could not catch him.

"SAMPSON MATTHEWS, D. S."

"Feb'y, 1758."—Very many returns are made. "Not executed by reason the river is not rideable.

"WM. BOWYER, D. S."

"Feb'y 1763.—*Reed vs. Clendening*.—Not executed by reason the fellow gave me heel play.

"GEORGE SKILLERN, D. S."¹

"Nov'r, 1762.—*Young vs. Greer*.—Not ex'd. Issue this against cousin again, and perhaps after next court we may have better luck.

"G. SKILLERN, D. S."

But the "luck" seems to have remained with "cousin" throughout, judging by the following returns in the same case :

"Feb'y, 1763.—This is my friend's—issue it again, and I shall storm his castle once more.

"GEO. SKILLERN, D. S."

"June, 1763.—Issue this against the body once more, and I will lie at his house all night but I will have him.

"GEO. SKILLERN, D. S."

The sheriffs were also evidently disposed to exercise equity powers "on horseback" in those days, as the following returns would indicate :

"*Schall vs. Miller*.—Executed, but it is wrong. Mr. Jones can inform you.

"WM. LUSK, D. S."

"Dec'r 22d, 1756.—*Ramsay vs. Burton*.—Not executed by reason the defendant produced his receipt from Israel Christian, Gent., for £30, on account of a judgment obtained by said Christian and John Ramsay against the deft.; and R. W. Renix informed me that he was by when *Christy* gave the receipt, and Ramsay at the same time, who was agreed to put a stop to the suit against Burton, and that there should be no further proceedings on it.

SAMPSON MATTHEWS, Sh'ff."

But this "interlocutory decree" seems to have been unavailing, as there was the following subsequent return in the same case at that term, which ought to have been as satisfactory as the plea in the "cracked kettle case."

¹ Afterwards General Skillern of the Revolution.

"*Ramsay vs. Burton.*—Not executed by stress of water, and deft. swore if I did get over to him, he would shoot me if I touched any of his estate ; also he is gone out of the county.

"SAMPSON MATTHEWS, Sh'ff."

From 1755 to 1759—the years immediately succeeding Braddock's direful defeat—and thence almost continuously to "Dunmore's war" in 1774—very many returns were substantially like the following, and indicative of the dangers of the times :

"Nov'r, 1756.—Not executed by reason the way was dangerous for Indians.

"S. MATTHEWS, Sh'ff."

"Feb'y 1758.—Not executed by reason of the enemy Indians ranging so that I can't get up where the defendant lives.

"WM. BOWYER, D. S."

"March 28th, 1758.—Not executed by reason of the heathen Indians ranging so that I can't get up there.

"WM. BOWYER, D. S."

But these record books disclose for the history of this people a page of far more serious import. Brief cotemporaneous entries on many a leaf indicate the date of the dreaded Indian incursions into this Valley—and mark the places of the bloody massacres remembered long with mourning among their descendants to the third and fourth generation. Names of men, and captains of companies, in numbers that will surprise their posterity of to-day, appear on these pages, through the long period of thirty years, with short intervals of uncertain peace, as actively engaged in aggressive and defensive war with their wily and relentless forest foes.

Stretched along the frontiers ; separated by mountains and by miles of forests from the seat of their colonial government, whence only succor could be claimed ; poorly provided with means of defense—they were left in their own unaided strength exposed to all the troubles engendered by the long and bitter contest between the French and English nations for supremacy in the West. But they bore the brunt most bravely, and stood, withal, a sure rock of defense to dash back the merciless wave of savage warfare from the hearth-stones of the East.

"Expeditions," composed of hundreds of men, appear from these records to have "gone out as rangers on the frontiers," at periods of which history makes no other mention than in the few unnoticed acts of the assembly, which acknowledge and encourage such services. Companies of "Rangers," "Independents," and "Volunteers," under such captains as the Lewises, McClenahans, Cunninghams, Prestons, Dickinsons, Dunlaps, Alexanders, and others, armed with their own rifles, and equipped at their own expense, penetrated the dark forest in all directions, to punish and disperse the marauding parties of savages, who, for real or fancied wrongs, in times otherwise of peace, with scalping-knife and torch fell upon defenceless families to murder and destroy, and again disappear as stealthily as the panther and wolf to their distant lairs.

Thinly settled as was Augusta in 1754, a company, under Captain Lewis, was sent to join the youthful Washington in his first battle at the Great Meadows. In Braddock's ill-starred defeat, in 1755, the "backwoods riflemen" of Augusta, under the eye of Washington, were most effective in staying the sad fortunes of that fatal day. In 1756, at the call of the Government, a most formidable force marched from the county to invade the distant country of the Shawnese, and had already reached the Ohio, when, to their great chagrin, they were recalled by the colonial governor,¹ and had to retrace their perilous route for hundreds of miles through a deep snow and a mountain wilderness—their provisions exhausted, and dependent for food only on the game and the wild nuts of the forest, and finally on the flesh of their pack-horses and the leather of their rude saddles; but the skill and intrepidity of their able commander, Andrew Lewis,² led them to their homes at last, but worn-out with fatigue and starvation. And again, in 1758, a battallion of these hardy riflemen, under their favorite leader, marched to the distant banks of the Ohio, and, hearing the firing at the battle of "Grant's hill," they pressed on contrary to orders, and reached the field in time to save the defeated Highlanders from inevitable slaughter. In 1760, in Colonel Bouquet's successful expedition to the Muskingum towns, and all throughout Pontiac's

¹ This is an error. Dinwiddie did not recall the troops. See Waddell's *Annals of Augusta County*, p. 87; also *Historical Papers*, No. 2, p. 48.—Eds.

² His statue is one of the group for the Virginia Washington Monument.

long war, and afterwards against the Cherokees of the South, company after company went from Augusta. And on the 10th of October, 1774, the bloody drama was at last closed in the utter rout of the Indian forces, in a pitched battle, fought hand to hand, "from morn to noon, from noon to dewy eve," by over one thousand on either side, of these hardy forest warriors, on the ever memorable field of Point Pleasant.

The individual distress that attended such times as these may well be yet remembered with horror. The families and firesides of these frontier soldiers on the long expeditions were necessarily left almost defenceless. In the single summer of 1758 as many as sixty persons in the county of Augusta were massacred in their homes. Their fields were uncultivated, and whole settlements were often reduced almost to famine, but still they fought on bravely, with a patriotic devotion of the best years of their lifetime to their country. It was doubtless true of many, as tradition yet tells of Charles Lewis—that very flower of forest chivalry, who fell so untimely while leading the van at Point Pleasant—that during the Indian wars, for ten long years, he was not permitted to remain as much as a month at any one time with his family and his home.

Though history has no sufficient record of these frontier wars, it must not be inferred that they were any the less formidable. So far away in the uninhabited forests, the ear of history could scarce catch the sound of the battles, and no earthly eye was witness, save that of the wheeling vulture and hungry wolf, awaiting the expected prey. They were fought only in the direst necessity for fighting, amidst nothing but its horrors, against savage foes, a fierce unrelenting struggle for very life and death, with no hope for relief or respite in the bitter strife, until only the king of terrors should decide; fought, too, all without the accustomed incentives of other battlefields, nor cheered by fame's prophetic voice, nor "glory's thrill," which, more than trumpet's blast, stirs the blood to chivalrous deeds, elevates war awhile above its cruelties, almost "makes ambition virtue," and inspires the soul with that true heroism to brave—

"the perilous hour,
Whatever the shape in which death may lower,
For FAME is there to tell who bleeds,
And HONOR's eye marks daring deeds."

But there is no need to dwell on the horrors of such warfare. The very term Indian—so euphonious in itself—has become a synonym with savage. The thrilling tales of these fearful times, told in every nursery throughout this Valley, awaken the earliest fears of our infancy, and “run moulden still in memory’s mould.” There is more danger that the inflamed imagination may do an injustice at once to the Indian and the white warrior, and to the character of the contest itself. The Indian, though savage, was not a wild beast, and mercy and humanity could not be altogether disregarded; nor must the dire scenes enacted be tried by the rules of civil warfare. Much might be told to extenuate, if not atone for, the cruelties committed; much of provocation to these free-born spirits of the forest; much to inflame their native thirst for vengeance, and but too many deeds of indiscriminate murder, like that which fired the forest-born eloquence of Logan—the Mingo chief—to tell his wrongs to all coming times, “in thoughts that breathe and words that burn.” The untutored Indian, in his rude forest life, devoid of all motives to soften or conceal his passions, displays but the common weakness of man’s nature in colors the more vivid only because on simpler ground. Nemesis, the Goddess of Vengeance, has her votaries in every age and every clime.

Imagination may too well supply the horrors of this savage warfare, and it would be a more gracious task, if time permitted, to relieve the dark shades of the picture, and farther illustrate the story with some of the many traditions that show these warriors of nature were not to be despised either as friends or as foes. If savage life had vices, it was not all devoid of virtues. Their history is full of touching incidents of magnanimity, from the romantic tenderness of Pocahontas in shielding the adventurous Smith from the war-clubs of Powhatan, down to the times and the homelier tales of generous deeds towards the settlers of this Valley. If we shudder at their brutal sport in making their captives “run the gauntlet,” we can but smile withal over the story of young Schoolcraft, who, on receiving the first blow as he entered the “gauntlet,” turned lustily to fight the Indian who struck him, when all the others at once left the lines, crowded round the boy, and encouraged him in the contest, until he conquered the Indian; and forthwith he was released, to become a privileged favorite in the tribe. At

the bloody massacre on Kerr's Creek, in Rockbridge county, an Indian, while scalping Thomas Gilmore, was knocked down by Mrs. Gilmore with an iron kettle; another Indian ran with uplifted tomahawk to kill her, and was only stopped by the one who lay bleeding from the blow she had given him, calling quickly to him, "don't kill her, she is a good warrior"; and this magnanimity in a savage saved her life.

Tradition in the Trimble family of Augusta tells that the beautiful farm yet in their possession was shown their ancestor by an Indian, in return for some favor done him long before in the woods of Pennsylvania, and that for many years afterwards, when the Indians appeared in this neighborhood for murder and rapine, that family was always unmolested—though visited, and a draught of fresh milk from the dairy and a mess of hominy invariably demanded and taken, as a token of peace. The families of Bumgarner, Croft, and some others, obtained by treaty from the Indians permission to settle and hunt upon the Monongahela river; but when the war of 1774 commenced, Governor Dunmore sent a message to warn them that if they remained all would be killed. An Indian who happened to hear it delivered, replied most indignantly to the messenger, "tell your king he is damned liar; Indian no kill these men." And the families in fact remained there unharmed throughout all the horrors of that bloody war.

So comparatively silent is history concerning this border warfare, that few appreciate how formidable were the Indian warriors in battle. Their personal daring, ferocity, and untiring thirst for revenge may be known, but they are regarded still as ignorant savages, unskilled to conduct campaigns, and contend in associated armies against the trained troops of civilized life. The fallacy of this idea could be readily shown, but it must suffice here to glance only at the characteristics of the principal chieftains that led them in these wars, and whose devotion to the interests of their people, wisdom in council, skill in strategy and chivalric boldness in battle, have left a fame and "a name to other times" that may well rival the glory of the proudest heroes of the world.

The "great Emperor Pontiac," the war-chief of the Ottawas—the most influential of the Northern tribes—was the first who appeared in the hostile field against the settlers of this Valley. He

was described by one writer who knew him, as "a person of remarkable appearance, of singularly fine countenance, and of commanding stature." Another says he "habitually wore an air of princely grandeur;" and "the many acts of magnanimity which illustrated his life might have made him a fit comrade for the knights of the middle ages." Another adds, that "in point of native talent, courage, magnanimity, and integrity, he will compare without prejudice with the most renowned of civilized potentates and conquerors."

He first appears in history, in 1746, as the leader of the Indian forces that successfully defended the French in Detroit against an attack of hostile tribes. In the Acadian wars, in 1747, he fought with the French, as the leader of the Indian allies, against the English, and he was the most conspicuous chieftain in the defence of Fort Duquesne. And on that ever memorable morning of the 9th July, 1755, when the crystal waters of the Monongahela glittered with the sheen of burnished arms and brilliant uniforms of the British troops, under the brave but boastful Braddock, all unconscious that the silent forests covered with its shadows a host of hidden foes—it was Pontiac who devised that fatal ambushade, and headed the allied bands of Indians and French that rushed down on the devoted army, "like the wolf on the fold"—left eight hundred men lifeless on that field of blood, and drove the survivors back in utter affright to Fort Cumberland, "the farthest flight," says Smollet, "that any army ever made."

The war of 1763, known in history as "Pontiac's war," was one of the most comprehensive ever conceived in all the annals of Indian warfare, and fell with its greatest fury on the settlements of the Valley, and throughout the West. Pontiac visited in person most of the Northern nations, and his influence was felt from the Mizpacs of Nova Scotia to the Cherokees of the South. More than twenty tribes assembled at his call in the council of Niagara, where his wonderful natural eloquence, through winning appeals to the pride and even the superstitions of the Indian warriors, soon enlisted all enthusiastically in his as a common cause.

Pontiac, himself, planned the entire campaign, assigning the time, the tribe, and the war-chief to attack each one of the English posts on the extended frontier from Canada to Carolina. It was

most promptly put in execution : nine British forts were surprised and captured in rapid succession, the trading posts were all destroyed, and the captives murdered. The forts which withstood the assault were beleaguered for weary months by hostile savages without, and appalled by gaunt famine within. Marauding parties pushed far into the panic-stricken settlements, and committed the memorable massacres of Muddy Creek and the Big Levels on the Greenbrier and Roanoke, in Virginia, and in one merciless slaughter depopulated the whole Valley of Wyoming, in Pennsylvania.

This daring and determined war of the red men of the wilderness called forth the utmost strength of the colonies and the strongest support of the mother country to conquer it. Finally, General Broadstreet's successful foray quelled the savages of the North ; and in the South, the brave and skilful Colonel Bouquet, in command of the provincial troops, among whom were many companies from the county of Augusta, pushed far into the Indian country on the Muskingum and Ohio, and compelled the savages to sue for peace. But Pontiac, scorning to come to any terms, retired to the tribes of Illinois, and while engaged in rallying another general movement, was assassinated by a traitor Indian, whose whole tribe was afterwards totally exterminated by the Ottawas, in revenge for the death of their great chieftain. A distinguished writer says that "the memory of the great Ottawa chief is yet held in reverence among the Indians of the West, and whatever the fate which may await them, his name and deeds will live in their traditionary narratives, increasing in interest as they increase in years."

The peace which ensued the death of Pontiac was, to the frontier settlers, one in name only. Too many bitter memories of the bloody war, just closed, rankled in the savage breasts to allow the fell spirit of revenge so suddenly to submit at the command for peace. The beautiful "Indian Summer," when the brilliant hues of autumnal leaves robe the mountains as with the very banners of peace, was the leisure season of the Indian, and the hereditary time for his annual hunting carnival in these valleys. Such, too, was the fatal time selected for incursions by predatory parties of Indians, year after year, and their path was so often marked by murder and rapine, that the whites were provoked to as fierce retaliations, until finally another "Indian war" blazed out along all the borders of Virginia.

The Shawnese war-chief, Cornstalk, in youth a follower of Pontiac, was the principal leader in this later war, and may be taken as the type of the other chieftains, only less distinguished, but whom time will not permit us to mention. In the sphere for which he was designed, Cornstalk was one of Nature's masterpieces—a consistent advocate of peace, but a thunderbolt in war, bravest in action, most sagacious in camp, and most eloquent in council. The Shawnese, of whom Cornstalk was emperor, "held all other men, Indians as well as whites, in contempt as warriors in comparison with themselves, and were assuming and imperious in the presence of all others not of their nation." Cornstalk was their fitting type and chieftain. He is described as "distinguished for beauty of person, for agility and strength of frame, in manners graceful and easy, and in movement majestic and princely."

The famous battle of Point Pleasant, so mournfully familiar to the memory of the descendants of those engaged in it, was the most noted pitched battle ever fought with the Indians upon this continent. Cornstalk commanded the Indian force, which was composed of over one thousand picked warriors, the flower of their tribes. The time and the ground for the battle were selected by Cornstalk with the most consummate sagacity. He designed to cut off by surprise the army of General Lewis, while worn out with the fatigue of its long march through the mountain wilderness, before the approaching reinforcement under Colonel Christian could arrive, and before it could form a junction with the main body of Virginians under Lord Dunmore, who was marching leisurely along the open road of Braddock's expedition. The battle was begun at early dawn, and was most fiercely fought until the sun sank behind the western hills. An actor in the scene says, "the long lines of the opposing armies, stretching for a mile between the banks of the Kanawha and the Ohio, were often within twenty feet of each other, and for a time the fight was hand to hand with tomahawk and war-club and knife, in deadly struggle." The towering form of Cornstalk was constantly seen passing rapidly along the Indian lines, and his clear commanding voice was distinctly heard above the din of battle, cheering his braves with his battle-cry, "BE STRONG!—BE STRONG!" One of his warriors appearing to falter, the stern chief, with a blow of his own tomahawk, was seen

to cleave the coward's skull. Nothing but the obstinate bravery and desperate courage of Andrew Lewis and his experienced officers and hardy men, could have withstood this fierce onslaught ; but their unflinching valor triumphed, and the confident Indian was driven back across the Ohio, never again to appear in battle array on the unconquered soil of Virginia.

In the conference for peace which followed this battle, he extorted the highest praises from the English officers for his remarkable eloquence. "When Cornstalk rose to reply to Lord Dunmore," says Colonel Wilson, (a British officer present,) "he was in no wise confused or daunted, but spoke in a distinct and audible voice, without stammering or repetition, and with peculiar emphasis. His very looks, while addressing Dunmore, were truly grand, yet graceful and attractive." As he advanced and became excited his voice rose in swelling cadence until he could be distinctly heard over all the camp-ground. Colonel Wilson adds, "I have heard the first orators in Virginia—Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee—but never have I heard one whose powers of delivery surpassed those of Cornstalk."

The well known story of his death, which occurred but a few years later, so little to the credit of those concerned, was but characteristic of the chieftain himself. Faithfully regarding the treaty of peace, he visited the fort at Point Pleasant to warn the garrison of the efforts of British agents to incite the Indians to take up arms against the Virginians in the revolutionary war. But Cornstalk was detained as a hostage, and his son, the young chief Ellinipsico, in filial devotion, came to the fort to share his father's confinement. A reckless party of soldiers, infuriated at the murder of a comrade by a prowling Indian, alleged to have been a companion of Ellinipsico, rushed to avenge themselves on the helpless hostages. Cornstalk seeing their approach, and having on that same morning expressed a presentiment of approaching death, readily divined their object, and after saying encouragingly to Ellinipsico, "My son, the Great Spirit has seen fit that we should die together, and has sent you here to that end, it is his will, let us submit, it is all for the best," he turned undauntedly, to meet his murderers, and baring his bosom, received seven balls in his body and fell lifeless at their feet. He was the last of a long line

of forest warriors since the days of Powhatan, who, on Virginia's soil, had illustrated, amidst all their cruelties, the loftiest virtues of Nature's heroes; with him departed the spirit and prestige of Indian power forever on this frontier, and the long and bloody drama was fittingly closed with the scene of his death, as he lay thus on the very field of his fame and his greatest battle:—

“—— the lord of all
The forest heroes; trained to wars;
Quivered and plumed, and lithe and tall,
And seamed with glorious scars.”

With such an eventful close of the border hostilities the settlers of this Valley might well hope to repose calmly at last in the sunlight of peace; but the lurid flashes of these forest wars had scarce faded behind the hills of the West, when their Eastern skies grew dark along all the horizon with the gathering clouds of the revolutionary contest for their country's freedom. But here the headlands of history come into view, and in accordance with the plan of this address, to trespass little on such well known ground, we but linger awhile where we may yet gather some floating traditions, or less known incidents, that farther exhibit the traits of this Scotch-Irish race.

Though wearied and wasted by their long conflicts with their forest foes, and welcome as rest might well have been, still they greeted the coming struggle most cheerily, although against the mother country and the most imperious power of the old world, since it became necessary to secure the rights of conscience and of liberty, which they and their fathers had so long and ever so unceasingly sought. To show the spirit, still worthy of their descent, in which they ripened for the coming revolution, we need but quote, so far as space permits, from the “addresses” of their public meetings of the day, not published as yet in any formal book of history. Augusta was, by this date, sub-divided into the counties of Botetourt and Fincastle, and they who moved in these meetings were the same men, and their immediate descendants, who came from the heart of original Augusta—that “*officina gentium*” for the West.

On the 20th of January, 1775, months before the famous “Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence,”—itself the work of the

Scotch-Irish of North Carolina—the freeholders of Fincastle, through their committee, consisting of Colonel William Christian, as chairman, Rev'd Charles Cumings, Colonel William Preston, Captain Stephen Trigg, Major Arthur Campbell, Major William Ingliss, Captains Walter Crockett, John Montgomery, James McGavock, William Campbell, Thomas Madison, Daniel Smith, William Russell, Evan Shelby and William Edmundson, presented an address to the Continental Congress containing these sentiments :—

“ Had it not been for our remote situation, and the Indian War in which we were lately engaged to chastise these cruel and savage people for the many murders and depredations they committed amongst us, now happily terminated, we should, before this time, have made known our thankfulness for the very important services you have rendered your country.

* * * * “ We assure you, and all our countrymen, that we are a people whose hearts overflow with love and duty to our lawful Sovereign George III., whose illustrious House, for several successive reigns, have been the Guardian of the civil and religious rights and liberties of British subjects as settled at the glorious Revolution ; that we are willing to risk our lives in the service of His Majesty for the support of the Protestant Religion, and the rights and liberties of his subjects, as they have been established by Compact, Law and Ancient Charters. We are heartily grieved at the differences which now subsist between the parent State and the Colonies, and most ardently wish to see harmony restored on an equitable basis, and by the most lenient measures that can be devised by the heart of man. Many of us and our forefathers left our native land, considering it as a Kingdom subjected to inordinate power, and greatly abridged of its liberties ; we crossed the Atlantic and explored this then uncultivated wilderness, bordering on many nations of Savages, and surrounded by Mountains almost inaccessible to any but those very Savages, who have incessantly been committing barbarities and depredations on us since our first seating the country. These fatigues and dangers we patiently encountered, supported by the pleasing hope of enjoying those rights and liberties which had been granted to *Virginians*, and were denied us in our native country, and of transmitting them inviolate to our posterity ;

but even to these remote regions the hand of unlimited and unconstitutional power hath pursued us to strip us of that liberty and property, with which God, nature and the rights of humanity have vested us. We are ready and willing to contribute all in our power for the support of His Majesty's Government, if applied to constitutionally, and when the grants are made to our Representatives, but cannot think of submitting our liberty or property to the power of a venal British Parliament, or to the will of a corrupt British Ministry. We by no means desire to shake off our duty or allegiance to our lawful Sovereign, but on the contrary, shall ever glory in being the loyal subjects of a Protestant Prince, descended from such illustrious progenitors, so long as we can enjoy the free exercise of our Religion as Protestants, and our Liberties and Properties as *British Subjects*.

"But, if no pacific measures shall be proposed or adopted by Great Britain, and our enemies will attempt to dragoon us out of those inestimable privileges, which we are entitled to as subjects, and to reduce us to slavery, we declare that we are deliberately and resolutely determined never to surrender them to any power upon earth but at the expense of our lives.

"These are our real, though unpolished sentiments, of liberty and loyalty, and in them we are resolved to live and die." (*Am. Archives, 1775.*)

The Freeholders of Augusta county, assembled in Staunton on the 22nd day of February, 1775, chose MR. THOMAS LEWIS and CAPT. SAM'L McDOWELL as delegates to represent them in Colony Convention at the town of Richmond, on the 20th day of March, 1775. "Instructions" were drawn up by Rev. Alex. Balmain, Sampson Matthews, Capt. Alexander McClenachan, Michael Bowyer, Wm. Lewis, and Capt. George Matthews—portions of which are as follows :

"To Mr. Thomas Lewis and Capt. Sam'l McDowell :

"The Commissioners of Augusta county, pursuant to the trust reposed in them by the Freeholders of the same, have chosen you to represent them in a Colony Convention, proposed to be held in Richmond on the 20th March, instant. They desire that you may consider the people of Augusta county as impressed with just senti-

ments of loyalty and allegiance to his Majesty, King George, whose title to the Imperial Crown of Great Britain rests on no other foundation than the liberty, and whose glory is inseparable from the happiness of all his subjects. We have also a respect for the parent state, which respect is founded on religion, on law, and the genuine principles of the Constitution. On these principles do we earnestly desire to see harmony and a good understanding restored between Great Britain and America. Many of us and our forefathers left our native land, and explored this once savage wilderness, to enjoy the free exercise of the rights of conscience and of human nature. These rights we are fully resolved, with our lives and fortunes, inviolably to preserve; nor will we surrender such inestimable blessings, the purchase of toil and danger, to any Ministry, to any Parliament, or any body of men upon earth, by whom we are not represented, and in whose decisions therefore we have no voice.

* * * * And as we are determined to maintain unimpaired that liberty which is the gift of Heaven to the subject of Britain's Empire, we will most cordially join our countrymen in such measures as may be deemed wise and necessary to secure and perpetuate the ancient, just, and legal rights of this Colony and all British America.

"As the state of this Colony greatly demands that Manufactures should be encouraged by every possible means, we desire that you use your endeavors that Bounties may be proposed by the Convention for the making of Salt, Steel, Wool-Cards, Paper and Gun-Powder; and that, in the meantime, a supply of Ammunition be provided for the Militia of this Colony. * * * A well regulated Militia is the natural strength and stable security of a free government, and we therefore wish it recommended by the Convention to the officers and men of each county in Virginia to make themselves masters of the military exercise, published by order of his Majesty in the year 1764.

"Placing our ultimate trust on the Supreme Disposer of every event, without whose gracious interposition the wisest schemes may fail of success, we desire you to move the Convention that some day, which may appear to them most convenient, be set apart for imploring the blessing of ALMIGHTY GOD on such plans as human wisdom and integrity may think necessary to adopt for preserving *America*, happy, virtuous and free."

The address of the Freeholders of Botetourt, about the same date, is very similar in sentiment and construction with the foregoing, and concludes as follows: "In these sentiments we are determined to live and die. We are too sensible of the inestimable privileges enjoyed by subjects under the British Constitution, even to wish for a change, while the free enjoyments of those blessings can be secured to us; but, on the contrary, can justly boast of our loyalty and affection to our most gracious Sovereign, and of our readiness in risking our lives, whenever it has been found necessary, for the defence of his person and government.

"But, should a wicked and tyrannical Ministry, under the sanction of a venal and corrupt Parliament, persist in acts of injustice and violence towards us, they only must be answerable for the consequences. Liberty is so strongly impressed on our hearts, that we cannot think of parting with it but with our lives. Our duty to GOD, OUR COUNTRY, OURSELVES, AND OUR POSTERITY, all forbid it. We therefore stand prepared for every contingency."

These addresses have the ring of the true metal; and they display a spirit still living in these people that proved an unadulterated descent from their patriot ancestors of the past. The same independence in thought, resolute maintenance of right, and loyalty to a just government; but an ever-jealous vigilance of tyranny, bold defiance of unrighteous power, prompt resistance of all encroachments on liberty and conscience, and still crowning all a constancy in faith and deep reverence for religion to shed a golden glow over all their daily deeds.

It is believed that, in point of time, the very first paper presented to the continental Congress, distinctly proposing a separation from the government of Great Britain, was one from this people of Augusta: but, unfortunately, the paper itself cannot now be found. The very early date of the addresses quoted, prepared by a people so remote from the commercial and social heart of the colonies, as to be the last to feel the practical evils of oppression, proves not merely the promptness with which they made and met the issue, but that the impulse with them was one of PRINCIPLE alone. And such growing evidence of sympathy from the distant backwoods might well send an electric thrill through the breast of every patriot in their common country, uniting all in a common cause, with a

common pledge to each other of their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor.

From apprehensions too well justified by bitter experience in the past, that the treacherous Indian might forego his treaty of peace, and again fall upon a defenceless frontier, few troops were taken from the Valley in the early part of the Revolution: but, singly, many joined the army; and although losing their identity as a class, became distinguished as soldiers and officers—the Lewises, Matthews, Campbells and others, in the highest ranks, skilled by long service in the border wars, winning imperishable renown in their country's history.

On the fields of the Cowpens and Guilford some organized companies from the Valley of Virginia were engaged, and bore the brunt of the battle like veterans. Armed each with his own trusty rifle, and skilled in its use from earliest boyhood; familiar with the most perilous forms of warfare from experience with their savage foes; inspired by patriotic zeal in their cause, and brave by very nature, even if undisciplined, they must still have been most effective troops. Some British prisoners asked, after the battle of Guilford, to be shown one of the guns used by these companies, and viewing it¹ with intensest interest exclaimed, that "God and law should forbid the use of such deadly weapons." The Rev. Samuel Houston, a private in the Rockbridge company, "admits" in his Journal, yet extant, that he discharged his rifle "fourteen times"—making once for every ten minutes that "the contest lasted." The others doubtless did as much; and such riflemen were accustomed to fire only with fatal aim. It is yet told, and well believed among their descendants, that these men "scarcely 'lost' a single ball in all that battle." With other light armed militia they were posted in the front lines, and commenced the action; but a panic seized the troops stationed as their support, and the Valley riflemen were left standing alone. Tradition tells that Capt. Tate, who commanded

¹The identical gun is in possession of John Brownlee, Esq., of Augusta, whose father bore it in the battle: its weight is over ten pounds; length of barrel three feet, eight inches; total length five feet; weight of ball about 20 to the pound. An entry on the records of the county court assesses the value of the arms lost by the death of Capt. James Tate in the battle, viz.: "a rifle gun, £6, a silver hilted sword, £7 10 s."

the Augusta company, mortified at the cowardice of the desertion, feigned not to hear the order then sent his company to retreat, and stood his ground fighting till himself and great numbers of his men fell dead upon the field, and Tarleton's resistless cavalry cut through their thinned ranks. The British General, Cornwallis, made special inquiry, after the battle, concerning "the rebel troops that were stationed in the apple orchard and fought so furiously"; and the American commander, General Greene, afterwards said to Maj. Alex. Stuart, of this Regiment, that there was a time in the fortunes of that day, when, if he only could have foreseen the unflinching bravery and fatal fire of these mountain riflemen, he would have annihilated the army of Cornwallis.

The memorable battle of King's Mountain was won by men of this same race; many of whom, like their gallant leaders—Campbell, Shelby and Sevier—were born or reared in Augusta, tried in her forest conflicts, and conspicuous in the bloody battle of Point Pleasant. The "mountain men" of North Carolina and Tennessee were of the same stock; and it is probable that all engaged in the action were immediate descendants of the Scotch-Irish Settlers. General Wm. Campbell, the chief commander, wore upon the field the same trusty sword his grandfather bore in the Highlands of Scotland. The leading incidents of the battle are characteristic of the people themselves. When the news came that Ferguson and his formidable band were invading their mountain homes, their intrepid spirit was aroused to instant resistance. They awaited not to organize an equal army, and march in solid column against their formidable foe: nor needed they any baggage trains or camp equipage to delay and encumber their movement. Their tried rifles ever hung ready in their reach; their strong steeds were saddled at the word; the sound of the invader's approach was their call to the field, and their instinctive rallying place was the front of the foe. "All of a sudden," says a chronicler in Ferguson's army, "a numerous, fierce and unexpected enemy sprung up in the depths of the desert; the scattered inhabitants of the mountains assembled without noise or warning, daring, well mounted, and excellent horsemen." The numbers assembled reached two thousand, but lest the enemy should evade them, nine hundred of the best mounted pushed on—many of the officers in the ranks as private volunteers

—and soon brought Ferguson to bay on that fatal mountain, “from which he boasted that all the rebels from hell could not drive him.” But, in a short hour the haughty Briton and his army were surrounded and pressed in affright upwards to the mountain’s crest; his men fell like leaves before the leaden hail; the fiery circle closed faster around him, and soon his own white horse came careering, riderless, down the mountain side, and his surviving troops threw down their arms in unconditional surrender. But now that the victory was won, the work of this improptu and patriot army was over. The few words of the historian, Irving, truthfully tell the remainder of the characteristic story: “This victorious army of mountain men, did not follow up this signal blow. They had no plan of campaign; it was a spontaneous rising of the sons of the soil to revenge it on its invaders; and having effected their purpose, they returned in triumph to their homes.”

And nearer our own homes tradition loves still to tell of another time when the “sons of the soil” rose in patriotic ardor to avenge it on the threatening invader. The dashing Tarleton, at the head of his “legion of devils,” mounted on the swift race-horses pillaged from the stables of the planters in Eastern Virginia, swept up the valley of James river and the Rivanna, made a descent upon Charlottesville, and into the very portals of Monticello, driving the Governor of this proud Commonwealth, a refugee, into the forests of Albemarle, and the Legislature in hasty flight across the mountains to Staunton—the frontier town of the State. Flushed by his successes, it was thought he would follow in pursuit and invade this mountain-girt valley, never as yet profaned by the foot of a foreign foe.

And on one quiet Saturday evening, when the rural inhabitants were resting from the labors of the week, and awaiting with accustomed reverence the holier rest of the coming Sabbath, an express rider came dashing across the mountain with the startling tidings that Tarleton was already approaching towards Rockfish Gap. The express passed on his way a house where religious service was holding, and one who was then present, and yet lives in a green old age, tells with faithful memory how the pious and patriotic pastor (Rev. Archibald Scott) at once, in thrilling tones, invoked his people to rally all their strength, and, with their lives in their

hands, drive back the invader. The wives and daughters he hastened to their homes to help prepare their husbands, brothers and lovers for the defense of their firesides and their honor. By nightfall, the men, mounted on what horses could be had, or on foot, were all moving towards the mountain gap, armed with their ready rifles, but some, for want of better weapons, carrying their mowing scythes and iron-forks, saying as they went, "we will 'turn our plough-shares into swords, and our pruning-hooks into spears,' to meet the invader of our land."

The alarm spread with the speed of the fiery cross along their ancestral highlands of ancient Scotland, and by early morning the whole Valley was in motion, not as was their wont on that sacred day to gather in the houses of prayer, but in the familiar sentiment of their fathers, that "resistance to tyrants is obedience to God," they marched forth with the blessings and under the command of their patriot pastors, who, on that day, hesitated not to exchange the Bible and the pulpit for the sword and the saddle. And soon all along that misty mountain's top there bristled an armed host that might well have dismayed a stouter heart than Tarleton's. We may almost be forgiven the vanity of wishing that he had not been turned from the attempt, well believing, from the temper which rallied such a host, that the proud Tarleton would have met a resistance in that unconquerable spirit—that courage never to submit or yield—which would have immortalized our own mountain pass with a victory memorable as that of the Swiss Morgarten, or if defeat, itself still glorious as that which forever hallows the ground where—

"—— the unconquered Spartans still are free,
In their proud charnel of Thermopylæ."

No wonder the immortal Washington, ever remembering the ready patriotism of the men of Augusta, who had stood by his side so valiantly on the fields of his youthful fame, and had won laurels for themselves in an hundred other battles, should have paid them the tribute of recommending their favorite leader, Andrew Lewis, for the commander-in-chief of the American armies. No wonder that in the darkest days of the patriot cause, when the bravest despaired, he still hopefully relied on the men of these mountains,

and appointed the last refuge and rallying-place for freedom's followers among the fastnesses of Augusta. And no wonder that he has left the priceless legacy to them and their children's children forever, to found in their midst this noble Seminary of learning, a blessing to increase in every rolling year, a memento at once of his patriotism and wisdom to be cherished as long as his own immortal memory endures.

But if time permitted, it might well be shown that it was not only in arms they magnified and honored themselves and their country. When all for which they had taken the field was won, and the bugles sang truce at last, these unceasing worshippers at the shrine of liberty rested not until they had secured from the government of their own adoption all their long-sought rights of religious as well as civil liberty. True to the sentiments inherited from the highlands of Scotland, and the shores of Ulster, they were still most ardent and zealous and persistent advocates for a charter of religious freedom. The Presbytery of Hanover, having a large constituent proportion within this valley, moved in the matter as early as 1773, and again at Timber-ridge Church in Rockbridge, in 1775, and presented an able memorial in 1776 to the General Assembly for the "removal of every species of religious as well as civil bondage." Again in 1777, assembled at Timber-ridge, they earnestly "remonstrated against a general assessment for any religious purpose," declaring that its "consequences are so entirely subversive of religious liberty, that if they should occur in Virginia we should be reduced to the melancholy necessity of saying with the Apostles in like cases— 'Judge ye whether it be best to obey God or man,'—and of acting as they acted." In 1780 another like memorial went up from old Tinkling Spring, in Augusta; another in May, 1784, from Bethel in Augusta; another in October, 1784, from Timber-ridge; and on the 10th of August, 1785, from a "General Convention at Bethel Church," in the midst of old Augusta, was started that famous petition to which 10,000 signatures were attached, and was finally instrumental in securing, on the 17th of December, 1785, the "inestimable statute for religious freedom"—under which, in the prophetic words of the memorialists themselves, "civil and religious liberty go hand in hand, and our latest posterity will bless the wisdom and virtue of their fathers."

But the plan of this discourse concludes it where the worn channels of history so widen to the view. The incidents illustrating the characteristics of the settlers of this beautiful valley have been traced from the uncertain sources of the stream, arising far back in the sequestered retreats of tradition, until at length it has emerged on the more open tracts of Time, and rolls its deepening waters broad and clear in the sunlight of history.

The gleanings we have gathered may suffice, in some more skillful hand, to weave for their memory an enduring garland of glory. Enough may now have been given to illustrate their leading traits of activity of intellect, independence of spirit, fervency of patriotism, and perseverance of valor, and all adorned with a deep reverence for religion almost innate. These virtues may not have been adjusted in proportion, or polished into perfect harmony, but they were appropriate to the sphere of such simple life, and must command admiration for the solid strength and bold relief in which they stand, finishing upwards ever with the graces of piety and faith—like some old cathedral of the ruder ages, sublime for its very boldness of outline and massive strength of foundation and pillar and wall, while gracefully from every loftiest part still springs the “taper spire that points to heaven.”

For more than half a century these people were passing through troubles, through wars and rumors of wars; enduring cruel tortures on the heaths of Scotland, sore distresses in the fens of Ulster; terrors by day and night; deadly struggles with savage foes in the forests of America, and resistance to the bitter end against the oppressions of England. Now they might well trust that their trials were ended, and find at last the peaceful sunset of their life radiant with the thought that their sufferings had not been in vain, but had won for their children that priceless blessing they so long had vainly sought—FREEDOM! and in its holiest sense, “FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, FREEDOM OF SOUL, salient, fathomless, and perennial spring of all other freedom.”

The three-score years allotted to life had silvered the heads of the earliest settlers of this now peaceful valley, and like grain fully ripe, they were fast falling before the scythe of the relentless Reaper. But they had honestly filled up the full measure of life, and having fought a good fight, and finished the work given them

to do, they could now lie down in the tomb as to peaceful sleep and pleasant dreams. Hallowed be their memories forever ! The clods of the valley rest lightly on their graves—their forms

“— are dust,
Their good swords rust,
Their souls are with the Saints, we trust.”

Well might lofty columns of marble be reared to honor their worth, and the pen of epic poet tell the story of their heroic lives. But at the least, let their memory be embalmed in the hearts of their descendants, and their examples be perpetuated in practice as faithfully as they received and transmitted them from honored sires in other lands ; and let each and all again be invoked to strive with jealous and persistent effort to rescue something of their history from the fast gathering shades of oblivion, and so shall they contribute to rear them a monument more enduring than marble or brass. Indian tradition tells that “when a brave warrior had fallen, it became a sacred duty for each member of the tribe as he passed to throw a handful of earth upon the tomb ; that thus they honored his memory from age to age, till by their pious tributes that tomb became the mighty mound upon our western plains.” So let their descendants honor the memory of the brave settlers of this Valley ; so let that memory grow from age to age with increasing magnitude, till like that lofty mound upon the level prairie, it stands out green and beautiful against the horizon of time.

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF WASHINGTON ACADEMY AND COLLEGE FROM 1799 TO 1829.

Prepared in 1873, at the Request of the Alumni Association,

By the HON. SIDNEY S. BAXTER.

I.

These notes are prepared from memory, without reference to documents, and in the midst of professional engagements. They may be in some respects inaccurate, and must contain many imperfections, for which the writer begs indulgence.

In 1797, the law erecting Liberty Hall Academy into Washington College was repealed. By the second section of the repealing law the name of the institution was changed to Washington Academy. The only copy of this act known to be in existence is in the first volume of the old record of the Academy, perhaps on pages 194-5.

After the resignation of Mr. Graham the Academy sunk to a low point. The Rector, Dr. S. L. Campbell, was a physician engaged in an extensive practice. He acted as president of the board of trustees, and did not superintend the instruction of the pupils. That duty was confided to a tutor. The number of students dwindled down to five or six.

In 1798 George A. Baxter was elected professor of mathematics. At that time he was principal of New London Academy, a flourishing institution, with a large number of students. Mr. Daniel Blain was his assistant. They removed to Lexington, and were accompanied by a large number of students. Students came from other places, until the number became quite respectable.

In 1799 Mr. Baxter was elected rector. Mr. Blain was elected professor of languages, either then or in 1802. He certainly was all the time connected with the academy, and faithfully discharged his duty to it.

At this time the academy was much in debt; and all efforts to obtain a permanent loan failed. Its pressing necessities were relieved by the trustees either temporarily advancing money or giving their own notes for the debts, and by contributions from its friends. The James River fund was unproductive, and the only resources of the institution were tuition fees and contributions from the friends of education. Certain salaries were promised to the rector, professor, and tutor or assistant professor, but the tuition fees were insufficient to pay the whole of them; and then they were applied to the payment of the tutor and professor; the rector bearing the deficiency, and relying on his private means to make out his support. The contributions obtained were applied to the increase of the library and the payment of debts. The duty of traveling to solicit aid fell on the rector, whose preaching talents, energy, and address rendered him quite successful.

In 1802 the first dividend of 3 per cent., or \$600, was received from the stock of the James River Company. Another of the same amount was received in 1803; and, for reasons to be mentioned in the history of that fund, no more were received until about 1811 or 1812. The dividends, it is believed, were applied to the payment of debts.

In December, 1802, the rector went to lower Virginia to solicit funds in aid of the library. On the evening of the 24th of December, 1802, when he was in Norfolk, the old stone academy was burned. The furniture, apparatus and library were nearly all destroyed. Only a few books and some philosophical instruments were saved.

By this calamity the academy lost all its valuable property; and was reduced to as great destitution as when it commenced. But no thought of abandoning it was entertained. The rector and Mr. Blain felt that the donation of General Washington imposed on them a sacred duty to sustain the institution and preserve that fund inviolate. Hopes were also entertained that the funds of the Cincinnati Society would be given to the institution. It is believed

that General Morgan, before his death in 1802, had informed the rector that this destination of the funds was desired by him, and the rector believed similar views were entertained by General Porterfield, General Zane, Judge Marshall, Colonel Gibbons, General Matthews of Norfolk and other influential members of the society. They determined to make every sacrifice, and use every effort to sustain the academy, and they were nobly seconded by the trustees. Every proposition to use or mortgage the James River stock was rejected as inconsistent with the sacred character of the donation. It was determined to preserve this fund unimpaired and unencumbered, and to rebuild and sustain the academy by its high reputation and the exertions of the teachers and the liberality of the public.

A new house had been built by John Newcomer for a tavern on Jefferson street in Lexington. The house was immediately rented, and the exercises of the school recommenced in it.

The land on which the old stone academy stood, and a small brick house on it, were exchanged with Mr. Andrew Alexander for two acres near Lexington, and twenty-eight more acres were purchased from him, in all thirty acres, the present college grounds. The citizens of Lexington, according to their means, subscribed liberally to the academy. The citizens of Rockbridge, Augusta, Botetourt, Amherst, Albemarle, Winchester, Fredericksburg, Richmond, Petersburg and Norfolk responded liberally to the appeals made to them. The lot was paid for, the new buildings erected, the arrears of debt incurred gradually paid off; and the apparatus and library replaced by these exertions.

This state of things continued until the James River Company recommenced paying dividends, which was about 1811 or 1812.

During this time the rector was pastor of the churches of Lexington and New Monmouth. His promised salary from them was one hundred pounds Virginia currency. Mr. Blain was pastor of Oxford and Timber-ridge at a similar salary. The tuition fees were £5 Virginia currency each session. Out of these the salaries of the rector, professor and tutor were to be paid. The rector followed the rule previously adopted by him. The salaries of the professor and tutor were always to be paid; and whenever a deficiency occurred, the rector bore it. After the James River

Company resumed the payment of dividends the salaries were regularly paid.

It may not be improper to state, the great and constant demands on the time of the rector and president withdrew his attention from his private affairs; and many of the most valuable lands devised to his wife by her father in Kentucky were lost for want of attention. But he was sustained under all his sacrifices and in all his exertions by feeling that he was performing his duty to the institution and preserving the legacy of Washington sacred to its purposes. He was also cheered by the hope that by preserving the high character of the institution he was aiding his friends and its friends to secure the Cincinnati fund. These feelings caused him to refuse several most flattering applications to remove to other institutions and congregations.

In 1812 an act of the Legislature was passed, raising Washington Academy to the rank of a College. The Rector was to be called President. The Board continued Mr. Baxter as President and Mr. Blain as Professor of Languages, and created a new professorship of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry. The duties of this department had heretofore been discharged by the Rector. They were thereafter to be discharged by the new professor. Mr. Edward Graham was elected Professor of Natural Philosophy, Chemistry and Astronomy. Soon after the college attained a firm basis, Mr. Blain, who had labored most faithfully to sustain it in its darkest hours, was taken sick, and after a lingering illness, died in 1814. During his sickness his duties were faithfully performed by Mr. Henry Ruffner, then a tutor or assistant professor, afterwards a professor and President of the College.

In 1816 Rev. Andrew Herron was elected Professor of Languages. He resigned in 1818, and Mr. Ruffner was elected his successor. He continued in office till 1829.

The dividends of the James River Company were at first small, but they continued to increase until the sums annually received by the College were more than sufficient to meet the salaries and the prudent incidental expenses of the College. The surplus was then accumulated to erect new buildings which were much needed.

Mr. John Robinson died about 1826 and devised his estate to the College. Under the careful and judicious management of

Colonel S. McD. Reid, the acting executor, this estate was closed and in 1829 yielded a handsome sum to the College. The James River stock yielded a handsome annual revenue. The Cincinnati fund was then as secure as the efforts of the College could make it. Dr. Baxter, feeling the objects for which he had so long labored were attained, desired to resign. To enable the Trustees to place the College under a new and enlarged organization suitable to its increased pecuniary prosperity, all the professors resigned in 1829.

II.

The life of a professor or teacher of youth is one of sameness. The incidents of to-day are precisely similar to those of yesterday; and the events of one session are a repetition of the events of the preceding one. There can be nothing striking or sensational in the history of such a life. Yet as the alumni may desire to know something of the course of study pursued in this institution and of the professors in its former days, a sketch of these points will be attempted.

I. Arrangement of course of studies.—The writer has always been informed that when Mr. Baxter took charge of the academy there was no regularly arranged course of study. He and Mr. Blain organized the academy into schools or departments. The student might enter any of them he chose, if he was qualified to do so. If he completed the course in those departments with credit he was entitled to a certificate of proficiency in those departments. To entitle him to the degree of A. B. it was necessary he should complete the course in all the departments with credit. This arrangement was approved by the trustees and entered of record.

I have not a copy of this record, nor even a memorandum of its date, but it must be either in 1802 or 1803. I respectfully request it may be searched for and a copy filed with this sketch. I desire this because I believe it is substantially the plan adopted by Washington and Lee University. It continued in operation till 1820.¹ In the absence of records I must state the division of these departments from memory.

¹See Historical Papers, No. 1, pp. 91, 92.

1. Mental and moral Philosophy, Laws of Nature and Nations, Constitutional Law, Logic, Rhetoric and Belle Lettres. This department was under the sole charge of the Rector.

2. Mathematics. The course was Algebra, embracing its higher branches; Trigonometry, plane and spherical; Surveying, embracing heights, distances, etc.; Geometry; Natural Philosophy, including Physical Science, etc.; Astronomy; and Chemistry. This department was under the charge of the Rector. After the Cincinnati Society in 1807 passed their first resolution to give their funds to Washington Academy on the dissolution of the society, and on condition there was established a military school in which should be taught at least the science of fortification and gunnery, this school was established and placed under the charge of the Rector. In this school fortification and gunnery and navigation were taught. I remember Bowditch was the text-book in navigation. I do not remember the text-books in fortification and gunnery, though I well remember it was in this school I first learned something of Cohorn and Vauban.

3. Languages. This embraced a full course of Latin and Greek, and instruction to those who desired it in Hebrew and French. This department was under the charge of the Professor of Languages, Mr. Blain. To this department was attached the Grammar School. In this school were taught the elements of Greek and Latin, Arithmetic, and the elements of the English language and Geography. This department was under the immediate care of the tutor, or assistant professor, subject to the supervision of the professor and rector.

The mode of instruction was by recitation from text-books; care was taken to prevent these recitations from degenerating into mere exercises of the memory. Questions were put, and conversations had, to induce the students to think on the subjects of the lessons; to give them all recent information on the subjects of the lessons; to induce them to search for and apply to the subject all the information that could be derived from collateral and analogous subjects. This mode of instruction brought the mind of the teacher more directly in contact with the mind of the pupil, and enabled him to solve any doubts the pupil might have and to fix more firmly in his mind the knowledge acquired. The text-books were

the most approved standard works on the subjects taught. They were at that day the well arranged, accurate, matured productions of able men, who had devoted many years to the study of the subject. The pupil had therefore before his mind the most excellent works on the subject. The professor who reflected on the subjects taught, and was diligent in acquiring information, would have much to communicate that would excite the investigation of the pupil and arouse in him a desire to attain the high standard of the author.

In the system of teaching by lectures, the professor, having prepared his course of lectures, repeated them to each succeeding class. One danger in the lecture system was, that when the lecture was once prepared the professor would not incur the labor of preparing a new course. He would be tempted to rest on his first course. That, in all human probability, would be inferior to the most improved text-book. The professor's lecture would be the highest standard of attainment placed before the pupil, and he would be in danger of measuring his attainment by an inferior standard.

The system of departments or schools was preferred to a college curriculum for several reasons: 1. The means of a young man seeking an education might be limited, and he could not attend college for the four years necessary to pass through the curriculum. He then must enter the course with all the disadvantages of an irregular student. 2. The student and his parents might desire he should receive an education to prepare him for some particular pursuit, or his mind might have a greater capacity for some branch of education than for others. The department system enabled the professors to aid him in attaining the highest degree of proficiency he could master in these branches without neglecting others of importance.

II. The great object of education in Washington Academy and College was thorough mental discipline. By this was meant such habits of attention, earnest, persevering and well trained application of the mind of the students to the subjects taught, as would invigorate the intellect, and fix the subject of study accurately and firmly in the mind; and thus enable the student to use his acquirements, in after life, with readiness, confidence and security, and to apply the powers of a well-trained mind to the further acquisitions needed in after life.

There existed at that day a great prejudice against the study of dead languages as part of an academic or collegiate course. Of this prejudice the Rector never partook. He always considered them an important element in mental discipline. The parts, forms and structure of languages were closely connected with the operations of the human mind. The study and the application of the elements of language to the varying forms of speech, in different nations and in different stages of civilization, the capacity of clothing thought in expressions adapted to the purposes of the speaker in the exigencies of business life, afford an extensive field for training the intellect. He considered the study of the Latin and Greek languages necessary to the perfect mastery of the English language; and he thought the study of the Greek and Roman classics incited the student to study the geography, history, political institutions, manners and customs of those nations, and enlarge the sphere of his knowledge and thought. No prejudice ever existed against the study of Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, the Laws of Nature and Nations, Mental Philosophy, Logic, Rhetoric, Belle-Lettres, Astronomy, and Chemistry; and instruction in all these branches of study was faithfully given.

In 1813 the branches of Astronomy and Chemistry were assigned to the new professor; the other branches remained under the charge of the president; and the duties were discharged by him until 1829. That he discharged his duties well, was testified by the high character of the institution; the number of distinguished men produced by it; and the great esteem and veneration in which he was held as an instructor. The writer has met with many men, eminent in church and state affairs and in professions, who ascribed much of their success in life to the instruction and mental training received from Dr. Baxter. He has received many acts of kindness from distinguished men which were testimonials of their veneration for his father.

III. The discipline of the institution was based on the assumption that all the students of the college were young gentlemen; that by cultivating the moral principles and the habits of gentlemen, united with mental acquirements, their success in after life would be secured, as far as collegiate education would secure it. They were taught that a sacred regard for truth was the corner-stone of

the character of a gentleman. To this was to be added proper knowledge of their own rights and their duties to others. They were taught to maintain their own rights with dignity, firmness and prudence, to respect the rights and feelings of others, and always to behave with propriety, courtesy and kindness.

Idleness was discouraged. Industry in study was urged. Innocent mischief, not vicious or immoral, which did not interfere with the studies or exercises of the college, was passed by as unknown ; or if this could not be done was gently rebuked. When the offenses were more serious, private conversations and moral influences were used as correctives. But when they assumed the form of flagrant rebellion against the authority or discipline of the institution, or when they were tainted with immorality, which rendered the offender an unfit associate for his fellow students, he was decidedly and firmly dealt with.

The Rector, afterwards President, lived on the College grounds ; the other professors did not. On him therefore, with the aid of the tutors, fell chiefly the duty of maintaining the discipline of the institution. To do this he sought, by all proper means, the friendship and confidence of the students, and under all circumstances sought to act as their guardian, guide and counsellor ; and often when the conduct of the students was frank, manly and honorable, the offense was entirely forgiven.

IV. From this statement it is apparent that the duties discharged by the Rector and President were, during his entire connection with the institution, extremely arduous. And this leads to some sketch of his mental powers and habits.

The writer regrets that this cannot be done by some one else ; but as he has been requested to make such a sketch he will try to do so.

III.

REV. GEORGE A. BAXTER, D. D.

The mind of Dr. Baxter was highly gifted by nature. The extensive grasp, originality, fertility and independence of his thought, his acuteness of perception, his power of analysis, his systematic, logical, accurate, lucid and condensed powers of statement, his im-

agination, the purity of his taste and the soundness of his judgment, were all of the highest order of intellect. All these high gifts of mind were cultivated by assiduous and unremitting application. He possessed in an eminent degree the rare faculty of concentrating all his powers of mind on any subject he undertook to study or investigate. When he read any standard work the whole powers of his mind were applied to and absorbed in it. When he had completed the work, the whole system of the author, the sources and character of his information, the accuracy, logic and force of the argument, and the soundness of the conclusions of the author were all well considered and weighed and stored away for future use. It was rarely necessary for him to review a book he had once read with care, and he often said he never had time to read carelessly. If he approved a book it became incorporated with his modes of thought on the subject; if he disapproved it, it seemed to be laid away in his memory for future inquiry and criticism.

His mind was active and untiring. He never rested on his present attainment in any subject, but was always reaching after further light and information; and he studied with avidity every new and valuable work he could obtain on any of the subjects connected with his duties. He was a great economist of his time, and never postponed till to-morrow what he could do to-day. He was thus enabled to keep up with the progress of science and literature in all the departments entrusted to him.

In prose literature and poetry his imagination and taste were highly cultivated. His memory was stored with passages from classic writers. His habits of study were peculiar. When he had not a book in hand, he seemed to delight in reviewing his mental stores in soliloquies, and these soliloquies often assumed the form of dialogues. In these dialogues any objections to matters of science and literature were discussed *pro* and *con*, and the soundness of his own previous conclusions was frequently reviewed. It was often his habit to recite passages from classic authors, and in his dialogues to subject them to criticism.

From an injury sustained in early life, walking became irksome to him as his years increased, and this, with increasing corpulence, inclined him frequently to seek a recumbent position. But whatever might be the position of his body, his mental activity never seemed to cease.

He quoted authors but seldom, either in his sermons or his recitation room. When he quoted in his recitation room, it was either to induce the pupils to study diligently the works quoted, or by judicious criticism to guard them from errors or faults of style or principles in the author. In his sermons and in the instruction of his pupils, it was obvious his thoughts were derived from and refined by his familiarity with the greatest and best writers. It ought to be added, that his mind was richly stored from and indeed richly imbued with the Holy Scriptures, and themes from them were often the subjects of his soliloquies. Both in preaching and in the instruction of his pupils he possessed in an eminent degree the faculty of stating the most abstruse and difficult problems in simple and lucid forms, which rendered them plain and acceptable to the most common understanding.

Of the course of Dr. Baxter after he resigned the Presidency of the College it would be out of place to speak here extensively, but it may not be improper to say, that soon after his resignation he was elected Professor of Christian Theology in the Union Theological Seminary. He discharged the duties of that office to the satisfaction of the pupils, the trustees, the churches, and the public. In the academy, the college, and the seminary, he was honored and venerated as an apt instructor of youth. As a minister of the gospel he was always one of the most highly esteemed members of the Synod of Virginia. And in the latter part of his life no minister of the Presbyterian Church in Virginia, or perhaps in the Southern States, had greater influence or was more venerated and honored.

REV. DANIEL BLAIN.

The name of the Rev. Daniel Blain ought always to be honored by the alumni of this institution. I regret I cannot speak of him from personal recollection; but from information derived from many sources I will attempt a brief notice of him.

Mr. Blain was a man of more than average intellect. His mind was highly cultivated, especially in the branches of learning connected with his professorship; but it was as an instructor he was most eminent. He was familiar with the dead languages, English literature, &c., and was a good French scholar. He had a pecu-

liarily happy manner of explaining to his pupils the most difficult passages and questions they encountered, and in improving and cultivating their taste in the classics, and exciting them to extend the range of their inquiries into all the subjects connected with ancient literature. His manner to the students was kind. He always treated them as gentlemen, and sustained his authority by the firmness, gentleness and dignity of his manner, rather than by force. He was assiduously devoted to his duty, and cheerfully encountered every labor and sacrifice necessary to sustain the character of the institution and to attain the purposes common to the Rector and himself, namely, the preservation of the Washington donation undiminished and unencumbered.

He was pastor of the churches of Oxford and Timber Ridge. His sermons were carefully prepared and his ministrations always acceptable to the people. He died in 1814 in the meridian of life and before he had attained the full measure of the reputation his talents, industry and fidelity entitled him to; but he saw before his death the Washington donation on firm ground and becoming valuable to the College.

His death was greatly mourned by all the friends of the college and by the entire community. It was a sore bereavement to the President. With him Mr. Blain had been associated as assistant professor for seventeen years, and during all that time there had not been a jar between them.

REV. ANDREW HERRON.

The Rev. Andrew Herron succeeded Mr. Blain as professor of Languages. He was a minister of the Associate Reformed Church. He was educated at Cambridge, Mass., and unquestionably was a man of ability and learning much above mediocrity. As an instructor and disciplinarian his success did not equal his talents and attainments. He soon manifested dissatisfaction with his duties as professor, and resigned the second year.

REV. HENRY RUFFNER, D. D.

He was succeeded by the Rev. Henry Ruffner, afterwards Dr. Ruffner. Dr. Ruffner was an alumnus of the institution. As assistant professor during the sickness of Mr. Blain and until the

election of Mr. Herron, he had rendered very valuable services to the College. As a scholar he was remarkable for the accuracy, extent and solidity of his learning. His powers of communicating instruction were very great. He was firm, but patient and gentle. He understood well everything taught, and was quick to perceive defects in the knowledge and views of the pupil. He was assiduous in explaining and removing difficulties in the minds of his pupils. His perseverance and kindness often won the most wayward youths to close attention to study, and incited the dullest to exertion. In the discipline of the College he was a very valuable auxiliary to the President. His justice, firmness and kindness gave him great influence over the students, and that influence was always beneficially exerted.

Dr. Ruffner continued to be a professor of the College until 1829, when the President and professors resigned. Under the new organization, Dr. Ruffner was re-elected to his former professorship. At this time Dr. Ruffner had not reached the meridian of life. His reputation was great and rapidly growing. He continued to be professor until he was elected President.

The course of Dr. Ruffner after the re-organization of the institution is not within the limits of the present sketch. The writer must content himself by saying Dr. Ruffner fulfilled the promise of great usefulness and distinction hoped for him from his early course. His thorough, extensive and solid knowledge, his great ability and power, and his pure classic taste as a writer, his high capacity as an instructor, and his eminence as a preacher in the denomination to which he belonged, made him one of the most prominent men of Virginia. As a professor and President of the College he served the institution with great credit to himself and usefulness to the public. He reflected honor on the institution as one of its alumni.

It is hoped some one better acquainted with Dr. Ruffner's services to the institution in this part of his life, and with more full materials, will furnish to the alumni a proper sketch of him.

MR. EDWARD GRAHAM.

Mr. Graham was educated under the care of his brother, William Graham, the former Principal of Liberty Hall Academy. His intellect was of a high order, and his attainments accurate and

extensive. He was an assistant in Liberty Hall and Washington Academies, and afterwards principal of New London Academy. He studied law, was licensed, and about the beginning of the present century settled in Kanawha county, where his practice became extensive. He followed his cases to the District Court at the Sweet Springs, where he was highly esteemed as a lawyer. He removed to Rockbridge county and was establishing himself in a good practice when he was elected professor in the College.

Mr. Graham was thoroughly acquainted with the principles of the sciences taught by him, and in his recitation room he was always instructive, and deeply interested his pupils.

IV.

THE ENDOWMENTS.

It remains to give some history of the two principal funds of the College.

The donation of General Washington was 100 shares of the stock of the old James River Company, of the par value of \$200 per share, or at par \$20,000, but which might be greatly increased by the amount of tolls received from the work. The company was incorporated in 1784. I think the act is in the 11th volume of Henning's Statutes at Large. It is not now before me. I state from memory some of its provisions.

The company was required to connect the lower or tide-water navigation of James River with the upper navigation above the falls. To do this they were required to make a canal round the falls to Westham, five miles above Richmond, so as to connect the tide-water with the river at and above Westham.

From that point they were required to improve the river by sluices so as to render it navigable for boats drawing at least one foot of water, to Crow's Ferry, two miles above Buchanan.

The company commenced its work, and in 1796 completed a canal from Westham to a basin constructed by them in Richmond. The Company then commenced receiving tolls, but I believe these tolls were applied to the payment of debts; and the first dividend of 3 per cent. was paid in 1802, and a second of the same amount was made in 1803.

At this time the basin in Richmond was not connected with tide-water and but little had been done in improving the sluice navigation above Westham. When the Company commenced declaring dividends, it excited great indignation along the river, and the Legislature by an act passed in 1803 compelled the Company to complete the improvement required by the charter. To do this, it had to construct locks from the basin to tide-water, and carry up the sluice navigation to Crow's Ferry. This work required all the available means of the Company until 1811 or 1812. Of course during this time no dividends were made. The dividends were at first small, but increased in amount. I believe they never did amount to 10 per cent. But by completing the work according to the charter, the Company acquired the right to the level of the stream and to all the water that could be used for navigation in any form. This right the State could not, by the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, deprive it of except by complying with the terms of the original charter. Those terms were, I think, that the State could resume the corporate rights granted to the Company by paying the Company a dividend of 12 per cent. for the twelve years first after the expiration of thirty years, and 15 per cent. annually thereafter forever.

The work required by the charter of 1784 was after its execution considered wholly inadequate to the wants of the State. But no improvement could be executed without either confiscating or acquiring the property of the James River Company. In 1818 a compact was entered into between the State and the James River Company, by which, in consideration of the surrender by the company of its chartered rights, the State pledged its faith to pay to the stockholders in the old Company 12 per cent on their stock for twelve years from 1820, and 15 per cent annually forever after 1832.

In 1820 an act was passed providing for a more enlarged improvement of the river, and the old James River Company was made the trustee to execute this improvement. In 1823 the State dispensed with the agency of the old James River Company and determined to carry on the improvement by commissioners. In the act of 1823 the faith of the State was again pledged to the stockholders of the James River Company for the payment of the dividends, and they were charged on the treasury. In 1831 the State

incorporated the James River and Kanawha Company, and sold them the property and rights derived from the old Company for \$1,000,000, and again pledged its faith for the payment of this dividend. See the series of those acts in the supplement to the Revised Code of 1819.

It will thus be seen the rights of Washington and Lee University to the James River fund rest on solemn contracts founded on valuable consideration and not on any gratuitous donation of the State. They are under the sanction of the Constitution of the United States, and probably constitute a lien on the property of the James River and Kanawha Company capable of being enforced by suit.

As many of these statements are from memory, I will state my opportunities of information. I was elected a director of the James River and Kanawha Company in 1831, and in performing the duties of that office, and also of Attorney General, I was compelled to make myself familiar with the history of the old James River Company.

CINCINNATI FUND.

It is much to be regretted that the records of the Cincinnati Society are lost; as memorials of the Virginia officers of the Revolution they were of great value and interest to the historian or biographer.

As these records were given to Washington College with the funds of the Society, a brief statement of the mode of the loss must be made. These records came with the funds of the Society to the hands of the treasurer of the State in 1824. They were a part of the verdict of the jury in the case of Burfort *vs.* the Security of Baker, in 1829. They were sent with the appeal on that case to the Court of Appeals and were used by the counsel and by the judges in the arguments of Wilson *vs.* Burfort, treasurer. (2 Grat-tan, 134.) Referring to the reporter's note, page 151, it appears the records never came to his hands. The then clerk of the Court of Appeals always said he believed they were abstracted by some of the numerous agents who were hunting for Revolutionary claims against the Government. I know they were earnestly hunted for by the officers and friends of the College, but unsuccessfully.

This statement is made to relieve the College and its friends from all censure for the loss of these records.

In the absence of the records, the most authentic statement of the Cincinnati fund is in the case of *Wilson vs. Burfort*, treasurer, (2 Grattan, from page 136 to page 167). On page 135 it appears by the 12th section of the constitution of the Cincinnati Society, the funds at each State meeting should be loaned to the State, and the interest only was to be applied annually to the purposes of the Society; and if difficulties occurred in process of time in executing the intentions of the Society, the Legislatures of the several States were requested to make such equitable disposition of the funds as might be most correspondent with the original design.

This constitution was the constitution of the General Society.

This plan was not adopted by the Virginia State Society. See Allen's opinion, 154.

In 1807 the Cincinnati Society of Virginia adopted a resolution which in effect was: That when the Society was so reduced in numbers as to prevent a general meeting every three years on the 4th of July, it should be the duty of the members of the standing committee to declare the difficulties contemplated by the 12th section had occurred, and they should then make the following ultimate disposition of the funds:

That the whole of the funds be presented to Washington Academy, on the express condition that there shall be established in said seminary a military school in which shall be taught at least the science of fortification and gunnery. And in failure of this condition, the funds to be vested in the Commonwealth, to be given to some other institution. But all existing pensions are to be charged on the fund.

At a meeting of the Society in 1813 a resolution was passed requesting the Legislature to receive the funds into the treasury to execute the resolution of 1807. And in pursuance of this resolution the standing committee procured the passage of the act of 1813. See this act quoted on page 132 of 2nd Grattan.

Meetings of the Society continued to be held every three years till 1818, which was the last meeting. See some of their meetings noticed by counsel, pages 147, 151, and by Judge Allen, page 157.

In 1821-22 the standing committee took steps to transfer the funds of the society to the treasurer, subject to the payment of pensions and by authority of the act of 1814. In 1824-25 these funds were received by the treasurer. Dilapidations of these funds having occurred in 1826 and 1827, two suits were instituted in the general court, and judgments obtained in 1829. Appeals were taken to the Court of Appeals by Baker's securities. I found the cases on the docket in 1836 when I became Attorney General.

There were thirty odd securities to the two bonds who were necessary parties to the suit, and it was therefore difficult to get the case before the Court. They were finally heard in 1845. Judgment was rendered against the securities in the first bond for \$6,268.11 with interest from January 1st, 1826, and on the other bonds judgment was rendered for \$1,775.60 with interest from January 1st, 1828.

After these judgments the sureties applied to the Legislature to relieve them, and ultimately the Legislature assumed the payment to the college and relieved the sureties. The payment thus made constitutes the Cincinnati fund.

From a statement made to me by the Rector of the Academy and President of the College, and from statements made to me by friends of the members of the Society and by members themselves, especially by the Hon. Francis T. Brooke, I think the following outline history of the fund correct :

The question of the ultimate disposition of the funds of the Society was agitated in the latter part of the last century soon after General Washington's donation. The friends of the Academy were active. In addition to the officers named before in this sketch, I have heard General Harry Lee, father of General R. E. Lee, and Colonel Carrington of Richmond named as active friends of the Academy. General Andrew Moore, as a member of the Legislature, of Congress, of the United States Senate, and Marshal of the State, had great influence in procuring the first donation and preventing a change afterwards. Captain Watts of Bedford, I have been informed, did much to secure the donation.

Two things operated against the institution : 1st. The desire of some to divide the funds among the poor and necessitous members of the society. 2nd. The claims of other institutions.

These things made the struggle in 1807 an arduous one. The struggle was renewed at every meeting of the society until 1818, when it was finally ended.

Many members who had voted against the Academy in 1807 refused afterwards to change the destination of the funds. Judge Brooke, who gave me this information, said he was one who so acted ; but others continued the struggle till 1818.

In 1817 the opposition was very active, and to meet the assaults made the trustees of the College directed the President and Mr. Graham to prepare a statement of the funds of the Academy and College from its beginning to that time. Such a statement was prepared, approved by the Board, and one copy was forwarded to the Society and one was ordered to be preserved. Both these copies, I fear, are lost.¹

Undoubtedly the example of Washington had much influence on the final vote ; but the fidelity with which that fund was preserved and the high character of the institution also had great influence on the decision of the Cincinnati Society.

Judge Brooke informed me the establishment of the Cincinnati class in the Academy, and the statement made by the trustees, also had great influence.

The vote in 1818 was unanimous, and the question put at rest. But the fund could not be rendered available until the death of the pensioners. And the accidents stated in the case of *Wilson vs. Burfort* delayed the receipt of the fund until about 1850.

I have made the statements in this sketch with all the care and reflection engagements in my profession would permit me. I believe they are correct and present a truthful review of the history of the institution from 1799 to 1829.

¹This statement is preserved on the record of the Board of Trustees.—EDS.

MEMORIAL TRIBUTES TO THE REV. GEORGE A. BAXTER, D. D.

The following notices of Dr. Baxter appeared after his death.

From the "*Watchman of the South*," supposed to be by the Rev. STUART ROBINSON, D. D.

GEORGE A. BAXTER, D. D.

"The memory of the just is blessed." Affection to the past, and benevolence to the present and future, unite in erecting a monument to departed excellence. It is the peculiar felicity of the good man, that his usefulness does not die with him. His memory remains as a sweet savor behind him, and though dead, he yet speaks—elevating and purifying those of after times. His example stands as a model of generous emulation to the young, and as a source of honest pride to the old.

He therefore has always been a benefactor to his own and after times, who has perpetuated the memory of worth. And Old Mortality, as delineated by the greatest of novelists, was doing the work of a true patriot, as well as an enthusiastic lover of the past, when he bent over the half obliterated records on the tombs of his ancestors, and sought to revive the evidence of their illustrious deeds. And in this good work, whatever is done must be done quickly. The lights which guide us in delineating the characters of the departed are continually and rapidly going out in the darkness of the past.—"Time's effacing fingers" sweep over the traces they have left behind them, and soon those whose records might have afforded an instructive chapter in the great history of man,

may be described in the melancholy language, "*stat magni nominis umbra*"—he stands the shadow of a mighty name. The uncertain babbling of tradition, the dim and indistinct tracery of popular belief, are the only mementos left us.

The name that stands at the head of this article has suggested these reflections. And how strange, how painful, to think of him as one who *was*. But yesterday and I was sitting at his feet—his "bland and noble countenance" shone upon me to cheer the hours of laborious investigation, and his pure and peaceful wisdom directed my footsteps in the way of knowledge. But now he belongs to a departed race, and to the mighty men of old. His sun was eclipsed when it shone with the greatest brightness. In the full maturity of his transcendent talents, and while exercising an incalculable influence for good, his mantle fell from him, and his spirit returned to Him who gave it. The stroke that removed him was unexpected. The last letters that I had received spoke most cheerfully of his improved health. What was my consternation when a friend came into my chamber with the announcement, "Dr. Baxter is dead!" Alas for our Southern Zion, alas for the Church of God! "Help, Lord, for the godly man ceaseth: for the faithful fail from among the children of men." This sentiment was echoed by ten thousand hearts.

Months have now elapsed since his death, and I have confidently expected that some of his associates in usefulness would give the church a delineation of his character. But I have been disappointed. A few short obituary notices are the only tribute to his memory, save that indelible one written in the hearts of his friends, and that which exists in the most important *acts* of our church during its late stormy period. Be mine, then, the voluntary task of gathering those fragments which may be of use in assisting his successors to form an estimate of his unique and admirable character. The delineations will no doubt be coarse, for the hand that gives them is inexperienced, but the hand will be guided by affection and reverence never felt in conjunction for any other man I have ever known.

The necessity for promptness in collecting traits of character in a permanent and tangible form, which exists in all such cases, is peculiarly strong in the present instance. Perhaps no man of his

talents and standing has left fewer writings as monuments of his greatness. He was pre-eminently unambitious. An acquaintance of considerable intimacy for years did not develop a single instance in which he seemed to court the public gaze. He never thrust himself forward. He never took a more prominent stand than circumstances compelled him to assume. But when thus forced into a conspicuous station, his resources were always adequate to the occasion. For such circumstances he was peculiarly fitted, by a quick penetration and comprehensive grasp of mind, which enabled him to meet an unexpected subject as if it had been maturely investigated. He never seemed to be taken unawares. In the confusion of desultory debate, he stood armed at all points, and the weapons of argument, or ridicule, or humor were ever at hand. In the whole course of my pupilage under him, I never knew him to postpone an answer to an objection. The most skilful cavils that could be collected from our own minds or from books never seemed to possess anything of novelty for him, but were met and exploded as old antagonists, the secret of whose weakness was well understood. The whole vast stores of his mind, all that he had read or thought, seemed completely at command. He required no time to parade his arguments or burnish his weapons. And this quickness in the perception of truth gave him a readiness in detecting and exposing fallacy. I have seen arguments proposed to him with an air of triumphant confidence, and then promptly met with a simplicity and clearness which convinced even the objector. And the answer was always accompanied by a kind good humor which robbed defeat of its chagrin.

His memory was singularly retentive. The most minute facts and arguments seemed rooted in his mind. Any one who has conversed with him about books or men must have observed this trait. He once repeated to me a large part of a poem of considerable length, and on being asked when he had read it last, answered, "About forty years ago."

Another distinguishing feature of his character was his imperturbable good humor. The vexations of a lecture room, arising in part from the dulness or indolence of pupils and in part from a self-confident dogmatical spirit that often distinguishes the learner, are well known. But even these could not destroy the serenity of his tem-

per. Though he often sported with a frivolous argument, he was always kind to the objector. Even an impertinent cavil I have seen met by the same meek forbearance. But the writer of these lines has observed him closely in still more trying circumstances—when those whom he esteemed friends opposed and bitterly vilified him for actions which he deemed essential to the welfare of the Church. But even personal unkindness did not move him. With open hand and open heart he still courted a return to amity. For a debater he was perhaps too confiding and credulous. His own open fairness, and his superiority to trick and finesse, led him to expect the same qualities in his antagonist, and he sometimes suffered by his charity. He was an illustration of a passage to be found in a discriminating author. “It has been remarked,” says Abercrombie, “that a turn for acute disputation, and minute and rigid criticism, is often the characteristic of a contracted and prejudiced mind, and that the most enlarged understandings are always the most indulgent to the statements of others—their leading object being to discover truth.”

As a writer, his style was uniform, yet always elevated—a table land, without hills or valleys. It was the opposite of all pomp and parade. He relied for success on the force of truth presented in the clearest light. When he had given a fair view of an argument he did not loiter around it to adorn and beautify it. He left it to produce its own effect, unaided by elegance of diction. Nor did he pause to guard it against every little cavil; he seemed satisfied if it was based on truth; he did not even carry it out into all its legitimate ramifications, but threw it out with an air that seemed to say that it had cost him too little labor to be regarded with much fondness. His eye seemed to be fixed on the thing to be proved, and he hastened to it with an impatience of all delay. He marched boldly on in the highway of argument, nor turned aside to subdue every petty outpost. He never skirmished, he wielded no small arms. But every volley came booming on with the destructive force of heavy ordnance. Every new sentence contained a new idea, every step was an advance towards the goal.

As a preacher he exhibited the same general characteristics. He had too little ornament and too much thought, to be very attractive to the mass of hearers, if they were strangers. For though he

wielded the club of Hercules, it had not a single wreath to adorn it. It often required a cultivated as well as attentive mind to follow the rapid flow of his thoughts; but to such minds, his sermons were both an intellectual and a spiritual feast. His preaching was evangelical and practical, and his advice to the inquiring bore the stamp of scriptural authority and wisdom.

But in the sacred family circle he was most engaging. There he was unrivalled. The stories of his mind and the treasures of his heart were poured out with lavish profusion. And I have often left his fireside with an impression of his intellectual power, equal if not superior to that made by his public efforts. Such is the idea I have formed of the man we mourn, though at first prejudiced against him. Peace to his memory. The rancor of party spirit will let him sleep undisturbed, and even his enemies will be tempted to do him justice. For even one of his warmest opposers said of him in debate, even when his name had not been hallowed by death, that "God had few such servants on earth."

ALUMNUS.

Extract from an address delivered before the Society of Alumni of Union Theological Seminary, Prince Edward county, Virginia, at the Annual Commencement June 13th, 1848, by the Rev. JOHN H. BOGOCK, D. D.

But to others of us who came later here, there arises the vision of another face and form, a brow in whose massy proportions nature had carved nobility; a countenance in which with the native beamings of a giant intellect Divine Grace had blended a sacred tenderness, which adored and trembled, and loved and wept, like some holy and sweet-spirited infant. We remember him in the pulpit—how the blood flushed his face, and the tears suffused his eyes, when his own or another's tongue depicted the awful retributions which await unbelieving sinners. As some one passing Dr. Payson's church after his decease pointed over to it and said, "There Payson prayed," so as we pass the neighboring church, the words paraphrase themselves to our thoughts, and we feel, "There Baxter wept." We remember when sometimes he came to the prayer room, late by a minute, and found us singing :

"To hear the sorrows thou hast felt,
Dear Lord, adamant would melt."

or some such hymn of contrition, how the sentiment, especially if it savored deeply of the cross of Christ, would at once thrill into his heart, and send forth its witnesses, the crimson and the tears, even before he reached his seat. We remember, too, on occasions when his spirit was fairly awakened, how we watched the light which came from his many-sided mind in the enthusiasm of its epic power of grandeur; and saw him as some Hercules, walking in the realms of Reason and Logic, hurl down pinnacle and battlement, and wall and foundation, of some fortress of untruth, by successive blows, without any visible throes of exertion; or sweep away the foundation of some castle of folly at a single trenchant stroke; and then proceed with the meekness of a child to build in its place a clear, shining structure of truth, from which only the image of the Divine Saviour might be reflected; or we followed him as guide into some region of thought which had seemed a dim and doubtful labyrinth before, and saw by the light which he carried how it assumed the order and clearness of a Grecian city built for a daylight dwelling-place. And in those times of fiery trial, when brethren were unhappily alienated from brethren, and party contests rose around the very altar connected with the very glories of the temple, we watched him with a confidence rendered half prophetic by a recollection of the past, as he went through ordeal after ordeal; and we had already foretasted the result when he came out as gold of the seventh refining. Every one who ever enjoyed his instructions probably remembers what visions he would sometimes present of the awful solemnities of Eternity and the glory of the exalted Saviour, and then take pains to hide himself behind the humblest question or remark of his humblest pupil. And we all must reflect with regret how the creations and achievements of his mighty mind—I take leave to say on this occasion, as mighty a mind as I can well conceive of, in the possession of a mere mortal—are in the main utterly lost to the Church, from his rooted aversion on all occasions to any show of self.

On the times of the Second President, only a single remark will be offered. It is, that under him the Seminary was called on, as a

denominational school, to make its election between fountains of wild bewildering waters on the one hand, and the ancient crystal wells of truth on the other; between a spirit of fancied improvement, which was indeed one of startling innovation, on the one hand, and the ancient and tried order of the Lord's house on the other. And it is believed that almost every subsequent week and month has been demonstrating that he and the worthy guardians of the Institution who stood shoulder to shoulder with him, made their election wisely and well. There may have been things to regret in those days, because the storm was wild and loud and long; and perfection is not an attribute of mortals even in times of quiet. But now that it is overpast, it is too plain to be doubted that there have come to us from it righteousness, and peace, and order, an example not deserving to be soon forgotten of the heroic love of truth; an instance in which the spirit of God lifted his flaming and zealous standard according to the ancient promise of his word; and a new proof, added to the many which were already found in the history of spiritual affairs in this world, that his hand will not desert those to whom anything is better than deranged order and corrupted truth.

From the *Staunton Spectator*, 1846. By the Rev. B. M. SMITH, D. D.

WASHINGTON COLLEGE, LEXINGTON, VA.

Mr. Editor.—In the three preceding numbers, I have endeavored to give a brief outline of the early history of Washington College. The facts and historical data which have been exhibited, touching its paternity, cannot be questioned. Permit me to retrace my hasty steps for a moment, that I may bring to view, a little more in detail, the operations of this institution during the presidency of the Rev. George A. Baxter, D. D.

Dr. Baxter while yet a young man was chosen to preside over this rising institution about the time that it received the name of Washington Academy and its first endowment from "the Father of his Country." He continued its President more than thirty years, during which time it had its seasons of adversity as well as

prosperity. Its seasons of adversity, however, compared with those of prosperity, resemble the occasional cloud that may be seen on a bright day in summer to flit across the disk of the sun, which only obscures his light partially, and but for a moment. In proof of this I refer to a long list, although imperfect, of Dr. Baxter's pupils, which lies before me. Here are the names of many that this institution has educated, and prepared to fill the highest stations in the fields of usefulness and fame; hundreds remain to this day, although some have fallen asleep. And were it not that delicacy forbids to eulogize those who are alive, and in the spring-tide of usefulness and career of fame, I would spread before the community a few scores of those distinguished names. Such an *exposé* would prove that the Alumni of Washington College are no disgrace to their beloved and respected *alma mater*. In point of talents, scholarship, principles and usefulness in their respective professions and occupations, they exhibit as much ability, and sustain as high a reputation, as the Alumni of any other institution generally do. The grade and reputation of any school may be ascertained by the general character of its Alumni. It is as true of schools as of men—"by their fruits ye shall know them." On this test we throw Washington College, without a moment's demur, knowing assuredly that she shall pass the ordeal triumphantly. Upon every scroll of fame which we unroll since the memorable year of 1776, we find the names of her Alumni inscribed. Go to the Senate of the United States, and there you will find of her sons; go to the House of Representatives, and there you will be fascinated with the eloquence of those who have enjoyed her instructions; go to the legislative halls of any of the States, South or West, of our own State, and you will be permitted to listen to the counsels of many of her pupils; go to the Bench and Bar of the States just referred to, and you will find many of her Alumni adorning the higher walks of jurisprudence. Her Alumni who belong to the medical profession are numerous and highly respectable; the lustre which they reflect, by their profound skill in medical science, upon their *alma mater*, is sufficient to deter any man of common sense from speaking lightly of her. The number of her Alumni who have entered the ministry

of the gospel in the Presbyterian Church is greatly to her honor and praise. The devoted men who founded this College have not been disappointed. Fondly did they hope, and most devoutly did they pray, that she might become "a nursing mother" to the Presbyterian Church—and so she has. Hundreds have gone from her venerable halls to proclaim the everlasting gospel, some of whom have been, and some are now, Presidents in our Theological Seminaries and Colleges. Among the early graduates of Washington Academy is found the name of the Rev. John H. Rice, D. D., one of the greatest men and most profound scholars that our church or country ever knew. Go East or West, North or South, and you will find in the ministry of the church just referred to, men of piety, talents, learning and influence, who have received their education at this College. The time has come to make an *exposé* of these matters, and to inform the community that this school is worthy of their confidence and patronage. That she might have accomplished more and done better, I concede, but that she has achieved so much and done so well is a matter of profound gratitude. To inquire into the reasons why she has not been more prosperous is foreign to my purpose. I remark, however, in passing, that if all those who are under lasting obligations to her, and owe her all they know, had used their influence and efforts in promoting her interests, by communicating information respecting the facilities and advantages of education which she possesses, she would, doubtless, have accomplished more.

It is deeply to be regretted that no one has undertaken to furnish the community with a sketch of the life and character of the Rev. George A. Baxter, D. D., a man to whom this institution owes a great deal, and whose memory deserves to be venerated by all its Alumni.

Permit one who has enjoyed the inestimable privilege of sitting under his ministry eight years, seven of which he was a member of his church, to close this number with a brief sketch of his character. Dr. Baxter was descended from respectable parents who resided in Rockingham county, Virginia, where he was born July, 1771. At an early age he manifested a strong attachment for literary pursuits. And whilst yet a young man, having undergone a great change in

his religious views and feelings, he resolved to make a full surrender of himself to God and prepare for the work of the holy Ministry. He was a pupil of Mr. Graham, and graduated at the 'Log College' before it received the name of Washington Academy. He was President of Washington College more than thirty years, and Pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Lexington thirty-three years. I do not disparage Dr. Baxter's able, pious, and learned co-adjutors and successors either in this College or Church, when I say that both owe a debt of gratitude, and perhaps something more, to his memory, which is not likely soon to be discharged. Dr. Baxter was inaugurated Professor of Theology in Union Theological Seminary, April 11, 1832, in which office he continued until his death, which occurred April, 1841.

Dr. Baxter was a great and good man. As a man of genius and a scholar he was distinguished, as an orator and a preacher he was unsurpassed; as an instructor he was eminent and successful; and as a man and a christian, those who know him best will be the first to speak his praise. For native powers of mind, he will be ranked among the first men in the history of our Church and Country. In the acquisition of knowledge the efforts of his mind were singular and extraordinary. In mathematics, logic, rhetoric, history and theology his knowledge was extensive and profound. In the entire command of his thoughts he excelled most men. His taste was correct and refined, his judgment solid, his views comprehensive, and his reasoning faculties powerful and commanding. He possessed uncommon powers to please and instruct. His knowledge was not confined to a single science, or to one branch of literature; it was varied, profound and extensive. As a pulpit orator he had few equals, and was surpassed by none. As a preacher he was esteemed a *model*. His eloquence was of the most commanding, dignified and impressive order. He was in style, taste, power, gesture and argument, the finished and consummate orator. He was wise to win souls, and was greatly successful in his efforts to bring men to a knowledge of "the truth as it is in Jesus." The Holy Spirit honored and blessed his ministry by the conversion of many souls in numerous revivals of pure and undefiled religion. To such revivals of religion he was an enlightened and warm friend. In a word, he was a man of devoted and fervent

piety; "mighty in the scriptures;" mighty in the knowledge of "the faith once delivered to the saints;" mighty in the history of the Church; mighty in sound wisdom and discretion; mighty in that noble, comprehensive character given by the pen of inspiration to a minister of old—"he was a good man and full of the Holy Ghost and of faith," and through his instrumentality "much people was added to the Lord."

And yet, notwithstanding his greatness, he was as simple as a child, and as easy of access as one altogether unconscious of any merit. He was confiding in his friendship, sincere in his professions, and always charitable and forgiving. His humility was real, his life unostentatious, and his frame of mind devout. "He was a burning and a shining light."

The decease of this inestimable man called forth testimonials of respect from various institutions and ecclesiastical bodies with which he was connected. His death was a sad stroke to many a sorrowing and smitten heart. He was greatly beloved and universally lamented.

Such is a feeble outline of the character of the Rev. George A. Baxter, D. D. Thousands will attest its truth. The writer speaks what he knows, and testifies what he has seen and heard.

From the *Central Presbyterian*. By Rev. WILLIAM BROWN, D. D.

REV. GEORGE A. BAXTER, D. D.

[The reminiscence found below, in which this venerated name is prominent, was published under the head of Editorial Correspondence in the *Central Presbyterian* in 1865. It was, however, just after the resuscitation of the paper, and when the mails of the country were not open to half its readers. On this account the writer has the more willingly complied with numerous requests for the republication of the article. Some unessential changes have been made. The scene referred to was so extraordinary as almost unavoidably to awaken a suspicion that the description is overdrawn; especially when the age of the writer at the time is called to mind. It is only natural to think that the account gives the impressions then received by a highly excited youthful mind, but that it is really, though undesignedly, an exaggeration. But the statement

which the Rev. Dr. Plumer has been so kind as to furnish will be a satisfactory safeguard upon that point. His letter we here subjoin :]

COLUMBIA, S. C., *October* 24th, 1867.

Rev. WM. BROWN, D. D.:

My Dear Brother,—When you first published your recollections of a meeting near Strickler's Spring, in Virginia, I was very much impressed with its accuracy. I have recently read it over again, and I am satisfied that I could not alter a sentence to make it more truthful, as far as it goes. You have given us the central figure and actor. If it were right I could add to the sketch others. You yourself were then a little boy. You sat near me, and I could hardly look at the preacher without seeing you. I read your emotions as distinctly as I ever read those of any person. At no great distance sat your excellent mother, and near to her that wonderfully experienced Christian, the mother of Rev. Wm. G. Campbell. A little further on was a group of College boys, who had come there without any serious purpose. But they were awed into solemnity.

I earnestly request you to republish the account of that solemn scene. Those who have read it will be glad to read it again. Those who have never read it will be glad to peruse it for the first time.

Very fraternally yours,

WM. S. PLUMER.

A REMINISCENCE OF EARLY LIFE.

On Saturday, August 25, an unexpected providence led my way over the North mountain to the Rockbridge Alum Springs, whence, after spending only a few hours at this famous fountain of health, my course was down Dunlap's Creek¹ until within sight of Goshen Depot, on the Covington and Ohio railroad. Here, making a sudden turn to the right, I was in a little while involved in the depths of Strickler's Gap. After many travels through the mountain passes of Virginia, I must say that none of them makes so deep an impression upon me as this. That through the Blue Ridge, along the noble

¹ Bratton's Run.

James, exceeds it in some respects ; chiefly because you have there the sight of a great river—here only one of its branches. But, taking into account the extreme narrowness of the defile, the stupendous mountains and crags almost hanging over you, and of course the great depth of the gorges in view, the sudden, surprising turns of the road, the wonderful bendings and interlappings of the ridges, suggesting a doubt whether a way can be found to get through—I do not hesitate to place it before all I have ever visited. It is truly a scene of wildness and grandeur which the beholder cannot soon forget. The effect on the present occasion was the greater, because my ride of six miles on horseback through these deep, silent shades was alone, and during the last hours of a calm and hot day in summer. For as I emerged into the great valley at Strickler's Springs, and turned to catch a side view of the old familiar Jump close to my left, the last rays of sunlight were leaving its lofty peak. It was an admonition to hasten on my journey. But suddenly a reminiscence of years long gone by seized and bound me as if by some magic power, and for a time entirely banished the thought of everything else. And well it might be so ; for was I not standing on holy ground ? The North river, after so long threading its doubtful way from head-springs hid behind interminable mountains, just here suddenly breaks through the last, the one forming the western boundary of our wide, and fertile, and beautiful Valley of Virginia—in its whole length and breadth surely one of the very loveliest upon earth. Now, as if freed from long, oppressive struggles, and “ rejoicing as a strong man to run a race,” it strikes its course south and obliquely across the Valley, for about thirty miles, till swelled by many tributaries its waters are mingled with the James as it enters its magnificent highway through the Blue Ridge. It was here at this spot immediately on the right of the road—on this beautiful grassy level where it suddenly touches the mountain, which rises abruptly and so high that it seems almost to hang over us—it was here that I witnessed more than forty years ago a scene which some of the people of Rockbridge yet speak of, and which certainly was one of memorable interest. Never can it be forgotten “ while I have any being.” As no account of it has ever been published, I will attempt a description ; conscious, however, that it is a very inadequate one.

The time to which I refer was about the year 1822, and the day was one on which the communion of the Lord's Supper was to be administered; interesting services and largely attended, having been held for some days preceding. The Sabbath was one of loveliness such as the climate of Virginia often gives in September, especially among the mountains. The assembly was immense. Carriages were then rarely to be met with, and the multitudes came entirely on horseback and on foot. They had poured over from Kerr's Creek and down Walker's Creek and Hays Creek; they had come down through Strickler's Gap, from the Pastures and other places behind the mountains; they had gathered from Lexington, from Timber Ridge, from Fairfield and from New Providence. It was a time of uncommon religious awakening over the country, the hearts of the people were deeply moved by "power from on high," and not only the utmost good order, but the utmost solemnity also, was to be marked even by a casual observer. The church on the river, now called Bethesda, was at that time without a house of worship, but was then and for many years after under the care of the Rev. Andrew B. Davidson. Whether on the present occasion he preached in the morning I cannot now certainly recollect, but he conducted most of the communion services in his usual fervid and impressive manner. A very large number were admitted to the church upon profession of their faith, and sat down for the first time at the table of the Lord. In the great congregation of that day might be seen the newly convicted sinner, the stricken penitent, the rejoicing convert, and the riper joy of older Christians—all mingled together, and making it a communion season long to be remembered. Surely it was a scene for angels as well as men to look upon!

When the morning services were about closing, it was announced from the stand that Dr. Baxter would preach in the afternoon. After a short intermission the singing of a hymn was the signal for the congregation to assemble again; which was done promptly—it might even be said eagerly. No one seemed to have departed; hardly a straggler could be seen. Many there were negroes, to whom a suitable place was assigned; and it may be proper to mention here that during this revival a very large number of them were added to the various churches around. Altogether it was a

wonderful assembly. From the preachers' stand in the grove to the foot of the mountain, and as it had been in the forenoon, seated on the rocks for twenty or thirty yards up its steep side, there was a dense mass of human faces, upon which one all absorbing interest was depicted. What a responsibility to stand forth as the ambassador of Christ to such a crowd, and beseech men to be reconciled unto God!

The worship before the sermon seemed peculiarly edifying, and well suited to give a right direction to the feelings of the people. Dr. Baxter gave out the 17th Psalm—a favorite one with him. It contains these striking verses:

“What sinners value I resign;
Lord, 'tis enough that thou art mine:
I shall behold thy blissful face,
And stand complete in righteousness.

This life's a dream, an empty show;
But the bright world to which I go
Hath joys substantial and sincere;
When shall I wake and find me there?

My flesh shall slumber in the ground,
Till the last trumpet's joyful sound;
Then burst the chains with sweet surprise,
And in my Saviour's image rise.

O glorious hour! O blest abode!
I shall be near and like my God:
And flesh and sin no more control
The sacred pleasures of the soul.”

Had it been but yesterday I could hardly call to mind more vividly the tone of voice, and at times the quivering lip, and the whole countenance with which these verses were read. As they were heard that day, sung by almost unnumbered voices to the tune of “Old Hundred,” “the sound was as the noise of many waters.” When it was ended, Dr. Baxter gave out for his text that striking passage in Isaiah lvii, 20, 21: “But the wicked are like the troubled sea when it cannot rest, whose waters cast up mire and dirt. There is no peace, saith my God, to the wicked.” He was then in the very prime of life, his mighty powers of intellect in their full maturity, and his religious sympathies, always quick and tender,

were now overflowing ; for his heart was all aglow with the revival pervading the country. I was then only a little boy eleven years old ; but having recently united with the Church, my interest was intensely excited, and I can remember distinctly to this day the general outline of the discourse.

He first stated briefly but with great clearness and force, who were meant by the wicked ; that it included all who were alienated from God. He next demonstrated from the nature of his moral government, and the constitution he had given to man, the absolute impossibility of such persons enjoying any true peace. This position he confirmed by reciting the confessions of Rousseau, Voltaire and Hume, together with some striking cases coming under his own observation.

He then turned with a most searching appeal to those of his hearers still unreconciled to God, asking whether their consciences did not often testify that they had never found the happiness they craved. Here the emotions of the preacher, which at various points of the discourse he had with much effort controlled, became almost overpowering. His benignant face was bathed in tears ; for like Paul, and Whitfield, and others of the same spirit, he often thus besought men. It was, in fact, sometimes with great difficulty and after a considerable pause he could find utterance. Under this appeal the whole congregation was deeply moved, and many of the stout hearted were melted like wax. His own feelings, though still under intense action, at length found vent, and were more calm. With unspeakable solemnity he next pointed the class he was addressing to the future. If they had been like the troubled sea in the past, what could they expect in a dying hour, and a day of judgment ! Here he recited Jeremiah xii, 5 : “ If thou hast run with the footmen, and they have wearied thee, then how canst thou contend with horses ? and if in the land of peace, wherein thou trustedst, they wearied thee, then how wilt thou do in the swelling of Jordan ? ” If in this world of mercy, said he, a sense of guilt, and apprehensions of the wrath of God, make you sometimes so unhappy, how will it be in that hour when mercy is departing forever ? when such a sense of avenging justice shall seize upon you as will *completely reverse the very instincts of nature itself ?*

In illustration of this last point, he added—"Suppose, as you are seated here this moment, you should see the heavens above suddenly gathering blackness, and feel the earth, under some mysterious power, trembling beneath your feet; and you who are seated upon the mountain should feel it shaking to its foundation; and looking up to its top, we should see it nodding to its fall. What would nature dictate? We should all flee in horror from the fated spot. But how completely will all this feeling be reversed to the impenitent at the last day! O, you will then say to the mountains and to the rocks, '*Fall on us, and hide us from the wrath of the Lamb; for the great day of his wrath is come, and who shall be able to stand?*'"¹

This was the substance, and in the most material parts the language used. I do not think it possible to convey to others an adequate idea of the impression immediately produced. The effect was indescribable. Something, however, may be gathered from a simple statement of what I witnessed. I was sitting with other boys close by Dr. Baxter, on the edge of the platform, and facing the vast assembly. From the very beginning of his sermon their attention had been riveted. It had increased with every step in the preacher's advance, until a more complete absorption in the subject, and consequently forgetfulness of everything else, can hardly be imagined. The emotion of the crowd now reached its climax, and an amazing one it was. I have since beheld many assemblies deeply wrought upon under a sense of eternal things, but never a scene to be compared to this. Many sitting below and on the mountain side at once rose up, and I can testify that I saw a number of persons turn to see if the mountain was not really about to fall. Indeed, so wrapt was my whole soul in the subject, that I also for a moment looked up in apprehension of such a catastrophe. The concluding hymn I had often heard before, but never with such an awful view of the last judgment.

"That awful day will surely come,
The appointed hour makes haste,
When I must stand before my Judge,
And pass the solemn test."

¹ It was probably from early habit that Dr. Baxter, though usually quite accurate in this respect, gave the words "tremble" and "wrath" the pronunciation of *trimble* and *wroth*.

Among all the instances noticed in history, where a whole multitude were swayed like a forest before some mighty wind, I doubt whether there is a more remarkable one than this. When Demosthenes

“Wielded at will that fierce democracy,
Shook the arsenal, and fulminated over Greece,”

his hearers in a pitch of excitement cried out, “Let us go to meet Philip!” But what was this compared with the cry of burdened sinners, “What must we do to be saved?”—compared with even one lost son saying, “I will arise and go to my father!” The warfare in a single heart is more tremendous in its whole nature and results than “every battle of the warrior with confused noise, and garments rolled in blood.” The eternal salvation of one soul outweighs all the interests of time.

It is true that the power on the hearts of the people during this memorable day was divine; but the Holy Spirit of God commonly uses means suited to the end designed. It was so here. If the universal judgment of the most competent men who knew him may decide, Dr. Baxter had endowments of mind, and powers as a preacher, surpassed by none, and equalled by few of his great cotemporaries. Of his piety, exceeding modesty and great worth, it were superfluous to say anything. Many can still call to mind his majestic presence, his kindling eye, and a head molded so grandly as to “give the world assurance of a man.” His theme, too, on the occasion of which I speak, was exactly suited to his cast of thought, and his sonorous voice rang through the grove and along the mountain like the sound of a deep-toned trumpet. When with all this you consider the place, the great congregation, and the great religious awakening over the country, it may be understood in some measure how well suited these agencies and circumstances were to bring on this awful impression, and carry on the work of mercy and salvation. Still it was not the less divine. “There are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all.” Certainly I must ever remember the scene here imperfectly presented as one of the most interesting of my life. I have ventured the sketch, believing it will be a reminiscence not without interest to many, and especially, because it recalls a memorable

incident in the life of a great and good man so much loved and revered.

Passing out from the shadow of the mountain, and riding in the last twilight of evening down the river to the Rockbridge Baths, the reflection was a natural one : Where are now the people gathered together on that communion Sabbath ? A few remain until the present time ; concerning most, the wind hath passed over them and they are gone—long since have they joined the still greater congregation of the dead, and passed to their judgment before God. The voice of those who on that day preached the unsearchable riches of Christ, is hushed. In fact, of all the ministers then in the Presbytery of Lexington, I can think of but three who are now among the living ; the Rev. John McElhenny, D. D., the Rev. John D. Ewing, and the Rev. James Morrison—old pilgrims, each leaning thoughtfully on his staff at the banks of Jordan.

Dear old Rockbridge ! a place where any might be thankful he was born. With a scenery so bold and charming as hardly to allow a sister in the family to vie with her ; with a region where indeed the Lord most plentifully “sendeth the springs into the valleys, which run among the hills ;” with a people who from the first filled it with sanctuaries and schools ; the home of Graham, and Alexander, and Baxter, and Ruffner, and McDowell and Stonewall Jackson—the great and the good ; and of multitudes unknown to fame, “whose record is on high”—may blessings be forever upon thee !

And may the days soon return when among all our afflicted but not forsaken churches the word of the Lord, as in the days of old, shall “have free course and be glorified.” “Return, O Lord, how long ? And let it repent thee concerning thy servants. Oh satisfy us early with thy mercy ; that we may rejoice and be glad all our days.”

SKETCHES OF TRUSTEES.

When the Trustees met on the 6th of August, 1784, they found several vacancies in their body. John Trimble since the organization of the Board had departed this life; Samuel McDowell, Caleb Wallace and William Christian had removed or were about to remove to Kentucky; John Montgomery had removed to Opequon church in the lower Valley; and George Moffett and James McCorkle, on account of their distance from Lexington and their advanced age, were unable to attend the meetings of the Board. These all retired, and Archibald Scott, Charles Campbell, John Houston, James Ramsey, John Lyle, Thomas Edgar and Samuel Carrick were elected to supply the vacancies. Sketches of Archibald Scott,¹ Charles Campbell,² John Houston,³ and John Lyle,⁴ who held appointment under the Presbytery, have heretofore been given. It is proposed to continue sketches of succeeding Trustees in these papers.

SAMUEL CARRICK.

Samuel Carrick was born in Adams County, Penn., and was a student at Liberty Hall under Mr. Graham, and was one of those who received the degree of A. B. in 1785. He entered the Presbyterian ministry and was ordained by Hanover Presbytery. He ministered to several churches in the Valley of Virginia, and was chiefly instrumental in organizing Lebanon church in Rockbridge county. He was elected a Trustee in 1784, and served until 1791. About that time he removed to Tennessee, where he was greatly distinguished as a preacher and teacher. He also organized

¹ Historical Papers, No. 2, p. 108.

² Historical Papers, No. 2, p. 86.

³ Historical Papers, No. 2, p. 85.

⁴ Historical Papers, No. 2, p. 110.

Lebanon church in Tennessee, and the church in Knoxville. He was chosen by the Legislature the first President of Blount College at Knoxville, now Tennessee University, and continued to manage that institution with great success until his death in 1809.

Foote, in his sketches of North Carolina, quotes a gentleman who knew him as saying: "Rev. Samuel Carrick, equally orthodox, and not less learned or devoted to the service of his master"—he is running a parallel with Mr. Doak—"nor yet more liberal, tolerant and refined. He had a great deal of urbanity, much of the *suaviter in modo*, less of the *fortiter in re*, dressed neatly, behaved courteously, grave, polite, genteel, in short he was a model of an old fashioned southern gentleman, and had evidently been (as all Presbyterian clergymen of that day were, and ought still to be) *well raised*."—W. McL.

THOMAS EDGAR.

Among the Trustees elected in 1784 was Thomas Edgar, of Greenbrier.

He was born either in Bedford or Rockbridge, September 27th, 1750, married Ann Mathews, the daughter of Archer Mathews, of Rockbridge, and removed to Greenbrier. He was the Surveyor of Greenbrier from 1780 to 1784. He removed to Rockbridge in 1784 and on the 6th of August of that year was elected a Trustee of Liberty Hall. He was also appointed a Justice of the peace for Rockbridge. In 1791 he returned to Greenbrier and retired from the Board of Trustees. After his return to Greenbrier he was appointed a Justice for that county, and continued to serve as such until his death, often presiding over the court. In 1799 he became the owner of the St. Lawrence farm on Greenbrier river, where the town of Ronceverte now stands, and where he died on the 15th of July, 1822.

Mr. Edgar was a man of the highest character and strictest integrity, and enjoyed the fullest confidence of the community in which he lived. He was a man of small stature and delicate constitution, but capable of great labor. He left several children, and many of his descendants have occupied useful and honorable positions in life. His grandson, Col. George M. Edgar, was a distinguished officer in the Confederate army. His grand-daughters Mrs. Ann Randolfe

and Miss Kate Edgar have been successful teachers and Mrs. Randolph is now a missionary in China. Another grandson, James Withrow, Esq., is a prominent citizen of Greenbrier, has been Presiding Justice of the county, and has represented the county in the Legislature.—W. McL.

JAMES MITCHEL.

James Mitchel was born in Piqua, Pennsylvania, on the 29th day of January, 1747. He was the son of Robert Mitchel, who emigrated from the North of Ireland, and subsequently removed to Bedford County, Virginia, where he lived to be eighty-five years of age. He had thirteen children, of whom not one died less than seventy. James Mitchel entered Liberty Hall Academy under Mr. Graham, and was one of the pupils at Mount Pleasant at the time so graphically described by Dr. Samuel L. Campbell.¹

In 1780 Mr. Mitchell was licensed to the ministry by Hanover Presbytery. In 1782 he married Frances, the daughter of the Rev. David Rice, and soon afterward removed to Kentucky and engaged in preaching and teaching. He returned to Virginia and preached awhile at Hat Creek and Concord. He removed again to Kentucky, and was instrumental in the formation of Transylvania Presbytery. He was appointed the first teacher in Transylvania Seminary, which was opened in February, 1785, near Danville.

Soon afterward he was called to the church at Peaks of Otter, in Bedford County, Virginia, and was installed pastor of that church in March, 1786, where he remained until his death on the 27th day of February, 1841, in his 95th year.

On the 10th day of October, 1791, Mr. Mitchel was elected a Trustee of Liberty Hall Academy, and continued until 1807, when he retired from the Board.

Three of his sons-in-law and one grandson were Presbyterian ministers. Foote, in his *Sketches of Virginia*, thus describes Mr. Mitchel in his old age: "At the meetings of the Virginia Synod, for about the first forty years of the nineteenth century, might have been seen a wrinkled, white-haired man of low stature, with head and shoulders large enough for a taller frame; his manners simple,

¹ Historical Papers, No. 1, p. 107.

his dress approaching the antique, always neat and becoming, whom all called Father Mitchel, and no one could tell when he was not so called. To him the members of the Synod were especially kind and attentive and respectful, beyond what age from its own gravity might demand. A stranger might inquire: Is he the accredited head of a Seminary? a leading theologian? a debater? a principal man in some of the great enterprises of benevolence? a pleader of the cause of humanity in some interesting department? No, none of these. He pleads a cause, and has pleaded but one all his active life; pleads it with simplicity, with earnestness and with success; pleads it in his daily life, and from the pulpit. That cause is the cause of the Lord Jesus Christ, the messenger of mercy to sinful man: that he pleads always, and everywhere, with a warm heart and trumpet voice. Boasting no great stores of learning of any sort, he preached the Gospel from the year 1781, in his 34th year, till the year 1841, in his 95th year."—W. McL.

SAMUEL HOUSTON.

Samuel Houston was born on Hays Creek, in Rockbridge County, Va., January 1, 1758. He was the son of John Houston and Sarah Todd. He attended the schools in his neighborhood, and entered Liberty Hall Academy November 22, 1776, and graduated with the degree of A. B. in 1780. He commenced the study of theology under Rev. William Graham, but entered the army as a private in 1781, and was in the battle of Guilford C. H., where he was distinguished for his coolness and bravery.

He was received as a candidate for the ministry by Hanover Presbytery in November, 1781, and licensed in 1782. In 1783 he accepted a call to Providence congregation, in Washington County, and was ordained in August of the same year. In 1785 he was one of the ministers forming Abingdon Presbytery, and represented that body frequently in the meetings of Synod, being a member of the first Committee to which the proposal for the formation of a General Assembly was referred. Rev. William Graham was also a member of this Committee.

Mr. Houston took a prominent part in the agitation looking to the formation of the State of Tennessee. He was a member of the

convention which attempted to form the State of Frankland, and was a member of the Committee which drafted the proposed constitution.

In 1789 Mr. Houston removed from Tennessee, and accepted a call to the churches of Falling Spring and High-bridge, in Rock-bridge County, Va. These churches he served for many years, and at the same time conducted a classical school with great success. In 1822 he resigned the pastorate of Falling Spring, but ministered to the High-bridge congregation until his death. He became totally blind some years before his death, but continued his ministry to the satisfaction of his people. He died January 20, 1839, aged 81 years. He was twice married; first to a Miss Hall, who lived but a few months; and secondly, to Miss Margaret Walker, a daughter of Joseph Walker, Esq.

Mr. Houston was an earnest evangelical preacher, and a model pastor. He was a polished writer, and frequently contributed articles, on various subjects, to "Niles' Register" and other publications of the day.

In personal appearance Mr. Houston was tall, erect, and square shouldered, particular in his dress, and dignified in his deportment. He lived respected by all with whom he was associated, and died lamented.

He was elected a Trustee of Washington College on the 7th of October, 1791, in place of his father, John Houston, and served until 1826. He was secretary of the Board of Trustees from 1791 to 1809. "He was one that cherished Washington College in the days of its greatest weakness and depression."

A sketch of Mr. Houston can be found in the 2nd Series of Foote's Sketches of Virginia, from which the closing sentence above is taken.—W. P. H.

REV. JOHN P. CAMPBELL, M. D.

John Poage Campbell was born in Augusta county, Virginia, in 1767. He was the son of Robert Campbell and Rebecca Wallace, who resided near the old Stone Church. When he was thirteen years of age his father removed to Fayette county and thence to Mason county, Kentucky. Having the advantages of the best

schools he entered Hampden Sidney College and graduated about 1788. He then studied medicine with his kinsman Dr. David Campbell, a native of Virginia and a graduate of the University of Edinburgh. Having determined to give himself to the ministry he entered the Theological department of Liberty Hall, then in charge of Mr. Graham, and completed his course in 1792. Dr. Archibald Alexander was his classmate.

In 1792 Mr. Campbell was licensed by Lexington Presbytery and became the co-pastor with Mr. Graham of New Moumouth, Oxford and Timber Ridge churches in Rockbridge. He was elected a Trustee of Liberty Hall on the 27th of April, 1793, and resigned on the 1st of September, 1795, upon his removal to Kentucky. During his membership in the Board he was a most faithful, efficient and zealous Trustee, attending during this period fourteen meetings of the Board.

Upon his removal to Kentucky in 1795 he took charge of the churches of Smyrna and Flemingsburg, in Fleming county. He afterwards exercised his ministry in various places, among which were Danville, Nicholasville, Cherry Springs, Versailles, Lexington and Chillicothe, and in the year 1811 he officiated as chaplain of the Legislature.

Dr. Campbell was married three times. His first wife was a Miss Crawford of Virginia: his second a Miss Poage of Kentucky: his third a daughter of Col. James McDowell of Lexington and a grand-daughter of Judge Samuel McDowell, a sketch of whom has been given in these papers.¹ In the summer of 1814 he was actively engaged in medical practice, and in botanical and antiquarian research, and was still preaching with his accustomed impressiveness and vigor, when he contracted a cold from exposure, which in a few months terminated his brilliant and useful career. "On the 14th of November, 1814," says Dr. Collins, "when just forty-six years old, this great man—great as linguist, naturalist, antiquarian, and divine—was laid to rest."

Dr. Campbell was a ready and prolific writer and many of his productions were published. The most striking of these were "Letters to a Gentleman of the Bar." "In them," says Dr.

¹ Historical Papers, No. 2, p. 63.

Pickett in his sketch, "he undertook to review the work of Dr. Erasmus Darwin, and anticipated Sir Benjamin Brodie and Professor Tyndall of our own day in the detection of the germinal ideas from which the Darwinian theory of Evolution is derived." "It had been thought," says Dr. Campbell, "that a vast accession of light had flashed upon the world when the author (Dr. Erasmus Darwin) published his celebrated work. It was hailed as a new era in philosophy. . . . But the philosophy was not new; the design of the poetic exhibition was not new: nor did the manner of the author possess a shadow of a claim to novelty. The doctrines had long before been taught by Protagoras, Strabo, Democritus and Leucippus. Epicurus had improved on the Democritic philosophy, and his admirer and disciple, Lucretius, had touched its various themes in a fine style of poetic representation. All that Dr. Darwin did was to moderate the doctrines of the atomic philosophy and embellish them with the late discoveries made in botany, chemistry and physics."

Dr. Campbell was a man of extraordinary talents. He was able, learned and cultured. He defended his church in the troublous times of Kentucky from the assaults of enemies from without and schismatics from within.

Davidson, in his History of Presbyterianism in Kentucky, says he "possessed an acute and discriminating mind. He was an accurate and well-read theologian; and excelled as a polemic, although in the judgment of his friends he allowed himself to indulge in too much asperity. Quick to detect the weak points of an enemy, and to unravel the fallacies of a sophist, his controversial writings exercised a powerful influence in their day. . . . Dr. Campbell was a man of fine taste and devoted to criticism and Belles Lettres. His style was elaborate and elegant; and he courted the muses not without success. He wrote verses and played on the flute, and one of his published discourses was on Sacred Music. A graceful and energetic elocution, and a delivery not fluent but animated, combined with solid matter and a sprightly style, gave him great reputation in early life as a preacher. . . . The opinion of the literary world was very flattering. Dr. Archibald Alexander, who was intimate with him during his theological studies, pronounced his talents fit for any station. Dr. Dwight, with whom he became acquainted on

a journey to Connecticut in 1812, spoke in the highest terms of his intelligence and scholarship. Dr. Cleland has described him as one of the most talented, popular and influential ministers in the country, and pre-eminent among the Kentucky clergy. Nassau Hall was about to confer upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity when death prevented the intended honor."

Dr. Thomas E. Pickett, in his sketch of Dr. Campbell, from which we have already quoted, quotes Rev. Dr. Edward P. Humphrey as saying: "As a preacher, he was distinguished for weight of matter, brilliant diction, the flashing of a deep set, blue eye, elegance of style and gracefulness of delivery." Dr. Humphrey speaks of him as "the defender of the faith." "Somebody must fight or everybody would run away; and Campbell was one whose courage rose with the exigencies of the contention. He was a veteran to be sent to the front, and an adversary whom nobody would despise a second time."

Dr. Pickett further says: "Dr. Louis Marshall,¹ himself an eminent scholar, regarded Dr. Campbell as a man of extraordinary gifts and accomplishments. He connected himself with the church under Campbell's eloquent ministrations; he followed him with eager delight in his brilliant controversial career; he bore generous testimony to his accomplishments as a scholar and divine; he omitted no proof of his profound admiration for his talents and attainments; and in token of his personal and particular appreciation named after him his youngest son."

We conclude this sketch with another extract from Dr. Pickett's sketch giving a personal description of Dr. Campbell. "In person he was tall, slender, and graceful, his countenance was composed, thoughtful, and grave; his complexion clear and pale; his carriage manly and erect. His eyes, which were his most remarkable feature, were dark, penetrating, and singularly expressive. His manner was easy, affable, and unaffected, and though in the presence of strangers it was slightly tinged with reserve, it always invited confidence, and inspired respect. His social qualities made him everywhere a welcome guest. He was a brilliant conversationalist, and an accomplished musician, discoursing learnedly upon

¹ Formerly President of Washington College.

the musical art, and playing charmingly upon the flute. His social gifts, in a word, were of so high an order, and so finely adapted to the cultivated circles in which he moved, that it is no disparagement to the society of his choice to assume that he was one of the most accomplished men of his time and the *doctor admirabilis* of his day."¹—W. McL.

DR. SAMUEL L. CAMPBELL.

Samuel Legrand Campbell was born in the year 1766 in Rockbridge county. He was the son of Col. Charles Campbell, an officer of the Revolution, a member of the General Assembly, and for many years a Trustee of Liberty Hall. He lived between Brownsburg and Fairfield, and a sketch of him has been given in these papers.² The house in which he resided has been standing within the last few years. When duties were resumed at Liberty Hall after the Revolution young Campbell entered as a student, and graduated in 1788, receiving the degree of A. B. His diploma is still in possession of one of his descendants.³

Soon after graduating he attended the medical college in Philadelphia with which Dr. Benjamin Rush was connected, and graduated with great distinction. He returned to Rockbridge and commenced the practice of his profession. His practice soon extended all over the county of Rockbridge and into the neighboring counties of Botetourt, Bath and Augusta. He attained great distinction as a skilful and successful physician, and secured the unbounded confidence of his patients. In early life he married Sarah, daughter of William Alexander and sister of the Rev. Archibald Alexander, D. D., of Princeton. He resided at Rock Castle, three miles west of Lexington. He built the stone house there which was recently burned.

He was elected a Trustee of Liberty Hall on the 23rd of October, 1793, and served faithfully and efficiently until his resignation on

¹In the preparation of this sketch we have been greatly aided by Dr. Thomas E. Pickett's admirable sketch of Dr. Campbell, Davidson's History of Presbyterianism in Kentucky, and Mr. Thomas Marshall Green's "Historic Families of Kentucky."

²Historical Papers, No. 2, p. 85.

³Charles L. Wilson, of Buchanan, Va.

the 15th of January, 1799. During an interregnum in the Rectorship, which had been filled by the chief Professor or President, he was elected Rector on the 17th of October, 1798, and served until the inauguration of Dr. Baxter in 1799. The chartered rights of the Academy being assailed it was deemed prudent and wise to keep the Rectorship filled.

He was elected Treasurer on the 19th of October, 1796, and served until February 28th, 1803, when he was succeeded by Capt. William Wilson, who held the office for thirty-seven years.

Dr. Campbell was greatly interested in the cause of education, and was a staunch friend of Washington College both in its periods of prosperity and in its days of adversity. A sketch of the institution from his visit to it as a boy to a short time before his death, written in graceful style, was republished in these papers.¹ He was noted for his wit and culture, and frequently contributed to the journals and magazines of the day. He wrote a graphic Memoir of the Battle of Point Pleasant, copious extracts from which are made by his nephew Charles Campbell in his *History of Virginia*.²

Dr. Campbell left four sons and three daughters. His sons were all educated at Washington College and received the degree of A. B. Charles Fenelon Campbell graduated in 1823, removed to Ripley, Ohio, practiced the law with success, became Probate Judge, was a useful and influential citizen, and died in 1864. William M. Campbell graduated in 1825, removed to St. Louis, Mo., where he became the Editor of the *Evening Gazette*, and was a prominent member of the House of Delegates, Senate, and Constitutional Convention of Missouri. He was a lawyer, writer, and statesman of ability, and died in 1850. Samuel Davies Campbell graduated in 1830. He entered the Presbyterian ministry, was Pastor of churches in Virginia, Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama, and Florida, and died at Geneva, Ala., in 1863. John A. Campbell graduated in 1839, became a physician, and died in Platte County, Mo., in 1882. One of his daughters married Dr. Robert McCluer, another the Rev. Nathaniel C. Calhoun, both alumni of the institution; and the third John S. Wilson, Esq., a prominent citizen of Buchanan.

¹ Historical Papers, No. 1, p. 107.

² Campbell's *History of Virginia*, p. 582.

Dr. Campbell died at Rock Castle on the 24th day of April, 1840, and was buried in the old cemetery at Old Monmouth, long known as Hall's Meeting House. A contemporaneous notice of his death justly says that "he was a gentleman, a scholar, and a philanthropist, and one of that rare class of men who lived through life without reproach and died without an enemy."—W. McL.

COL. JAMES McDOWELL.

A whole century and more had swept on since the discovery by Columbus when John Smith sailed with the one vessel left of his little fleet of three, through Hampton Roads, and forty miles up James River, and landing his "four carpenters, twelve laborers and fifty-four gentlemen"—the remnant of the 105 brave Britons with whom he had started three months before—made at Jamestown, in 1607, the first settlement in North America. The young colony had a fearful struggle for mere existence, but it held on to life and hope, and, in a very few decades, drew toward it constantly increasing reinforcements from the seething political discontent of the land they had left. Royalist malcontents under the Protectorate, poor younger sons of nobility, and mere adventurers sought in this new world that civil liberty and better fortune and exciting enterprise which were denied them at home. And England herself, having crowded her prisons with offenders—not always against morals, but rebels for the most part against the whims and oppressive policy of her sovereigns and their advisers, themselves no paragons of fidelity to law, either human or divine—took this opportunity to empty them by transporting their inmates into Virginia and selling them as slaves for a period of time to the colonists. Doubtless they proved very acceptable, for an early historian remarks that there were even in that early settlement "men whose hands blistered under the use of the axe."

Succeeding these came the poor Huguenot, his garments still red with the blood of Bartholomew's eve; and, by the time the last quarter of its first one hundred years was reached, 1675, Eastern Virginia, from the Chesapeake Bay and Potomac to the mountains, was a flourishing appanage of Great Britain with a population of 20,000 people, having the security and enjoyment of all those prin-

ciples of government which the mother-country exercised at home, and which she had gathered and sifted and molded into the very best form that her learning and experience in political science, during the progress of a millenium and a half in civilization, had made possible. As yet the new colony seemed content that the long waving blue line on her western horizon should bound alike her possessions and her ambition for discovery and conquest. No one had been so daring as to climb those blue mountains, or to penetrate their seemingly impenetrable gaps. But in 1716 Governor Spotswood, with the gentlemen of his staff and their retainers, and a company of rangers, in all about fifty men, made a determined attempt to see the wonders lying beyond the great ridge, and, after many days of difficult progress, scaled the mountains at Swift-Run Gap, and got the first sight of the beautiful Valley of Virginia! After taking possession of it in the name of George I., Spotswood returned, covered with glory, to the capital, and hastened to his royal master the news of his splendid success. The choleric old King, in recognition of this brilliant exploit, and still more in consideration of the extensive domain thus added to the crown, bestowed the order of knighthood on his representative across the sea, and sent as further token of his approbation a miniature golden horseshoe with the commemorative legend: "*Sic jurat transcendere montes.*"

These trophies seemed to meet the ambition and extinguish the enterprise of the Governor, for we hear of no further official effort upon his part in this direction. But his successor, Gov. Gooch, impressed by the value of the new territory, sought eagerly to occupy and develop it. In 1730 he advertised it as widely and rapidly as the times permitted, and by grants of land on easy terms offered abundant inducement to new-comers. The most noted of these were the Beverley Manor charter for 150,000, and Borden's Grant for 100,000 acres.

The political condition at home was an eminent ally to this movement. Years before, the Church of England had pursued the Scotch Presbyterians with such bitter persecution as that they fled for refuge and religious freedom to the north of Ireland, where in the county of Donegal, province of Ulster, they congregated in a kind of Presbyterian colony. These Dissenters, supporters of the Pro-

tectorate, were, of course, bitter enemies to the royal house of Stuart. Indeed I am not sure that they did not add to their strict Calvinistic creed an article anathematizing an English bishop and a Stuart king ;—and surely we could find it in our hearts to excuse them if they had. They had, however, yielded a reluctant homage to William of Orange, despite his co-sovereignty with a wife of the despised race, and had sealed it with their blood at Londonderry in 1689. Subsequently they declared for the Hanover dynasty ; but politically and religiously they still groaned under heavy burdens and stood a tip-toe for any change that promised relief.

Hope of rest beyond the sea dawned upon them at last, and, for a whole decade before the offers of Gov. Gooch in the Valley of Virginia had been made, a full tide of emigration had swept thousands across the Atlantic, into the interior of Pennsylvania. These Scotch-Irish, that is, the children of Scotch parents born in Ireland, were, very numerous, descended from the clans of Scotland and inherited their strong sense of kinship, and their gregarious habits. They moved in families when they did move, and thus retained and handed down their very marked characteristics. It was in this way that they had come and planted themselves in America.

During the time of this exodus the lower end of the Valley of Virginia near the headwaters of the Potomac and Shenandoah had been entered by energetic men from the neighboring States and a few settlements had been made ; but beyond mere “prospecting parties,” to avail of a modern phrase, no white men had broken the solitude of the upper country. There the buffalo still roamed at will, and the bear and wolf and deer had unchallenged range over hill and dale of that lovely region watered by the north and south tributaries of the James. It was in this portion of the Valley that the land companies I have mentioned were chiefly interested ; and it was to the site of the present city of Staunton that John Lewis came, and taking up 2,000 acres of the Beverley Manor grant built a house upon it, and, removing his family to it from Lancaster, Pa., in 1732, became the earliest householder in that part of the State.

The accounts of their kinsman John Lewis influenced one of the McDowell families which had some years before, possibly in 1729 or 1730, emigrated to western Pennsylvania, to desert their home there and seek a new one near him on Beverley’s Manor. And in

the autumn of 1738, Ephraim McDowell, with his two sons John and James, and his son-in-law James Greenlee, plunged into the trackless wilderness and, as best they could, followed in the direction of John Lewis. A few pack horses carried their indispensable cooking utensils, farm implements, and seed corn. Tents sheltered them at night, fires kept off the prowling lords of the forest, and if they, as so many of those pious emigrants did, gathered under the open sky for their family worship, it is easy to believe that the stars kept sentinel while they slept. After journeying some days they were joined by a solitary traveller who asked for companionship and shelter during the night. This incident changed all their further history.

The stranger proved to be Benjamin Borden, from the State of New Jersey, holder of the famous land grant; who, finding out that John McDowell was a surveyor, and had his instruments with him, immediately employed him as his assistant in laying off his tracts, agreeing to give him, in payment for his services, a thousand acres under his charter, and his father and brother and brother-in-law two hundred each. The next day, when the parties reached Lewis's house, this agreement was formally signed and sealed.

Leaving Lewis, the pioneer party, turning southward from Beverley's Manor, cut their way slowly through the tall grass and matted pea-vine until there came into view the rare spectacle—for the country was poorly wooded—of a high ridge of fine forest trees. Toiling towards this refreshing height, and mistaking the north branch of the James, which they crossed, for the main river, Ephraim McDowell halted his party on Timber Ridge. Here, as rapidly as possible, they built log cabins, then sent for their wives and children, and made the first settlement in Rockbridge County. The McDowells and Greenlees were such energetic assistants of Borden in carrying out the terms of his grant, that in two out of the ten years allowed, they had erected ninety cabins; and, following their Scotch instinct, had drawn towards them either direct from Scotland or by way of Pennsylvania numbers of their own relatives. And thus the Scotch Macs, in their endless combinations, and other Scots who were not Macs, were the earliest to wake the echoes of those old hills, by the sounds of civilized industry and the songs of Christian worship.

As Ephraim McDowell, in descendants of his own name, and in other names as honorable, is so inwoven in the development and history of Rockbridge County and the State of Virginia, and has had such agency in founding and fostering Washington and Lee University, it is only fitting that we pause and put on record here the little that has been rescued from the past by a recent industrious chronicler of his family—Mr. T. M. Green.

When the morning broke over that singular national system known as the Clans of Scotland there emerges from its mists a bold individual named Dugall. By and by he wins his way to the headship of a warlike clan, which as the centuries pile up attains historical prominence, and his name after a number of orthographical gymnastics, whether Gaelic, or Celtic, or Norwegian, nobody can tell, appears as Macdougall.

In very early times this tribe owned an estate so large and rich as that it became the entire portion of one son, who, after a while grew into such strength and fame as to create out of his branch of the family a new clan, called the Macdougals of Lorn, deriving the name from his handsome patrimony. It was not easy in the rude condition of human society then existing for a dainty morsel of land to remain long under one ownership; especially was it difficult under the moral code that "might makes right," inherited by these clans from their pirate ancestors, and, for a wide stretch of years, kept in vigorous exercise. We wonder, as we see the little kingdom twined around by poetry and romance, at the secret power that kept it firm within the grasp of the original owner during all those mighty convulsions and changes in the minds and affairs of men which had transformed the wild Highland clansmen into the earnest-minded Presbyterian followers of John Knox. Whatever it was, however, it was beguiled into surrender by Sir Colin Campbell, who, about the middle of the 16th century, bore away, in loving triumph, as his wife, the fair Macdougall heiress with all her ancestral titles and demesnes. And, forever since, her blood and her wealth have gone to enrich what I cannot but regard as the cormorant clan of McCallum More. But if her title yet remains the highest decoration in the Dukedom of Argyll, from the standpoint of to-day we can look at it without cavil or regret. For, in free America where every man is a sovereign, and in our gallant

Virginia where every woman is a queen, coronets and crowns do not wear the insignia of the greatness that we have lost, but that of the evils from which heroic fathers have delivered us. And this idyl, like the bit of point lace carefully wrapped in linen and lavender from the boudoir of poor Josephine, has no value beyond that of furnishing from the confused rubbish of a boisterous past a scrap of an ornament for a modern story.

From the best authority within my reach I have assumed the correctness of the lineage that I have traced of the McDowells of the United States, though the changes in the name have been so bewildering as to make it extremely difficult to keep step with them. The family is mentioned as devoted to civil and religious liberty and as active participants, under the standard of McCallum More in the series of struggles which led to the expulsion of the Stuarts and the rise of the Commonwealth. But we have no notice of individual names until about 1670, when we come to this statement:—"One of the most respectable of the colonists from Scotland who settled in the north of Ireland during the Protectorate had, among other children, a son named Ephraim, which of itself would indicate the stock of the Covenanters. On the 9th of December, 1688, when McDonnell of Antrim approached the walls of Londonderry, Ephraim McDowell, then sixteen years of age, was one of the young Scotch Presbyterians who flew to the defence of that heroic town, and assisted in closing the gates against the native intruding Irish. During the memorable siege which followed, in which the preacher George Walker and the brave Murray at the head of their undisciplined fellow citizens successfully beat back the besiegers, young Ephraim McDowell was conspicuous for gallantry in a band where all were heroic."

Escaped from the intense rigors of that famous siege, two years after, in 1690, we find our gallant soldier lad, with unabated zeal, in the victorious army of William III. in the decisive battle of Boyne. In the subsequent times of peace, however, we lose sight of him, and when he reappears, the high qualities of his early career strengthened, and his political and religious independence intensified under the experience and years that have piled up between sixteen and sixty, it is as an emigrant, with his family of grown-up children, seeking a home, first in Pennsylvania, and then, as I have narrated,

in Virginia. All is silent between these periods. What his occupation, and how he succeeded in it, we are not told. Nor do we learn what was the great motive that uprooted him in one place and inspired him to run the venture of a pioneer settler in another so distant. All is left to conjecture. But we may safely infer that, whatever his mode of life may have been, it was not only sufficiently remunerative to present to us his son John as a well equipped surveyor, but abundantly adequate to sustain his subsequent demands upon it for transportation, for his experiment at living in Pennsylvania, and for his removal and final settlement in Rockbridge. And thus, while the retrospect furnishes no glamour of social elevation or of conspicuous wealth, it makes such a show of fidelity to conscience; of energy and enterprise; of thrift and rugged monied independence; of self reliance and courage, as to deserve the admiration and win the esteem of his descendants. Though near seventy when he planted himself on Timber Ridge, he is spoken of by one historian as being a "great road-maker;" and by another as "having made the first road from Borden's grant over Rockfish gap."

Thus, even as an old man, he was wide-awake to the interests of the community, and by his practical wisdom and skill in opening a way of communication between the eastern and the now rapidly filling western section of the state, greatly advanced the social, commercial, and political relations between them.

The writer I have cited before concludes a notice of him as follows:—"Ephraim McDowell died about 1775 in the 104th year of his age. He had accumulated a large estate, and was highly regarded by all for his intelligence, usefulness, and probity, wielding a singular and beneficent influence among the intrepid and independent spirits by whom he was surrounded, and retaining the possession of all his faculties to the last." He survived both his sons.

Of John the oldest son, the surveyor above mentioned, I will quote from this same authority a short paragraph:—

"In the autumn of 1737 John McDowell was in the prime of a vigorous manhood; a man of mark among men as self reliant as the world ever saw. After settling in the beautiful country chosen by himself and family for their future he was active in colonizing the

lovely Valley of Virginia with his kinsmen and co-religionists of pure Scotch blood. Of proved courage he soon received a military commission from Governor Gooch, but scarcely had he commenced to enjoy the fruit of his labor and daring, when he was killed, with eight of his men, in a fight with the Indians on Christmas day, 1742. He with the others was brought to the house of his father for burial, and they are said to have been buried in a common grave." This can hardly be so, as for a very long time there remained, near to where his father was afterward buried, a rude block of lime-stone with this inscription.

"HERE LYES
THE BODY OF
JOHN MACK DOWELL
DECEASED, DECEMBER
1742."

He left three children, Samuel, James and Sarah. Samuel, who was but seven years old when his father was killed by the Indians, was bred amid the dangers and excitements of pioneer life. And, surely, no better training for high endowments of mind and character could have been desired than that furnished by those troublous times. Beyond the reach of high school or college, this youth nevertheless had the singular advantage of finding an excellent teacher in a colonist neighbor. From him he received an amount of education which enabled him to express himself in forceful and even elegant English, both in speaking and in writing, in his varied career as soldier, as political leader, as member of the House of Burgesses, as representative of the people of Augusta County (when all west of the Blue Ridge was Augusta), and in the different conventions called to meet the several crises of that seething chapter of Indian hostility and British oppression which, in 1776, culminated in the open revolt of the nation. He was instrumental, too, in the pacific creation of the new state of Kentucky out of the old "Kentucky District" of Virginia; and held the highest judicial offices in it, being one of the first circuit court and one of the first district court judges of the new state, to which Washington, under whom he had served as a soldier, added the appointment of United States

judge. Judge Samuel McDowell became identified with its progress, and conspicuous in every phase of its early history. He was therefore, in all the early story of his house, its most eminent man, and by his public virtues, no less than by his private worth, gave permanence and distinction to his family and name.

His grandson, Col. Samuel McDowell Reid, in his day, was, in public spirit, in weight of character, in breadth of personal influence, one of the first, if not the very first, citizen of our own Lexington; where his memory will ever be cherished with pride and affection mingled with pain that, by the death, one after another, of his three sons, in the fair promise of their early manhood, there was none left to bear the name which in his own person and that of his father had been the synonym for integrity and honor in his native place for near a century. But I must not be beguiled by my warm life-long memories into the domain of some other chronicler.

The second son of John and youngest brother of Judge Samuel McDowell was James, who was born in 1740, three years after the settlement of his father and grandfather in what is now Rockbridge county.

In the hope of learning more of the history and character of my ancestors from their own letters, I patiently overhauled, recently, a large box of family papers, and was rewarded by drawing from the very bottom of it a small time-stained little package containing two military commissions! They were made out to "James McDowell, gent.," duly signed by "Francis Fauquier," colonial governor of Virginia, and dated from Williamsburg; one as "ensign in company of Capt. Hogg," the other as "lieutenant in company of Capt. McDowell," both of Augusta county, in the years 1758 and 1759. Where to place this rising young color-bearer in our genealogical column excited anxious inquiry, but at last I fitted him into the right niche as the James above mentioned.

He married Elizabeth Cloyd of that wide Kent and Cloyd connection in Montgomery county, and died at thirty-one, leaving three children, namely: Sarah, who married her cousin Major John, son of Judge Samuel McDowell, and lived in Kentucky; Elizabeth, who married David McGavock, and moving to Nashville, Tennessee, founded the large and influential family of that name, representatives of which yet remain there; and one son, James.

These yellow papers become valuable as recording the only public service of this young life. And yet he must have inherited, along with the military spirit of his fathers, much of their energy and business sagacity, for he left a very large and scattered landed estate, which could not have been simply his inheritance, but must have been, to a noticeable extent, acquired by purchase, or by the development of his heritage by singular skill and good management. His only son,

JAMES McDOWELL,

was born at Cherry Grove, Rockbridge County, August 1st, 1770, and probably in the house of his great-grandfather, Ephraim McDowell, who was yet living. His father died the year after he was born, and in all those important early years of development in which the foundation of a boy's character is laid he seems to have been left entirely to the training of his mother. Those were hard times, too, before and after and during the war of the Revolution. To provide a bare subsistence so far in the interior, taxed every energy and exhausted every resource. Nevertheless, the mother seems to have discharged her duty with vigorous fidelity. The youngest child and only son, she steered clear of the danger of allowing him to become the mere pet of the home; and, judging from revelations long after made, she must from the beginning have taught him that he was the *man* of the family,—the protector of his mother and sisters.

No matter how dark his worldly circumstances, we may always trust the old Scotch-Irish Presbyterian for a schoolmaster and a preacher. It is a part of his religion to educate his children. If he could leave them nothing else, the power to read the Bible for themselves he considered an admirable heritage. And so it happened, that on Timber Ridge there was an excellent school, with a most accomplished scholar at the head of it. This was Liberty Hall under Rev. William Graham. More than a hundred and twenty years ago old Nassau Hall sent out this young alumnus as a specimen of the literary training of her day. If in the splendidly equipped Princeton University of the present he could enter the race with '92, we would look with great anxiety on Commencement day to see whether the old graduate or the new wore her crown of honor.

To this school the wise mother sent her son, and here his gifts of mind, which were of no mean order, were expanded and trained. But in the hardships and disorders of the times, with the care of the household upon his young shoulders, and the need to save from utter wreck the matted mass of the family possessions, he found other and more severe schoolmasters and greater scope for all his powers. Under their tuition he became the prompt, resolute, self-reliant, vigilant, strong-willed, responsible, public-spirited, influential citizen of the future. A man of high and wide endeavor, not alone for himself but for others. His compeers and associates bred in the same schools partook of the same characteristics, and when I have said that he was a man of mark among men of the same caste, in a single sentence I have furnished my description.

At the age of twenty-three he married Sarah Preston, a daughter of Colonel William Preston, of Montgomery county, and granddaughter of John Preston "the ship master of Dublin," who with his wife and five children emigrated with his brother-in-law, Col. James Patton, from Donegal county, Ireland, to Augusta county, Virginia, in 1735. John Preston made a home near Staunton, where, in 1742, he died. He belonged to a patriotic family, his father being one of seven brothers who, in 1688, came into Ireland with William III. in defence of Protestantism. Three of these brothers were killed in his service, probably in the siege of Derry. He was himself an excellent, pious man, who braved the hardships and dangers of pioneer life in a new country for that freedom of conscience which he could not enjoy in the old. He became the honored American ancestor of a very wide-spread connection. But of all his female descendants, however accomplished and conspicuous, there is not one, in mind and character superior to the one I have named.

James McDowell took his wife to the ancestral home in which he had lived with his mother, but in a few years he deserted it for a new one which he built nearer to the highway and which is the Cherry Grove of to-day. Here his three children were born:—Susan Preston, who married Mr. William Taylor, a lawyer from Alexandria, who became Member of Congress from the district of which Rockbridge is a part; Elizabeth, who was the wife of Colonel Thomas Hart Benton, thirty years Senator from Missouri;

and James, Governor of Virginia, and her Representative in Congress. It was the abode of a generous hospitality, and the seat of a benign influence in many directions.

He had early grasped his father's affairs, disentangling and settling the most of them. But that guillotine of the law, the statute of limitation, had cut off large claims before he had attained his majority. Still he had his hands full with what remained. Under the law of primogeniture then in force, these lauds were his. His sisters, long before married, were settled, as I have said, one in Kentucky, the other at Nashville, Tennessee. As soon as the property was in condition for such action, he selected from the finest and most promising body of land he ever possessed—an estate of three thousand acres in the blue-grass region of Bourbon county, Kentucky—a thousand acres, and divided it between them, taking a sort of fatherly care to secure it to their children after them.

No native Highlander ever had more the spirit of a clansman than he. He was neighbor to all the county and friend and helper to all the friendless and helpless. When twenty-one he was commissioned a justice of the peace, and thus gained an insight into the cares and difficulties of those around him. He was a strong tempered and stern man, whose condemnation and anger were not to be lightly risked; yet such were his justice and generosity that all confidence was placed in him, and, as was to be expected in the long administration of his office as magistrate, his word grew to be the law of the neighborhood and the end of debate in the thousand ever-recurring small questions among the people. His interest extended to their material welfare also. He was not merely a farmer, proceeding in hum-drum ways, but an intelligent, enterprising agriculturalist, seeking both improved methods and means of tillage. In proof of this there drops from the papers a short correspondence with Mr. Jefferson, an authority on agriculture as well as on state-craft and literature, on the best kinds of wheat, and the best ways of cultivating them. He was also careful to introduce fine varieties of all the fruits which the soil and climate would permit, and fine breeds among his flocks and herds. His best endeavors, however, were far above these. He was an interested and active promoter of education. In 1796, he was made trustee of Liberty Hall, and from that time until his death in 1835 he devoted to it

most earnest care and thought ; and had the pleasure of seeing it bloom out into Washington College, and become an established seat of high learning. And, in obtaining the rhetorical skill of his son in writing the will of Mr. John Robinson, he had the greatest agency in securing the large endowment of his whole estate to the College, as long ago as 1826.

In 1818, when Mr. Jefferson was seeking a location for the then projected University of Virginia, the watchful Board of Trustees of Washington College met, and resolved to offer to the Board of Commissioners of the University to make over to them all their funds and property, if they would adopt Lexington as the site of the new institution. Col. McDowell was appointed to present this resolution to the Commissioners, and to urge the claims and pretensions of Lexington to the much coveted honor. Although the ambition of Washington College suffered by the failure of this movement, doubtless the general good of the cause of education in the State was promoted by it, as in the course of time it has gained two universities instead of one.

It is pleasant to observe in that early day that the educational claims of women were neither forgotten nor neglected. While sending his son, only eight years old, with singular judiciousness to Brownsburg as a boarding scholar in the house of the Rev. Samuel Brown—what a splendid chance for a boy that seems, as we look over the long line of pious men and women who, from that generation to the present, have been in the fore-front of the highest learning and noblest work of the Southern Presbyterian Church !—and while helping a proud young nephew in a distant university by an advance of the requisite means (the only way in which he would accept his aid), Col. McDowell was also energetically planning for his daughters, by uniting with other gentlemen similarly circumstanced in establishing in Lexington a school of a high order for girls.

Considering the times, an excellent building with ample accommodation was provided, a capable teacher was secured, and in January, 1808, the Ann Smith Academy, named in honor of its first principal, was fairly launched. It became a benefaction to a wide range of country, and, in its long history, in view of the more flashy inducements of its city competitors, has maintained its old reputation with remarkable steadiness.

Col. McDowell never wore any political honors. I cannot discover that he ever made any effort to obtain them. He was a staunch Federalist in a Republican county, and it may be that the smallness of his party clipped the wings of his ambition.

He was High Sheriff of Rockbridge from 1812 to 1814; and for some time Inspector of the Public Revenue, though I cannot get at the date of this service.

After a long period of exasperation on both sides, the United States, on the 18th of June, 1812, formally declared war with England. The great Northern lakes and our Canadian border became the scenes of, excepting the fierce battle at New Orleans, the greatest violence. Yet it seemed the policy of Britain to keep blockading squadrons along our Atlantic coast, which ravaged the borders of Virginia and North Carolina, especially bearing down upon small villages and unarmed men, creating the utmost alarm and distress. Of course the Governors of these States were energetic in providing for their defense.

With his characteristic promptness and vigor, Col. McDowell gathered "one whole regiment of 1,200 men, and on November 14, 1812, reported at Lexington and offered their services to the President of the United States!" They were accepted, and in July, 1813, we find them in camp near Richmond awaiting orders. In view of the condition of affairs on the coast, above alluded to, General Taylor at Norfolk urges that no effort be relaxed in its defence. "Therefore it is," says Col. McDowell in a letter to his family, "that I am appointed to command a large regiment of at least 1,200 men, to be so organized and equipped that they can, with the greatest celerity, pass from place to place whenever their presence is needed: a kind of flying camp. My labor will be great, as I shall use every power I possess to meet the expectations and wishes of my government." Their calculations of the movements of the enemy led them to expect a campaign of immediate and active service. They were sent to Westmoreland court-house, a week after the above was written, and kept in constant excitement by the passing up and down on the Potomac of the English fleet of twenty-one vessels, having on board a land force, it was estimated, of upwards of two thousand men. These made a feint of landing at several points, but their threats were not carried out. One good effect of

this manœuvring, however, was that it gave the commander of the opposing force a chance to take the measure of his men, which he was quick to use. And how it resulted he tells us in a letter to his wife, from which I quote as follows :—

“The alarms on the 20th and 23rd gave me a good opportunity of judging whether the men I command will fight. The first alarm had every appearance of seriousness ; and I do assure you, that I did not see a pale face, or the smallest expression of timidity. It was difficult to find enough men willing to stay with the baggage and plunder left behind.” But this sniff of an engagement was all they ever knew of the active service they were so eager to enter. They were never under fire ; never in a fight. They moved from point to point on James river, and on the peninsula between the York and James, those brave mountain men, suffering from the unhealthy climate and the usual exposures of camp life for many months ; pertinaciously and faithfully performing their duty till the day of discharge came. Doubtless their presence, by keeping the enemy in check, was as effectual a defense of that threatened quarter of the country, as any victory in a hard fought battle. But soldierly sagacity and loyalty win no renown without the test of action. History deigns scant space to a service that is not red with the blood of the foe ; and the plaudits of the people only reach the ears of those who bear away as highest tests of gallantry the startling decorations of scalp and scar.

During these months, made burdensome by the strain of expectancy and the irritation of compelled inactivity, we get from Col. McDowell's home correspondence pleasant glints of his care of his men and thoughtfulness of the anxious hearts they had left behind them. His letters to his wife and children were health bulletins from the camp to the neighborhood ; and we cannot wonder that, under the slow mail system of the period, made slower by reason of the war, the horn of the stout post-rider, after his journey of ten days or more from Richmond, should be the signal for a crowd to gather at the post-office in little Fairfield where he empties his pouch and spreads the latest news from the endangered coast.

Coupled with these reassurances to the wives and mothers of his soldiers are frequent exhortations to his son upon the subject, of all others, dearest to his hope and ambition. And yet how singularly

they fall upon my ear! "Tell James," he says, "to be very diligent in his studies. He must relax no effort in making full preparation for college. I am making every inquiry about Yale, and the necessary arrangements for sending him on." I need only pause to say that this plan was soon carried into effect, and that the son on his way to New Haven paid a visit to his father at his temporary encampment at Ellicott's Mills.

At last the articles of peace were signed, December 24, 1814, at Ghent. Our "flying camp" was disbanded, and officers and men were glad to exchange "the pomp and circumstance of glorious war"—short rations and ragged garments—for peace and whatever was left to them of the comforts of home. The country had been poor before the war; it was naturally much poorer afterwards. There was difficulty in meeting its monied engagements with the troops. Indeed, many of its brave boys went home penniless. Not so, however, with the flying camp. Its Colonel stood at the door of the Treasury in inexorable demand for the well earned wages of his regiment; and although there was some trying delay, had the pleasure of seeing every man home with his money in his pocket!

These years of public duty did not pass entirely unrecognized by the state. Many years after, in 1834, when, by the death of General James Breckenridge, of Botetourt, a brigadier generalship became vacant, Col. McDowell was spoken of for the place. But he had long been an invalid, and when the Legislature convened he could with difficulty mount and dismount from his horse. Nevertheless his name was prominent in the canvass, and his claims were warmly advocated when the election came. "All the delegates from the Brigade in caucus," says Mr. Hugh A. Garland to Mr. James McDowell, then a member of the House of Delegates, who communicates it to his father in the letter before me, "admitted your paramount claim on the score of rank and service, and some were willing to waive even the objection on account of your health that you might receive what you were entitled to, the expressed evidence of your country's esteem." But neither Col. McDowell himself, nor his son for him, was ready to accept an office even though tendered "in the light of a vote of thanks—a compliment for services *done* and not *expected*—" when he was

unequal physically to the full discharge of its duties. Therefore he declined the nomination. Yet when the vote was called, his fellow-countryman and life-long political opponent of his son, General Charles P. Dorman, while advocating the claims of another, "alluded," so the letter continues, "to Colonel McDowell's superior services and qualifications handsomely and justly, declaring 'that but for a dispensation of Providence which had broken down his health, there was not only no man in the Brigade but no one in the Nation whom he would prefer for the office, or who was so eminently entitled to it.'"

Across the long years I lifted my hat to General Dorman in grateful emotion.

The wisdom of Col. McDowell's decision could not be doubted; for in scarce more than a year,—September 15th, 1835,—he died. For a century the McDowells had lived at Cherry Grove, where old Ephraim had settled in 1738; and very naturally it seemed that Col. McDowell belonged to the neighborhood and it to him. From his boyhood, for he was but just twenty-one when appointed, till his death, he was the great judicial functionary of his end of the county. Had he lived under the present county court system of Rockbridge he would have worn the title of "Judge." As it was then, he seems to have had the prestige without the title. He was devoted to the people in all their interests, and, doubtless, in the forty-five years in which he held the balance for them in their domestic and financial and whatever other difficulties sprang up, he must, while maintaining the peace, have done much towards raising the standard of honor and morality. And a life with such aims received recognition, in the universal esteem and confidence of the whole community.

Stern as he was in reality and in aspect, Col. McDowell nevertheless made his home delightful, not only to a wide circle of guests, but to the narrow and more intimate one of his own and his wife's young kindred, who, as old men and women, recalled their school days and visits to Cherry Grove, as full of pleasure. His hospitality was singularly genuine and gracious; free from parade, and extended with cordial kindness to all classes of people. There is a story current in the family of his bringing a very forlorn man in to dinner and placing him at table next to himself. Everything passed

quietly until the dessert appeared, one feature of which was a variety of preserved fruits served in the very small glass dishes then fashionable. Several of these were put on a waiter and handed to each person with the idea that he should help himself from one or more of them. On this occasion, when the guest was approached, in prompt unconsciousness he took one dish and put it on his plate. His host instantly did the same thing, not giving the surprised servant a chance for even a gesture of correction, nor the girls present a moment for their amusement to break into a smile on their faces. The man never was aware of his gaucherie, and could not estimate the delicate attention which had spared him that angry poignancy of feeling against which no transgressor of social etiquette is proof, no matter how small the offense, nor how high and mighty the offender.

And, as illustrating his kindness in more pronounced ways, one of his nephews used to relate with great vim an incident in one of his early visits to him.

A rumor came in, one day, he said, that a newly married wife had been badly treated by her husband. They were a pair of plain neighbors. No matter; the "old Colonel" started up in wrath, went in pursuit of the young man, and in a few sentences of most expressive Saxon made him understand that if the offence was repeated, the wife would find a defender in him. It is needless to say, there was never a call for another visit. What a pity there are not "old Colonels" around in these no better days!

His grandsons enjoyed above all things their annual autumnal trip on horseback, the horses doubtless being presents from him, with their grandfather to his estate in Greenbrier. He laid himself out to please them, and was the merriest of the party. And in a winter which his son's family of small children spent at Cherry Grove, he was by no means a stern guardian sapping by his severity the juices out of their little lives, but seemed to take delight in their presence; would sing, they thought, the most wonderful songs, and tell the most thrilling stories, for the entertainment of the bigger ones, whilst the youngest, Lewis Marshall, the bright little boy who died the year after, was just wrapped in all the tenderness of the old man's nature, and was the very joy of his life.

I will risk pardon for a personal reminiscence.

Once when my grandfather was at Colalto, I, a little girl of perhaps ten, sat near him in the hall, without, however, noticing him. Suddenly he called me to help him rise from his chair, and threw his hand out to me. I ran to him, seized his hand, and as I tugged at him with my small strength, in a free way sang to him, in a tone of personal application, a song I was fond of, which ran thus :—

Here's a cross to make you smart
On your breast you may bear it;—
Just o'er your little heart
I advise you to wear it;
And I hope that no other
Cross e'er will come near it.
Yes, I do; yes, I do, &c.

And the good wish in the chorus repeated in a rollicking kind of tune was quite effective. Before I finished he sank back in his chair, his eyes full of tears, and overcome with emotion. My amazement, by a flash of light, photographed on my young memory the tender picture that I look at to-day.

My sketch would be unfinished if I omitted to speak of Colonel McDowell's personal appearance. He inherited from his father his fine physical gifts. He was six feet two inches in height, sinewy, strong, and active, without a pound of superfluous weight, and with a dignity of bearing which made him a singularly distinguished looking person in every assembly. He was "a much handsomer man than his son" was the judgment of his son's wife; and my own memory of the fine figure, even after disease had preyed upon it, forces me into a reluctant agreement with her.

Col. John T. L. Preston, whose widowed mother and her children had been, of all the relatives, the most cherished and familiar, would often in later life say that "he had never known any father but Uncle McDowell." And as I turn the faded pages of the old correspondence I notice how punctually this apparently severe old gentleman repairs to the scene of family exigence, and standing, without one word of censure or irritation, among his brothers-in-law, places alongside the trouble in hand his purse, his business repute, and his energetic counsel. And this, too, at the entire change of important property plans of his own and of his sons. This, however, was

characteristic of him. He withheld no sacrifice of personal feeling or comfort in following whatever course of action his sense of right marked out for him. His strong mind rapidly reached clean-cut convictions, and then no covenanting ancestor, with the stake in view, ever followed them with more prompt or intrepid obedience. Of all men he hated temporizing. His mind and his hand worked almost simultaneously. In proof of this I mention the following fact: In the early part of the century the enormous peach and apple and cherry orchards at Cherry Grove made large contributions to the resources of the farm by the sale of brandy and other liquors;—and no gentleman thought any harm of the traffic. About that time the first wave of temperance reform swept up the Valley of Virginia. A meeting on the subject was held near him, and Colonel McDowell attended it. The arguments of the speaker wrought a powerful and immediate change in his mind, and with his ready, bold promptness he brought the whole business to a full and final stop!

In closing my sketch, it gives me especial pleasure to avail of a graphic account of Colonel McDowell from my kind friend, the Rev. Samuel W. Blain, whose childhood and youth were spent in Lexington, where the saintly life and pious labors of his mother and the honored usefulness of his father in the College and as pastor of a neighboring church live among the precious memories of the long ago.

Living now in Louisville, Ky., at the age of eighty-four, he writes to me thus:—

“I recollect perfectly the person of Col. McDowell, and I know that he was in his day the most eminent man in his county—a county distinguished above most others for the high moral worth and general intelligence of its people. The County Court of Rockbridge, with the venerable form of your grandfather at its head as presiding magistrate—that is the form it comes up before me—received and was entitled to the reverence given to the Supreme Court of the United States; for his associates were worthy to sit by their Chief. As Colonel of the regiment we boys, who were always on the ground at general muster, looked upon him with veneration, and admiration too; for we thought when we saw him pass along before the men, his head bare, that he was exactly like Washington at the head of his army. But he lived in quiet, in his beloved home and amongst

his own people, and desired neither office nor notoriety. Your idea is mine, too, that he possessed qualities to impress and mould those around him, but of his works and their results there is no record that men can read. Is it not thus with the finest characters, and of deeds the noblest and purest and best? But your grandfather did leave fruit which all men could see. He left one noble son whose name was known throughout the land, and I know that he aided greatly Mrs. Preston in training her son for honor and usefulness.

"On one of my visits to Cherry Grove, he and John Preston and myself were together in the little eastern porch. It was then I first felt that I knew him—he was gentle and kind and so respectful to us young fellows that awe was turned into love. He told us of his father and grandfather and of early events which I have forgotten. He spoke of his having given up the use of tobacco after chewing for over fifty years, and John related how it happened. They were together on a trip to Greenbrier. At a house where they stopped John found a tract on the use of tobacco, which he read aloud to his uncle. As soon as the reading was ended the Colonel announced his purpose to give up his tobacco then and there. This is an incident which shows the honesty of his mind, his openness to truth, and his promptness in acting according to his convictions. . . . I delight in thinking and talking of your grandfather's generation and that just preceding it. They were great and wise people—men and women alike. They laid the foundations of society on a rock."

He was buried in the old burying ground a mile from his house, by the side of his ancestors. I well remember how the sobs of the coachman, his body-servant, shook the carriage as he followed the body of his dear old master to the grave. His grandchildren in affectionate respect have erected a monument upon the spot.

S. C. P. MILLER.

Princeton, New Jersey.

BENJAMIN GRIGSBY.

Benjamin Grigsby was born in Orange county, Virginia, on the 18th day of September, 1870. He was of English descent. His father, James Grigsby, removed to Rockbridge about the close of

the Revolution and settled at Fancy Hill. He was the steward of the academy for a while.

Benjamin Grigsby entered Liberty Hall Academy and completed his course about 1789. He was the contemporary and intimate friend of Archibald Alexander. He studied divinity under Mr. Graham and was licensed by Lexington Presbytery on the 28th day of April, 1792. Thomas Poage and Matthew Lyle were licensed at the same time. After laboring for a while as a missionary under the care of the Synod of Virginia, in company with Archibald Alexander, in south side Virginia, he removed to Greenbrier in 1794 and took charge of the churches in Greenbrier and Monroe counties. In July, 1795, he was ordained to the full work of the gospel ministry, at Lexington, and continued to minister to the churches in Greenbrier and Monroe until 1804, when he removed to Norfolk and became the first Pastor of the Presbyterian church in that Borough, as it was then called.

Mr. Grigsby was elected a Trustee of Liberty Hall Academy on the 5th day of April, 1796. He served faithfully until after his removal to Norfolk, when on account of the distance from Lexington and the imperfect means of communication he resigned in 1807.

Mr. Grigsby died of yellow fever, in Norfolk, October 6th, 1810, leaving an only son, Hon. Hugh Blair Grigsby, LL. D., whose graceful pen has adorned these pages.

Mr. Grigsby was distinguished for his ability as a preacher. His social qualities were of a high order, and he mingled much with the people of his charges. He was singularly faithful and devoted to duty and sacrificed his life in ministering to the sick and afflicted when the dreadful epidemic of yellow fever visited Norfolk in 1810.—W. McL.

REV. SAMUEL BROWN.

The county of Bedford, Virginia, is remarkable for the number of eminent ministers of the gospel that were either born or nourished in its bosom. Among these may be mentioned the names of Bishops Otey and Cobbs of the P. E. Church, Bishop Early of the M. E. Church, Jeremiah Jeter, D. D., and Jesse and Daniel Wit, brothers and ministers in the Baptist communion.

In the Presbyterian Church we have the names of James Turner, Conrad Speece, D. D., John H. Rice, D. D., Benj. H. Rice, D. D., and Samuel Brown, the subject of the biographical sketch here presented. He was born in the year 1766. His father, Henry Brown, and his mother, whose maiden name was Alice Baird, resided a few miles west of the village of New London. They were of Scotch-Irish lineage and formed a part of that large emigration from the north of Ireland which first settled in Pennsylvania and Delaware, and afterwards moved in a great stream southward, depositing a part of its population east of the Blue Ridge.

Our knowledge of the early history of their son Samuel is confined almost to a statement given by Daniel Wit, who resided in the town of Liberty, and who married the sister of the subject of this sketch.

The first advantages which he enjoyed in the way of mental culture were at schools where the first branches of an English education were taught. He indulged in such sports as were common at schools, but was entirely free from profanity and was of exemplary morals. Mr. Wit says: "He was the fondest boy of his books and the best scholar I ever knew." He often expressed a desire to obtain a liberal education, but the circumstances of his father were not such as to enable him to give his children better advantages than would barely fit them to transact their own business in the ordinary affairs of life. About the year 1785 there was a school taught by a Mr. Bromhead in which the higher branches of an English education, such as English grammar, geography, surveying, etc., might be obtained. This was not the case in schools generally at that day. To this school he earnestly requested his father to send him; but his father did not think his circumstances would justify the expense of boarding his son from home, and declined granting the request. The son being very urgent, the father thought to end the matter by telling him that to enable him to do so it would be necessary to sell a yoke of oxen. But such was his desire to learn, that to this measure he strongly urged his father. By some means not now known, he attended the school. Being possessed of extraordinary talent, and of fondness for the science of mathematics, and having obtained a magnetic needle, he fitted it to a compass of his own con-

struction, and with this, for the want of a better, he practised surveying for his own improvement.

In 1788 he went to Kentucky in company with a number of young friends. The journey was made on foot as far as the Falls of the Great Kanawha, where there was a settlement consisting of only a few families. Here, with the help of such tools as they could procure, the parties felled a large poplar tree, and made for themselves what is styled a dug-out canoe. In this they descended the Kanawha and Ohio rivers to Maysville, Kentucky, where the party dispersed. Mr. Brown went to Paris, where he was engaged in teaching for a year, and then returned to his father's house in Virginia. Soon after this he went to school to Rev. James Mitchel, who resided in the neighborhood of his father. About this time there was a great religious awakening over that part of the country, chiefly under the agency of Rev. Drury Lacy. Mr. Brown became one of the subjects of renewing grace. In 1790, boarding in the family of his brother-in-law Mr. Wit, he began the study of Latin, under a Mr. Andrew Lyle from Rockbridge county. He was succeeded by Rev. Matthew Houston from the same county, who afterwards removed to Ohio and became a Shaking Quaker. Not long after this he became a student at Liberty Hall Academy.

In 1791 he was taken under the care of Old Hanover Presbytery, and in 1793 he was licensed to preach the gospel. Soon after this he was engaged as a missionary under the supervision of a committee appointed by the Synod of Virginia. The field of his labor was mainly in the county of Lancaster, which had been left vacant by the retirement of Rev. James Waddell to the county of Augusta. Mr. Brown continued in this service for three years. In 1796 he was dismissed from the Presbytery of Hanover to the Presbytery of Lexington, and in the same year, having received a call to the New Providence church, he preached his first sermon there, June 5th, 1796, from 2 Cor. iv : 1, 2 : "Therefore, seeing we have this ministry, as we have received mercy, we faint not, &c."

This year he was elected a trustee of Liberty Hall, and served until his death. The records show that he was a very faithful trustee, regular in attendance, and wielded great influence.

In 1798 he was united in marriage to Mary Moore, whose eventful life is well known as recorded in *The Captives of Abb's Valley*.

It is enough for the present to say that she was a model of all that a minister's wife ought to be, and that she was indeed in every respect a help meet for her husband.

The congregation of New Providence was at that time, and still continues to be, one of the largest and most respectable in the Synod of Virginia. The quiet scenes of life surrounding the country pastor do not attract the admiration of the world at large, yet, viewed in connection with their real nature and results, it is impossible to overstate their intrinsic importance. The faithful labors of a godly pastor take hold of the mightiest cords of social life, and extend to worlds beyond the grave. The field to which Mr. Brown was now called, and which he occupied for twenty-two years, was such as completely satisfied his aspirations.

"Far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife
 His sober wishes never learned to stray ;
 Along the cool, sequestered vale of life,
 He kept the noiseless tenor of his way."

It has been suggested by some that his attainments in theological knowledge were not altogether such as his most judicious friends hoped for. Let it be remembered that although the congregation was large the salary of the pastor was only \$400. His family was growing rapidly on his hands, as may be seen from the fact that when the eleventh child was born the oldest was only seventeen years of age. To this may be added another fact, that he was a man of feeble constitution. His thirst for knowledge and fondness for study were exceedingly ardent, but a close application for two days in succession always brought on a severe indisposition in the form of heart-burn. This required him to desist. Under these circumstances a resort to some other sources of subsistence was simply a matter of necessity. He undertook, therefore, to a moderate extent, the superintendence of farming, and was also engaged in teaching a classical and elementary school. Among his pupils were the late Gov. James McDowell, Hon. Samuel McDowell Moore, and David E. Moore of Rockbridge, and Gov. A. G. McNutt of Mississippi. Those were days when theological seminaries were hardly instituted, and resort was had to more private instruction. Such was Mr. Brown's reputation in the study of

divinity that his abilities were recognized in this line of service. Among his students may be mentioned the names of Samuel B. Wilson, D. D., late Professor of Theology in Union Theological Seminary, John McElhenny, D. D., of Lewisburg, W. Va., and Isaac Anderson, D. D., the founder of Maryville College, Tenn. These, as indeed his pupils generally, were accustomed to speak of the ability and high character of their teacher with enthusiastic admiration.

In 1797 an event occurred which excited much interest at the time, and in connection with which Mr. Brown bore an important part. In February of that year the Legislature of Virginia abolished the charter of Liberty Hall Academy, and organized another charter and another Board of Trustees. The precise influences under which this measure was conducted may not be certainly known nor is it necessary in this place to inquire. It is enough to say that its effect was to awaken immediately a determined resistance on the part of the Board of Trustees. They were unanimous in considering it a flagrant usurpation of power by the Legislature. Several meetings were held concerning it, and among other things determined was the appointment of a committee to draw up a remonstrance and send a copy to other incorporated institutions in Virginia, inviting them to co-operate with Liberty Hall in resisting an act so unjust and injurious. Samuel Brown was appointed a member of this committee, and the paper adopted is known to have been in his hand-writing; and it is almost certain that he was the author of it. Although a brief document, it embodies concisely the great principle so fully presented in the celebrated case of Dartmouth College.

In the autumn of 1816 Mr. Brown made an extended visit to what was then the western part of our country. Though deeply attached to his congregation, he found a large family was growing on his hands, for which he hoped a better provision could be made by a removal to the west; and also that he might find there a very large field of usefulness as a minister of the gospel. His intimate friend Dr. Baxter was meditating a similar movement, which however was not carried out. Mr. Brown left his home in the month of September, in company with four or five personal friends, all on horseback. They passed first into the state of Kentucky, then across the river through Indiana, Illinois, and finally into Missouri,

then a territory. After travelling extensively over such parts of that country as were most inviting, Mr. Brown made up his mind finally against any change of his home. Steamboat navigation on the Mississippi was just beginning, and from the location of St. Louis, then but little more than a trading post, he clearly foresaw that a great city would certainly spring up in that place. Moreover, he was offered the purchase of a large portion of the land on which St. Louis now stands, for the sum of \$1,500. In writing home to his wife and announcing his determination, he said that he might by a removal to that country leave all his children comparatively well off as to worldly possessions, but he would not for any earthly consideration expose them to the deplorable contamination there besetting society.

The wisdom of this decision was fully sustained by subsequent events. Reaching home about Christmas, in 1816, and having purchased a more productive farm on Hays Creek, about two miles west of the village of Brownsburg, his attention was to a considerable extent engaged in its improvement, and especially in building a commodious dwelling for his family.

We must now approach the closing scenes of this good man's life. While in Missouri he was a welcome guest in the family of Judge Beverly Tucker, then residing in that part of the country, and whose wife was a cousin of Mrs. Brown. While there he suffered a brief but severe attack of pain. But it was doubtless the forerunner of that which afterwards proved suddenly fatal. In the fall of 1818 the time for the services connected with the administration of the Lord's Supper at New Providence were appointed to begin on Thursday, the 8th of October. On that day the pastor of the church preached as usual. According to the custom then prevailing in many of the churches there was no preaching on Friday, but the day was observed as a time of fasting and prayer. On Saturday morning Mr. Brown expected to preach again, and all the servants being busily engaged on the farm he went down into the meadow to bridle a horse. Upon his return to the house he suffered from an attack of severe pain in the region of the heart, similar to the one experienced in Missouri. In a little time, however, he was relieved, and enabled to proceed to the church, about two miles distant. He was, however, aware of his danger, and taking with him a medical work

then much in use, he explained the whole matter to the elders of the church privately, admonishing them of the extreme uncertainty of his life. He preached that day, and on the morning of the next day, the Sabbath, administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

It was the custom at that time to have a second service after a short interval. It was a singular coincidence that on Saturday his forenoon discourse was a lecture on the last chapter of Revelation, which was the last of a course that had commenced with Genesis. From various causes he had been prevented for several Sabbaths from delivering this lecture. There was unusual solemnity and power in that discourse, and deep feeling was manifested when speaking of the solemn account which he must render at the bar of God for what he had spoken in explaining and enforcing the truths of the Bible. He made a solemn appeal to the Searcher of Hearts that he had honestly endeavored to declare the whole counsel of God. In administering the Lord's Supper on Sabbath he was so carried away with his feelings in his address to the communicants at the last table, that he forgot to distribute the cup, and was about to close the service when one of the elders reminded him of the omission. On Sabbath afternoon and on Monday he delivered two discourses, which were regarded as sermons of unusual ability, and were for a long time spoken of by the congregation as amongst the most striking they had ever heard from him. On Tuesday he ate a hearty dinner and soon after engaged in some active exercise connected with the building of his new dwelling house. This brought on an attack of pain in the heart, and in an agony of suffering he hastened to the old habitation then occupied by his family and about a hundred yards distant. Such remedies as were at hand were applied, but as the suffering grew more intense and his countenance more ghastly, he exclaimed, "Oh, I cannot stand this," and in less than half an hour the work of death was accomplished and he ceased to breathe. The distress in which his family was immediately plunged, cannot be adequately described. Rev. John H. Rice, an intimate friend of the deceased, was on his way to the meeting of the Synod of Virginia in Staunton on the following Thursday. The Evangelical Magazine of December, 1818, edited by Dr. Rice, contains a description of the burial of the deceased pastor, and nothing could be more appropriate than its insertion as follows :

“The record of the incidents of this day (14th of October) presents something like a map of human life. In the morning we were gay and cheerful, amusing ourselves with remarks on the country, on the comparative genius and habits of our countrymen, and a thousand things just as the thoughts of them occurred, anticipating a joyful meeting in the evening with some well-tried, faithful and beloved friends; when suddenly as the flash of lightning breaks from the cloud, we were informed of the almost instantaneous death of one of the most valuable of men—the Rev. Samuel Brown. The road which we should travel led by the house in which he was accustomed to preach, and on inquiring for it, we were asked if we were going to the funeral! Thus as in a moment was hope turned into deep despondency, and gladness of heart exchanged for the bitterness of sorrow.”

“We journeyed on in mournful silence interrupted by occasional remarks which shewed our unwillingness to believe the truth of what had been announced, and how reluctantly hope takes her departure from the human bosom. It might have been a fainting fit, an apoplectic stroke, mistaken for the invasion of death, and still he might be alive. The roads trampled by multitudes of horses, all directed to the dwelling of our friend, dissipated these delusions of the deceiver, and convinced us of the sad reality. Still, however, when we arrived at the church and saw the people assembling and the pile of red clay, the sure indication of a newly opened grave, thrown up in the church yard, it seemed as though we were for the first time assured that Samuel Brown was dead. Only a few of the people had come together on our arrival. Some, in small groups, were conversing in a low tone of voice, interrupted by frequent and bitter sighs, and shewing in strong terms how deeply they felt their loss; others, whose emotions were too powerful for conversation, stood apart, and leaning on the tombstones, looked like pictures of woe. Presently the sound of the multitude was heard. They came on in great crowds. The elders of the church assisted in committing the body to the grave. After which, solemn silence, interrupted by smothered sobs, ensued for several minutes. The widow stood at the head of the grave surrounded by her children, exhibiting signs of unutterable anguish, yet seeming to say, ‘It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth

good unto him.' After a little time, on a signal being given, some young men began to fill the grave. The first clods that fell on the coffin gave forth the most mournful sounds I ever heard. At that moment of agony the chorister of the congregation was asked to sing a specified hymn to a tune known to be a favorite one of the deceased minister. The voice of the chorister faltered so that it required several efforts to raise the tune; the whole congregation attempted to join him, but at first the sound was rather a scream of anguish than music. As they advanced, however, the precious truths expressed in the words of the hymn seemed to enter into their souls. Their voices became more firm, and, while their eyes streamed with tears, their countenances were radiant with Christian hope, and the singing of the last stanza was like a shout of triumph. The words of the hymn are well known,

‘When I can read my title clear.’—

“By the time that these words were finished the grave was closed, and the congregation in solemn silence retired to their homes. We lodged all night with one of the members of the church. The family seemed bereaved as though the head of the household had just been buried. Every allusion to the event, too, brought forth a flood of tears. I could not help exclaiming, ‘Behold how they loved him.’ And I thought the lamentation of fathers and mothers, of young men and maidens, over their departed pastor, the most eloquent, affecting eulogium that oratory with all its pomp and pretensions could pronounce. After this I shall not attempt panegyric.

“Let those who wish to know the character of Samuel Brown go and see the sod that covers his body wet with the tears of his congregation.”

The history of the Presbyterian Church in Virginia presents in goodly number the names of eminent ministers of the gospel. They were men who bore the high character belonging to a godly life, and they were also men of high intellectual endowments, such as commanded the respect and confidence of others moving in the higher walks of society. It is, however, much to be lamented that what remains as the production of their pens, is so very scanty.

They were *preachers* and not *writers*. This was emphatically so with Mr. Brown, and it is impossible to form a correct judgment of

what he really was, except so far as the deficiency is supplied by the testimony of his contemporaries. Under this view we conclude the present sketch by selecting the following extracts. The first is from the late Thomas H. Walker, a very intelligent ruling elder in New Providence, and on terms of intimate friendship with his pastor.

“ Mr. Brown’s talents, according to the common opinion, and that is my own, were of a very high order, and his judgment in all matters was sound and practical. In cases where it seemed difficult to arrive at a correct decision, he seemed to seize with facility the true view ; and the clearness of his statements hardly failed to bring others to concur with him. His preaching was impressive and interesting. In his personal appearance he was tall and lean, his eyes sunk deeply in his head. His voice though not sweet, was distinct ; his manner earnest, seeming to be inspired by deep conviction of the truth and importance of his subject. His gestures, according to my recollections, were few, but appropriate. In his addresses from the pulpit he was eminent for strength, conciseness and perspicuity. Argumentative more than declamatory, he convinced the judgment of his hearers. Plain, instructive and practical in his discourses, he brought the principles of the Bible to bear upon the conduct of his people in all their relations. He also held forth very strongly the great Calvinistic doctrines of the Scriptures. He preached ‘ repentance toward and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ.’ He dwelt prominently on the total depravity of human nature, and on the necessity of regeneration. He frequently became very much animated in preaching, and sometimes the tears were seen to trickle down his cheeks. His sermons were short generally. I have heard people complain sometimes that they were too short, but never that they were too long. When he preached two sermons on the Sabbath, as he did in the summer, his last sermon was generally considered the ablest.

“ The longer he lived among his people, the more they became attached to him. He mingled amongst them on easy and familiar terms ; took an interest in their welfare both temporal and spiritual. His conversation was interesting, and, to use a current phrase, he was the soul of the company in which he was. He was a man that never shrunk from any responsibility that properly belonged to him

in any circumstances in which he was placed; and his opinions probably carried more weight with them than those of any other man in this end of Rockbridge county. He was a very kind husband and was always heard to speak of his wife in the most affectionate manner, and he reposed in her judgment and opinions great confidence. His piety was undoubted. He died universally lamented; in the prime of life, in full intellectual vigor; in the midst of his usefulness and when the love of his people towards him so far from abating was becoming deeper and stronger."—Foote's Sketches, Second Series, pp. 67, 68.

In the year 1836 the writer of this sketch requested Rev. A. Alexander, D. D., of Princeton, New Jersey, to furnish him with some reminiscences of Samuel Brown. He very kindly complied with this request, and from his letter the extracts below are copied.

It may be safely affirmed that no man in this country had a more ample knowledge of its distinguished ministers, and that no one was more likely both from character and habit to give a fair expression of his opinion respecting him. Taking this into view his testimonial concerning Mr. Brown must be regarded as of extraordinary significance.

"PRINCETON, N. J., *May 17th*, 1836.

"*Dear Sir:*

"I seize the first convenient opportunity of complying with your request, in furnishing you with some reminiscences respecting your father, for whom I entertained a high esteem, and indeed a sincere and warm friendship, which I have good reason to believe was reciprocal. I first became acquainted with him when he came to Lexington to pursue his studies in the Academy out of which grew Washington College. I was then a student of theology under the tuition of the Rev. William Graham. Your father commenced his classical studies late, and with a view to the ministry; I, although several years younger, was licensed to preach some time before he had finished his studies. Our intercourse related chiefly to our spiritual concerns, and we used much freedom in the mutual communication of the various religious exercises of our minds. His mind appeared at that time to be deeply imbued with a genuine

spirit of piety, and I found his conversation to be uniformly edifying. Indeed, I am now of opinion that I derived more benefit from the conversation of Samuel Brown than I ever did from that of any other person, not merely upon our first acquaintance, when we were both students, but more especially after we had entered the ministry. On one occasion, I spent several weeks in delightful intercourse with him in Lancaster county, in the northern neck of Virginia. I am able even at this distance to call to mind some of the topics on which we conversed. Afterwards, when I was settled in Charlotte, he visited me more than once, and frequently we met at Synod. After he was married and settled at New Providence, having some leisure, I visited him at his own house, and spent several days in his company, in December, 1801. The last meeting I had with your esteemed father was in Philadelphia after my removal to that city; when he came up as a delegate to the General Assembly; on which occasion he preached for me an able and delightful sermon on the foundation, nature, and objects of the Christian's hope. It was on the Sabbath afternoon after our Communion, and I thought that I had never heard the subject so ably treated; and the discourse, though profound, was so clear that all could understand it, and was delivered with a holy glow of feeling which was far above any natural pathos, and its effect very different from that of mere rhetoric, however excellent. I also recollect a sermon which he preached at Hampden-Sidney when I resided there, immediately after the Communion. The text was, 'Surely, O God, thou wilt slay the wicked.' On this subject also, on which it is so difficult to preach properly, he seemed to me at the time to excel anything which I had heard.

"Your father was a profound as well as an original thinker, and on all subjects he seemed to me to arrive at sound opinions. His mind was not rapid in its operations, but sure and deliberate and independent. Though always modest, he called no man master; and when he had once made up his mind, he seldom found occasion to change his opinion.

"His benevolence was unusually strong, and so were all his natural affections. He was remarkably free, above most men that ever I knew, from envy and suspicion, yet he formed a just estimate of the real talents and characters of his acquaintances. His

prudence and fidelity were such that all who were favored with his friendship could confide in him without reserve. The Rev. Samuel Brown owed much more to a habit of impartial and profound thinking than he did to books. I recollect that one of his acquaintances observed to me that he seemed to have a cast of mind more nearly resembling that of President Edwards than any person that he had ever known. Although so intellectual, patient and profound in research, he possessed uncommon ardor of mind, and engaged vigorously in everything to which he turned his attention.

“I remain affectionately yours,

“A. ALEXANDER.”

The immediate posterity of Samuel Brown consisted of eleven children—eight sons and three daughters. None of these are now living except the writer of this memorial. The more remote descendants are at this date quite numerous, and are very widely scattered. To enter here into any particulars concerning them would be unsuitable and impracticable. This much it may be proper to record, that wherever found, they are, with very few exceptions, known to be men and women leading a righteous life in all godliness and honesty, walking in wisdom's ways, which are pleasantness, and her paths, that are peace.—W. B.

**SAMUEL LYLE, WILLIAM LYLE, JAMES RAMSEY,
AND JOHN MONTGOMERY, TRUSTEES;
WILLIAM McCLUNG, AND MANY ALUMNI;**

OR,

**THE LYLE CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF WASHINGTON
AND LEE UNIVERSITY.**

By WILLIAM HENRY RUFFNER.

The faculty and educational apparatus constitute the central force in the onward movement of a literary institution, but there are many ancillary forces which should be kept in vigorous operation. Dr. Kirkpatrick once said to the Board of Trustees: "If we would make sure of the future of this institution, we must hold our Alumni with hooks of steel." And it may be added, with a change of figure: If we would hold them we must not only catalogue them, but we must weave their names into the web of College history, and thus let them and their children see that they are not to be forgotten; that they are to have a place in both memory and affection; that in fact they have become a part of an undying fraternity, coeval with the institution itself. Just this fostering work has been begun by Washington and Lee University. May it increase!

In an important sense the prime source of influence is the governing board. It, too, needs to invoke the potent forces of history to do justice to its deceased members, to maintain the efficiency of the living body, and to trace and exhibit the important results which may flow from both official and personal influence.

Hence the value of such memoirs as are now in course of publication in these historical papers ; and hence the effort of the present writer, as will be seen, not only to describe certain Trustees, four of whose names head this article, but to mention related contemporaries, and to trace the leading lines of influence emanating from them and uniting with other lines, branching endlessly, and bearing fruit in various directions. Could this sort of genealogical history be worked out in a set of family monographs, the dry bones of an official record would become a living host.

THE FAMILY OF SAMUEL AND WILLIAM LYLE.

On the Board of Trustees have been three Lyles. Two of them were father and son, and their terms, one succeeding the other, covered the period from the origination of the Board, in 1776, to the year 1835—sixty years save one. Fifteen Lyles are mentioned among the Alumni. Thirty-two of Lyle lineage appear under other names, and a large number by marriage might be added.

The immediate family of Lyles, now small in Rockbridge county, was once one of the largest and best, and in all the branches they were active friends of the College. The Lyle blood and influence became largely merged in other families. By marriage it became connected with the Alexanders, Stuarts, Grahams, McClungs, Ramseys, Reids, Paxtons, McDowells, Lacys, Ruffners, Montgomerys, Moffetts, Donalds, Campbells, and many others. If all the influence growing out of this blood and affinity be considered it will be seen that the Lyle element in the history of the College is worthy of commemoration.

The Lyles came to America from the north of Ireland with the first settlers of what is now Rockbridge county, as is shown by a list containing the name of a Lyle, made in 1742, only five years after the first regular immigration. The transatlantic relations of the family have been partly made out, and Mr. Oscar K. Lyle, of New York city, who is our authority on this point, hopes to make complete the connections running back many centuries.

Mr. Grigsby declares that the name is wholly French, and was originally written with the apostrophe between the article and the noun composing the word ; and also that the family came to Eng-

land before the revocation of the edict of Nantes. The name exists in France at present, and one form of the spelling is the same as the one we employ. The name exists also in England, Ireland, Scotland, and the Western Islands, and is variously spelled. Mr. Thomas M. Green, in his *Historic Families of Kentucky*, in mentioning the Rockbridge Lyles, says: "The names of Lyle, Lisle, Lyell, are identical; those who bear them spring remotely from the same stock. Their common origin is in the name *de l'Isle*—of the island—which indicates that in the ages wrapped in clouds, the common ancestor was one of the Lords of the Western Islands. In Scotland, still, the names are found among the higher gentry."

The best information we have on the subject is embodied in the following letter, which I have just received from Mr. Oscar K. Lyle, which contains many points of interest, and shows how great an amount of labor he has expended on the subject, and how hard it is to reach settled conclusions:

*Letter from Mr. Oscar K. Lyle Concerning the Pre-American
History of the Lyle Family.*

NEW YORK, February 19, 1892.

In cheerfully complying with your request for the result of my inquiries into the Lyle ancestry, I will say that the surname of Lyle, varied in its orthography, is a territorial one—that is, one having its origin in the possessions, location or place of abode of the several families adopting it. In its earliest form, before the period of introduction and adoption of surnames in what is now Great Britain, the ancestors of those now bearing it were denominated *de insula*, of the island. So far back as in the eleventh century this *de insula* is applied as a descriptive term or appellation to families then living in the Islands of Wight and Ely, in England, and of Bute, in Scotland. That any connection existed between these several families, or that any one of them is traceable to companions of William the Conqueror, is probably beyond ascertainment. In the train of the victorious Norman, and among the names inscribed on the famous Roll of Battle Abbey, were individuals bearing names from which the present Lyle surname could be, and to some extent is, no doubt, derived. But if *de insula* originated in the several families alluded to, because of their connection with the islands mentioned, it is not in order to claim from its translation that the Lyle surname and race are of Norman origin. The Normans introduced surnames into England. But it was a long period before their general adoption.

Before the conquest the written language and records of the English and Scots were in Latin. Education was limited to a few, and mainly confined to the church and clergy introduced by the Romans, who had long held sway. Under Norman

rule there was very generally a translation of Latin into Norman-French. History seldom treats of the uneventful lives of a common people, and I found no little interest, while tracing the several families of *de insula*, in noting the many changes giving us the Lyle surname of to-day from the *de insula* of over eight hundred years ago. The rendering of the Latin into Norman-French gave *de l'Isle*; Norman rule ended, the *de* was dropped, and thus appears what one can readily recognize as leading to the present form. With all its age, the name is not a common one.

The Lyles settling in Rockbridge county, Virginia, then Augusta county, from traditions current among their descendants, were thought to have been of those leaving Scotland during the troublous times of the seventeenth century, and to have sought in Ireland a refuge from religious persecution. Because of similar traditions attaching to many of their neighbors, and to most of the families constituting the earliest community in Rockbridge county, I very naturally expected to find them in some way descended from the family long resident in the west of Scotland and originating in the Isle of Bute. Of these Lyles some mention is made so far back as 1057 A. D. This ante-dates the Norman period.

So far as any definite tracing can be asserted for the Rockbridge Lyles, one Samuel Lyle, of Brownododd, in the county Antrim, in Ireland, about 1650 married a Janet Knox, of Knoxtown, in that same county. The Knox family is unmistakably Scotch, and the barony of that name in Renfrewshire was in close proximity to the barony of Lyle. This was getting so near to the time of passing into Ireland it did appear I was on the right track, and it was my hope to find it so upon farther inquiry. This Samuel Lyle had, with other issue, sons James and Robert. James appears, from such information as I possess, to have been the father of Matthew, John and Daniel Lyle, immigrants; and it is said that the immigrant Samuel was the son of Robert. I am unwilling to proclaim this without the privilege of change or withdrawal after further investigation. That three of the immigrants were brothers agrees with family traditions, but Samuel's relationship to the others is not satisfactorily determined.

Matthew Lyle married in Ireland. On the records of a church in Larne, near Belfast, is found an entry reading, "Matthew Lyle and Esther Blair, proclaimed to marry, September 18th, 1731." This was our immigrant to Rockbridge. Esther Blair traces to a Brice Blair, who married in Scotland an Esther Peden, a relative of the distinguished Alexander Peden, who in his day enjoyed much distinction as a Presbyterian preacher, and suffered many trials because of it. Brice Blair was one of those Covenanters who were hunted out of Scotland and sought refuge in Ireland. He settled near Larne, at a place now known as Mount Hill, and narrowly escaped destruction in the massacre of 1640. Esther was a great-grandchild of this Brice Blair, of excellent lineage, and a fair representative of the Scotch-Irish stock. She had a younger sister, whose name was Martha. This Martha left Ireland unmarried, and presumably accompanied the Lyles to America. I feel reasonably certain she was the same Martha Blair who was the wife of John Paxton; and thus is opened up an ancestral line to their many descendants. In my opinion, the acquaintance between the immigrant Lyles and the Paxtons began after the former left Ireland. No Paxtons appear to have lived near the home of the Lyles in county Antrim. Daniel Lyle married a Pax-

ton in America. The wife of John Lyle is thought to have come with him from Ireland. Samuel Lyle married Sarah McClung in Virginia. He held the office of purchasing agent, for Rockbridge county, for supplies for the Revolutionary army, his son William being an officer therein. The coming of the Lyles to America was not far from 1740. Matthew probably preceded the others to Virginia, though all may have left Ireland together. Pennsylvania was then the land of promise to the large immigration, and many tarried there before finally settling elsewhere.

Matthew Lyle's name is one of those to a petition addressed to Governor Gooch, then Colonial Governor of Virginia, in July, 1742, praying that he will issue a Captain's commission to John McDowell, with authority to raise a company to defend the infant colony "in ye back parts of Virginia" from the "violence of the heathen," as all the Indians were called. This is the earliest date I have found on record of our Lyles, and from the fact that but one of the four was a signer of the petition, I conclude that he was the only one then on Borden's Grant.

Matthew Lyle died in 1774. He left a daughter in Ireland who came to Virginia in 1775 as the wife of Matthew Donald, her second husband. The Donalds are a very old family, tracing to the Isle of Skye. They are a part of the great clan MacDonnell, who, in earlier days, enjoyed the distinction and title of Lords of the Isles.

Yours truly,

OSCAR K. LYLE.

After this general account of the early history of the family, I will proceed to trace the several branches as they developed in this region, especially in their relations to Washington and Lee University. In so doing, it will be proper to repeat in their appropriate connections some facts mentioned in Mr. Lyle's letter, and originally derived from him by me.

THE FOUR IMMIGRANT LYLES.

So far as known all the Lyles of Rockbridge were descended from the four men whose names are mentioned by Mr. Oscar Lyle. All these names are appended to the call to Rev. John Brown in 1753—the Battle Abbey roll of Rockbridge, as Mr. Grigsby called it. This call, written with touching pathos and the eloquence of deep conviction, and signed by one hundred and sixteen of the best citizens of Rockbridge as it now is, was an important link in the chain of events which ended in the establishment of Liberty Hall Academy, for it brought to this part of the country the Rev. John Brown, who was a strong promoter of classical education, and who

followed Robert Alexander in personally conducting or maintaining a classical school at one of his churches, then called New Providence, now Old Providence, which stands on top of the watershed which divides the valley of the Shenandoah from that of the James, and is but one mile southwest from the site of Robert Alexander's school. After William Graham came in 1774, Mr. Brown's connection with the school became less intimate, but he continued as the official guardian and inspector until 1776, when the first board of trustees was appointed, and his name placed at the head of the list.¹

The four Lyles who assisted in bringing Rev. John Brown to Virginia were Matthew, John, Daniel and Samuel. The first three were brothers, according to the best information we have; the last, Samuel, is locally believed to have been the nephew of the others.

MATTHEW LYLE, IMMIGRANT.

The probable descent of Matthew and others from Samuel Lyle of Browndodd in Ireland, the proclamation of the banns between him and Esther Blair in the church at Larne in 1731, and the signing of his name to a petition to Governor Gooch in 1742 from the first settlers of Borden's Grant, have already been mentioned in Mr. Lyle's letter. The ancestry of Matthew's wife has also been noticed. It is worthy of remark that in the above mentioned petition, Matthew Lyle's name is spelled incorrectly, which seems to show that it was written by the hand of another. It is to be assumed that he is to no degree responsible for the remarkable orthography which characterizes the document.

The next record we have is on the books of the Court of Augusta county, dated May 20, 1748, and is in these words:—"On the motion of Matthew Lyle, yts ordered to be certified that they have built a Presbyterian Meeting House at a place known by the name of Timber Ridge, another at New Providence, and another at a place known as Falling Spring." All these churches are in the present county of Rockbridge.²

¹For the call to Rev. John Brown, see Foote's Sketches of Virginia, Second Series, p. 94.

²Dr. Alexander in his autobiography says that the name New Providence was applied to the first meeting house erected by the congregation, and the term New

Matthew's numerous descendants intermarried with the Alexanders, Lyles of Samuel, Paxtons, McDowells, Lacy's, and others, and touch the history of the College at numerous points. His grandson Rev. Matthew Lyle of Prince Edward county, an alumnus of the Academy, without application on his part was elected in 1816 Professor of Languages to succeed Rev. Daniel Blain; but he declined to leave the field where he was already most usefully employed. Rev. Drury Lacy in Sprague's *Annals* writes of him:—"Mr. Lyle was endowed with a sound, discriminating mind, and was possessed of inflexible firmness, and great energy and decision of character. Honesty was the very texture of his soul. In domestic life he was affectionate; as a neighbor, kind. But he appeared to the greatest advantage in the pulpit. His sermons were remarkable for clearness, conciseness, and energy. By some judicious hearers he was preferred to all other preachers. He was perhaps never known to deliver an indifferent sermon; nor did he ever fall into confusion or embarrassment. He uniformly preached without notes. In social intercourse Mr. Lyle had a benignity of manner, and a lively pleasantness of remark, accompanied with sallies of wit, which rendered him an exceedingly agreeable companion. His departure left a wide chasm in the society in which he was so long the guide and ornament."

was intended to distinguish it from a church called Providence in Pennsylvania, near Norristown, from which many of them came. Hence we must infer that the church now called Old Providence is the successor of the New Providence which was reported to the Court by Matthew Lyle, and which certainly was erected at the place on or very near the top of the divide of the waters, now called Old Providence. The history of the changes seems to be this. The original site proving to be inconvenient, and the time having come for the erection of a better building than the log house in which they first assembled, the congregation voted to remove to a point some three miles distant on Hays Creek, where they erected a stone house, after using a temporary structure for a short time. This remains the site of the New Providence church, though two brick buildings have succeeded the one of stone. About the year 1789 a portion of the congregation, offended at the introduction of Watts' Psalms, as told by Dr. Henry Ruffner in his history of Washington College, seceded and returned to the former site, where they were organized into a separate congregation under the name Old Providence. This congregation still continues at the old spot, though now worshipping in a stone building.

The interesting record of the Court concerning Matthew Lyle, is furnished by Mr. Waddell in his highly valuable work on Augusta County.

Rev. Matthew Lyle's son James, who became a highly useful and popular physican, living in Farmville and practising in a number of the surrounding counties, was an alumnus of Washington College. He was the father of Mrs. Annie McKinney, wife of the present Governor of Virginia. Rev. Matthew's son Samuel removed to Texas, and in 1844 sent his son, Thomas M. W. Lyle, to Washington College. Thomas became a physician and cotton planter, but his career was brought to a sudden and peculiarly sad termination on the battle field of Gettysburg. What was his exact fate has never been ascertained.

Inasmuch as the Lyle women bear an honorable part in the history we are pursuing, it may be mentioned that Mary Paxton Lyle, a daughter of Capt. John Lyle, the son of the first Matthew, became the wife of Col. James McDowell, who was the son of Col. Samuel McDowell, at one time a member of the College Board, and founder of the Kentucky branch of the McDowells. James went west with his father, and did his full share in giving to the family the distinguished position which it took and has held. The immediate household of James is represented as one of unusual attractiveness. In his *Historic Families of Kentucky*, Mr. Green says of the daughters of Col. James McDowell and Mary Paxton Lyle, that "they were all not only women of intelligence and culture, but were of their generation the most graceful and beautiful women of Kentucky."

One of these daughters, Isabella, married Rev. John Poage Campbell, one of the most brilliant men in America, who was first a student, and afterwards a Trustee, of Liberty Hall Academy.

Another daughter of Capt. John Lyle, namely, Esther Lyle, married Joseph Paxton, of Rockbridge county, and their daughter Isabella married Robert S. Campbell of Timber Ridge. He was a son of Alexander Campbell, a highly intelligent Scotchman, a Trustee of the College, and County Surveyor, as well as farmer on land bought of Capt. John Lyle. Two of the sons of Alexander Campbell are mentioned in the Catalogue of Alumni, namely, Dr. Samuel R. Campbell, who died a surgeon in the Confederate service, and Rev. Wm. G. Campbell, who died in 1881 at the age of 82. There were two other sons of Alexander Campbell, namely, James and Addison, who like all the rest were men of great strength

of will and of great moral firmness. The late Wm. A. Donald was a grandson of Alexander Campbell, and a student of the College. This family of Campbells first improved the justly celebrated Rockbridge Alum Springs; a part of which they inherited from Alexander Campbell, who was half owner of the property, which included a large body of mountain land.

Robert S. Campbell, whose wife, as above stated, was Isabella Paxton, granddaughter of Capt. John Lyle, was the immediate progenitor of the family of this name which has been so closely identified with this institution for three generations. Mr. Campbell educated all of his large family. One of his daughters married Capt. Wm. C. Hagan, an alumnus and a descendant of the first John Lyle. Mr. Campbell's sons and grandsons were all educated here, and deserve to be mentioned *seriatim*.

1. Alexander Paxton Campbell, the eldest son, spent most of his life usefully as a classical teacher. His son Robert is a lawyer.

2. John Lyle Campbell, LL. D., the late distinguished professor of Chemistry and Geology. He, of course, educated all his sons at Washington College. These sons have all done credit to their Alma Mater, and they have been steady and true in their attachment. (a) The eldest of Prof. J. L. Campbell's sons is John Lyle Campbell, the present treasurer of Washington and Lee University, who married a descendant of Samuel and William Lyle, and of President Ruffner. (b) The second son was Edmund Douglas Campbell, a gifted young man who died in 1880, soon after entering the medical profession. (c) Next, Robert Fishburn Campbell, the pastor of Buena Vista Presbyterian Church, who also married a descendant of the Lyle trustees, a daughter of William H. Ruffner, formerly a trustee, and granddaughter of President Ruffner. (d) Harry Donald Campbell, Ph. D., Professor of Geology and Biology in Washington and Lee University.

3. James D. Campbell, the third son of Robert S., a handsome and talented young man, was a teacher and publisher in North Carolina, and died 1865.

4. Rev. Samuel Blair Campbell, who has been usefully employed as preacher and teacher in southwest Virginia, Tennessee and Texas.

5. Rev. William Addison Campbell, D. D., the well known pastor and evangelist of tide-water Virginia; at one time assistant

professor of mathematics in Washington College. Two of his sons graduated here, Rev. Wm. Spencer Campbell of Henrico county, and Leslie Lyle Campbell, who has just completed with distinction a post-graduate course.

On the list of alumni we recognize but one other descendant of the first Matthew Lyle, namely, Wm. K. Donald, who was captain of the 2nd Rockbridge Artillery, C. S. A. He is still in active life. It is probable that other descendants of Matthew Lyle might be found on the catalogue; but all have been mentioned that are known to the writer. A similar remark may be applied to lists yet to be given.

JOHN LYLE, IMMIGRANT.

This John Lyle, like the other three immigrants, was a farmer on Timber Ridge. His contribution to the academic interest was his son John for trustee, and three grandsons as students, besides what came in by collateral relations. The trustee John, mentioned in high terms by Dr. Alexander as "Elder John Lyle," was a man of stately presence and great moral influence, of whom a sketch appeared in No. 2 of the Historical Papers. He kept in the College circle by marrying Flora Reid, a lady as admirable in her sphere as he was in his.

Elder John's son Andrew was a young man of fine natural endowments of body and mind. After finishing the course of study at the Academy he had resolved to teach for a year or two and then return and study divinity under Mr. Graham. But, while conducting a classical school at Liberty, Bedford county, Va., he was seized with a bilious fever, and carried off in a few days, in the flush of early manhood. One of his pupils at Liberty was the subsequently distinguished Samuel Brown, who although no relation succeeded Rev. John Brown as pastor of New Providence Church. Rev. Samuel Brown also had a classical school, in which some eminent men received the beginnings of their college course. Mr. Brown became a College trustee, and the father of seven sons, five of whom were educated at Washington College; one of these, Rev. William Brown, D. D., became a trustee, as did also his brother-in-law, Rev. James Morrison; to whom may be added Rev. B. M. Smith, D. D., who married Samuel Brown's granddaughter.

Elder John's second son, Rev. John Lyle, spent his professional life in Kentucky, chiefly in Paris, where he made a strong and wide impression as a minister, and as the teacher of a large female school, which he established. He established also a newspaper, a bookstore, and a printing office from which he issued some books. All of these various interests he seems to have managed successfully. His motive in multiplying this class of instrumentalities is given by Rev. Robert Stuart in Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, thus—"He was pre-eminently a benefactor to the cause of education in the West. Having an ardent thirst for knowledge, and being a thorough scholar, especially in the languages, he was intent on doing his utmost for the intellectual as well as moral improvement of the rising generation." The Hon. Chilton Allen, member of Congress from Kentucky, says—"As a teacher he was singularly devoted to the improvement of his pupils, and had an admirable talent at communicating knowledge in an easy and impressive manner. I think that his labors in this way accomplished more than those of any other teacher I have known." Mr. Allen continues—"As a preacher he addressed himself more to the understandings of his hearers than to their passions. Mr. Lyle not only had no tendency to enthusiasm, but very little patience with it. He once attended a camp meeting conducted by ministers of his own denomination, at which there was much lengthy and vociferous praying. Mr. Lyle bore with their praying as long as he could; but one morning he broke out upon them in one of the most eloquent and impressive exhortations I ever heard. It gave great satisfaction to calm people, and produced a happy effect."¹

Dr. William H. McGuffey thus describes Mr. Lyle's appearance: "He was one of the most venerable and dignified looking gentlemen I ever saw. Much above the ordinary stature,—erect in form, with an expanded chest, and a remarkably fine head, surrounded by a profusion of hair entirely white, and which he wore long, flowing down to his shoulders,—with an elastic step and commanding mien, he could not have been mistaken in any company or by the most careless observer for an ordinary man."

¹ This quotation and the one concerning Matthew Lyle are both somewhat condensed.

Mr. Lyle had three sons, one of whom, Joel, was so remarkable that George W. Williams, Esq., thus speaks of him: "I cannot close this sketch of the father without a passing tribute to the son. I have never seen a man with whom I became acquainted, who was in intellect the superior of Joel A. Lyle. He learned the most abstruse principles of law without labor, and apparently by intuition. Had he lived he would have been one of the brightest ornaments of the bar. His career of greatness and usefulness, however, was closed at its beginning. He was the soul of honor, and the impersonation of virtue."¹

Trustee (or Elder) John Lyle had another son, who was an alumnus of this institution, namely, Joel Reid Lyle, who also went to Kentucky, and became associated with his brother John, at Paris, where he became the editor of *The Western Citizen*, the newspaper heretofore mentioned. This paper is, I think, still published. Joel was a man of ability. He had three sons, one of whom also became an editor, and all were influential citizens.

These three brothers, combining the strong intellect of the Reids with the scholastic and philanthropic tendencies of the Lyles, were an honor to their lineage and to their Alma Mater.

DANIEL LYLE, IMMIGRANT.

Under No. 134 of the Catalogue another Rev. John Lyle is recorded. This was the son of Daniel. He was a soldier in the battle of Point Pleasant, and commenced his professional education somewhat late in life. This was the John Lyle so often mentioned by Dr. Alexander in his autobiography. These two, at one time, constituted Mr. Graham's entire class in theology. During their theological training an incident occurred which is worthy the notice of young orators. I will give it in Dr. Alexander's language. The Presbytery had given Mr. Graham permission to exercise his students in public exhortation, and the *début* of these young theologues was to occur at the house of John T. McKee, on Kerr's

¹ Rev. John Lyle is sketched with more or less fulness in Sprague's *Annals*, in the *Princeton Review* by Dr. Archibald Alexander, in *Davidson's History of the Presbyterian Church of Kentucky*, and in Foote's *Sketches*, Second Series, and he is mentioned by Green.

Creek, October 20, 1790. Dr. Alexander sketches the occasion as follows :

“The thing was new in that part of the country and many came together. I was exceedingly apprehensive that I should utterly fail, and not be able to say anything, for I had never spoken in public except what I had committed to memory. I had once attempted to speak in a juvenile debate, without the least success. We arrived at the place early in the evening, and retired to the grove. When we returned to the house Mr. Lyle appeared to be much animated and elevated. He told me that he had a remarkable flow of thought, and seemed confident of a prosperous issue ; which only discouraged me the more, as I was weighed down with a heavy burden. After singing and prayer, Mr. Graham called first upon Lyle, who arose with an awful cloud upon his brow, seized fast hold of the chair upon which he had been sitting, and with many contortions of countenance forced out a few words, but his flow of thought had deserted him. He hemmed and groaned, rolled up his pocket handkerchief into a ball, made a few convulsive gestures, and sat down. After another prayer and hymn, I was called upon. Although I did not know a word I was to utter, I began with a rapidity and fluency equal to any I have enjoyed to this day. I was astonished at myself, and, as I was young and small, the old people were not less astonished.”

Mr. Lyle, though never a great preacher, became a very useful man. After itinerating for a time by appointment of the Presbytery, he settled for life in Hampshire county, now West Virginia, where he not only preached, but, Lyle-like, conducted a school at Springfield, which Dr. Foote speaks of as having attained “great celebrity.” Thus was afforded another illustration of how a literary institution scatters the living seeds of knowledge to germinate and grow in unnumbered and often unnoticed places. Mr. Lyle married a Miss Glass, a near relative of Dr. Foote’s first wife. This lady was a sister of Rev. Joseph Glass, who was an alumnus of Liberty Hall Academy. Mr. Lyle died in 1807.

Two other descendants of Daniel Lyle are in the Catalogue, namely, Rev. George Tate Lyle and Rev., previously Judge, John Newton Lyle. These are sons of Newton Lyle, a descendant of Daniel.

SAMUEL LYLE, IMMIGRANT.

Samuel Lyle, according to the testimony of his descendants, came to this country when a youth at the solicitation of his uncle Daniel, who has just been mentioned. This was about the year 1745. He was without fortune, but being intelligent, industrious and managing, he soon was able to buy from Borden two hundred and thirty-five acres of good land, for which he received a deed in 1751, and on which he immediately erected a pioneer's cabin. He always had a strong literary taste, but, owing to his scantiness of means and the scarcity of books in the settlement, he would have suffered for lack of opportunity for gratifying this appetite, had he not found a friend in Archibald Alexander, the progenitor of the distinguished family which has made such an impression upon the country. Mr. Alexander had the best library in the colony, and he gave to young Lyle the free use of his books. But Samuel could find time for reading, besides Sundays, only at night and before daybreak in the morning. He was an enthusiastic reader, and this taste went with him through life. He became so noted for his intelligence, that Rev. Drury Lacy wrote of him that he was "a man of uncommon worth, and of extensive reading." This was also attested, as regards both points, by the public trusts conferred upon him.

Young Lyle's career was successful from the first. His mind, his character, his influence and his fortune developed rapidly. He became a large landholder, at the same time a merchant, an elder in the church, a magistrate of the first court held in the new county of Rockbridge, a home-purchaser of supplies for the Revolutionary army, and a trustee of the first organized academy established in the Scotch-Irish settlements; was appointed by the Presbytery as one of the committee for raising the means for supporting the Academy, and afterward appointed a trustee by the Legislature; was made treasurer of the institution, which office he held until his bodily infirmities unfitted him for its duties; and during the twenty years of his service as trustee, especially in the earlier part of it, was apparently the most active and devoted of all the members. In all this we see the culmination and practical application of those intellectual, moral and business qualities which he had cultivated so resolutely under the adversities of his early life.

Mr. Lyle, about 1751, married Sarah McClung, an admirable woman, amiable, bright, and remarkable for her neatness—belonging to one of the best of the many excellent families among the Scotch-Irish people. There seem to have been at least two separate, and yet, no doubt, closely related families of McClungs among the immigrants to Borden's Grant. William McClung was at the head of one of these families, and was the father of Mrs. Samuel Lyle. The family of William McClung was an important one, and touched the College at many points. He was on the first bench of elders in Timber Ridge Church, which was organized in 1746. Though acting during the pastorate of Rev. John Brown, his name, for some unexplained reason, does not appear on the list of signers to the call, but it does appear on the subscription list for the following year.

Mr. McClung was married twice, and his family was large, and became well connected. His daughter Susan married a son of Robert Alexander, who is now listed as the first rector of Washington and Lee University. Another daughter married Col. Samuel McDowell, heretofore mentioned. He was the brother of Col. James McDowell, who was the father of Gov. James McDowell, both of whom were trustees. The marriage of Samuel McDowell and Mary McClung occurred in 1754, and among the children was Magdalen, who became the mother of Col. Samuel McDowell Reid. Wm. McClung's son John, who was a half-brother to Mrs. Samuel Lyle, married a daughter of Archibald Alexander the first, and sister of William Alexander, the father of Dr. Archibald Alexander, and a trustee of Liberty Hall Academy. John McClung had eleven children. One of his sons, Joseph, was a highly respected citizen, who lived to a great age. He was the father of Dr. James McClung, well known in Rockbridge county as a successful physician and an excellent man. Two of the sons and a son-in-law of the latter were alumni of this institution.

Another son of John McClung was Judge William McClung, an alumnus, who removed to Kentucky, where he became highly distinguished, and married the sister of Chief Justice Marshall, and of Dr. Louis Marshall, former president of Washington College. Judge McClung had two sons, one a clergyman and the other a duellist and orator; each of whom was distinguished in his line.

John McClung's daughter Elizabeth married Robert Stuart, son of Major Alexander Stuart and brother of Judge Archibald Stuart.

John McClung's daughter Margaret has left an astonishing reputation for beauty and fascination. It is reported on good authority that as many as forty horses at once were sometimes seen hitched to the fence whilst their riders were paying court to the lady within. She finally accepted Robert Tate, the grandfather of the former trustee Wm. M. Tate.

It is an interesting fact that this John McClung and his brother-in-law James Lyle, who married Hannah Alexander, were the building committee who superintended the erection of the present Timber Ridge Church, whose heavy limestone walls have defied the storms of one hundred and thirty-six years. The contractor for the work was Daniel Lyle, who put up a more enduring structure than did John Lewis who built the first church in Staunton. The question as to the spot to which the Academy was removed from Mt. Pleasant, is settled by Dr. Henry Ruffner, who says in the centennial address he delivered in the Timber Ridge Church in 1856, that Liberty Hall Academy stood there by the side of the Church.

Returning now to the career of Samuel Lyle, I remark that besides an enduring record of personal success, he enlarged and perpetuated his influence in his descendents. He had six children, all of whom became heads of families, most of whom were well known in their day, and are not yet wholly forgotten. Their descendants abound among us; fifteen or twenty of them are recorded on the roll of College students under different names.

Samuel Lyle's eldest son, William, married the daughter of a trustee, Thomas Stuart, a man of wealth, influence and public spirit. William Lyle himself became a trustee, as will be particularly noted in a separate sketch.

The second son, James, who married Miss Margaret Baker of Winchester, was a lawyer by profession. He no doubt attended Augusta Academy, as may be inferred not only from the intelligence, means and educational zeal of his father, but from the education he himself exhibited in many ways. He acted as clerk of the board of trustees for ten years. He was also the first Clerk of the District Court, which met in Staunton, where he resided for some years. In 1793 he qualified as a lawyer in Lexington; but soon

after was cut off by death before reaching middle life. During his residence in Staunton his interest in education may be inferred from the fact that he was a member of the first board of trustees of the Staunton Academy. His only child, Juliet, married Abram Smith, of Rockingham, who married successively the daughters of three county clerks (namely, of Rockbridge, Augusta and Rockingham), one of which ladies was the sister of Col. Reid. All three of these clerical families had relations with the College.

Mary, Samuel's third child, married John Dalhouse, an Augusta farmer, whose daughter, Julia, married Thomas Montgomery, as will be enlarged upon hereafter when sketching John Montgomery.

Samuel Lyle's fourth child, Jane, married Dr. James Ramsey, concerning whom something more is said in the sequel.

The fifth child, Elizabeth, married Michael Graham, brother of Wm. Graham, rector, and of Edward Graham, trustee and professor. Her colloquial eloquence is noted by Dr. Archibald Alexander, in his autobiography, and it was said of her by one who knew her well, that "she was a very talented, literary and pious woman, and a great theologian." Her theological faculty was communicated to her son, Rev. Samuel Lyle Graham, D. D., who after acquiring his literary education at Washington College became a learned professor in Union Theological Seminary; and in time bestowed his two daughters on clergymen. Another of Elizabeth Lyle's sons was Dr. Wm. L. Graham, of Bedford county, who was also an alumnus of this institution. Mr. Claytor, a recent alumnus, is another descendant.

Sally, the sixth and last child of Samuel Lyle, married her cousin Rev. Matthew Lyle, of whom some account has already been given. So much for Samuel Lyle's descendants.

Mr. Lyle himself was a great sufferer from rheumatism, and yet not being wholly disabled he continued to attend to business. He attended meetings of the board at least occasionally up to the time of his death in 1796; and a committee, of which he was a member, met at his house within a very short time of his death, for the purpose of conferring with Alexander McNutt, who proposed to make a large donation of lands in Nova Scotia to the College.¹

¹ See articles published by Wm. A. Glasgow in certain newspapers in 1887.

The exact date of Mr. Lyle's demise is not known. He was present at the committee meeting, at his house, August 22, 1796, and he is not mentioned again. His son William took his seat as a member of the board, October 19, of the same year; hence it seems fair to conclude that the son was chosen to succeed the father, and that the demise of the father occurred in or very near to September, 1796. He was about 70 years of age. He was evidently one of those clear sighted, large hearted, constitutionally busy men, who took no holidays, and was always so interested in what he was doing that he worked incessantly and spontaneously without feeling his work to be a burden. If he could not do one thing he would do another, but it was always something useful. His appropriate life work was all done, and well done. Whatever he undertook in the line of family or fortune, was prospered, not because he was luckier than anybody else, but because he planned wisely, considered every detail, and never slackened his hand until his purpose was accomplished; and the same principles he carried into his public duties. As literature was the passion of his early life, so did he work for its general diffusion, and so far as we are informed the last service of his life was in seeking to promote this cause. Few men of his day were so honored and useful. He died in the harness, leaving an unstained record.

WILLIAM LYLE, TRUSTEE.

William Lyle, son of Samuel, was born about 1752. He grew up at home on Mill Creek, making good use of his educational opportunities, taking part in the operations of the farm, and, no doubt, of the store also: thus being fitted for his subsequent career as both merchant and farmer. John Henry, an old college servant of fine character, told me when I was a boy, that Capt. Wm. Lyle when a young man was famous as a wrestler; in fact, that he never failed to throw his man on the first trial, but that when his antagonist had once discovered how it was done, subsequent results were not so infallible. Were the domestic habits of young men the same then that they have become since, we might conclude that young Lyle's reputation was gained at the Augusta Academy, and so it may have been; but this evidence is not in itself sufficient, inas-

much as in those days athletic sports were common among men generally. George Washington, who never attended school after he was fifteen, was, when a young man, noted for his running, leaping and throwing stones.

William Lyle was, when a grown man, of middle height, thick-set, very active, with a handsome countenance, indicating benevolence and a respectable grade of talent. In his family he was considerate and affectionate. There are interesting traditions illustrating his neighborly kindness, and also his prowess. He contracted the habit of reading, as did all the members of his father's family, and thus, as is ever the case with reading people, he became an interesting member of society.

He was a soldier of the Revolution, but our information on the subject is scanty; from which I infer that his services were not very marked, or very prolonged. There is a tradition that at one time he was on LaFayette's staff, which is not improbable considering the fact that Rockbridge troops were in the command of the French General, but my only certain information is that he was appointed lieutenant in the first company raised in Rockbridge county, in 1775; but we have no proof that it was ever called to the field. He was in the Southern campaign of 1781. He is reported to have been in the battle of Cowpens, and if so, was with Green's army before the arrival of that company of Rockbridge militia which has been criticised for returning home without leave after the battle of Guilford, and yet no doubt they would in a great measure be vindicated if all their reasons were known. When the draft was made the heroic Samuel McDowell objected to it for good reasons. Capt. Lyle was probably already there and held the position in Green's army of adjutant and commissary. In battle he was an active staff officer, and in the battle of Guilford he was peculiarly exposed, having to carry orders between the lines from one end to the other, and thus was able to learn by immediate comparison the difference in the music made by the American and British bullets.

The Rev. Samuel Houston, of Rockbridge county,—then a divinity student,—who became a trustee of Washington College, and father of Rev. Samuel R. Houston, also a trustee, was among the Rockbridge men in the battle of Guilford, and fired his rifle

with deliberate aim fourteen times. The Rockbridge company was on the left flank, and the British attack was made on the centre, which for a time rendered it apparently doubtful whether the Rockbridge men would be called into action. At this juncture Capt. Lyle, who was riding rapidly in front of the line, was hailed by young Houston, who showed the greatest eagerness to take part in the fight, and wanted to know of Capt. Lyle as to the prospect of the battle coming to that part of the line. He was soon gratified, and soon showed that he was fully in earnest in wanting a chance at the enemy.

After the war Capt. Lyle was a magistrate. In the years 1814 and 1815 he held the office of High Sheriff. In 1789 he commanded a militia company. He was always in request on the 4th of July, when the surviving soldiers were dined, wine and eulogized abundantly. I remember one of these occasions, when I, a small boy, was visiting at Oakley, and accompanied my grandfather to Lexington on what was then the truly "Glorious Fourth." It was about the year 1834, when he was over 80 years of age. Scarcely had we dismounted, when a party of gentlemen waited on Capt. Lyle, and invited him to join the squad of Revolutionary soldiers, who were about to enter the procession then forming on Main street. After some hesitation he consented, and presently I saw him marching in the little company of old soldiers—a dozen perhaps, all bent with age—their rear brought up by the gigantic figure of Ailstock, of mixed breed, who marched, ate and drank with the rest. Ailstock's supreme hour was after the barbecue, when, full of the "O be joyful," he stood at the street corner surrounded by a crowd, and discoursed enthusiastically of General Washington, and of all he saw and did during the great war. Ailstock had done good service, and was an interesting character; maugre his constitution of two bloods not often mixed.

Soon after the war Capt. Lyle took possession of his Oakley estate, which was given to him by his father, but enlarged, as there is reason to believe, by purchases from him. On the 29th of July, 1784, he married Julia Ann Stuart, daughter of Thomas Stuart of Stuart's Draft, who, as before stated, was a trustee of Liberty Hall Academy. Mr. Stuart's brother Alexander and his nephew Judge Archibald Stuart were also trustees, and were all sketched by Mr. Grigsby.

About 1786 Capt. Lyle removed to Lexington, and engaged in merchandizing. His residence was on the corner where now stands the Presbyterian church, and his store on the diagonal corner. Here he remained for ten years. In February, 1796, he married his second wife, Elizabeth Lyle of the family of Matthew (her mother an Alexander); and soon thereafter he returned to the country. This is the year he was made trustee of Liberty Hall, then called Washington Academy. It is of record that the trustee board met occasionally at his house in Lexington. For forty years save one, Capt. Lyle did faithful service to the institution. He was present at one hundred and ten meetings of the board, and like his father seems to have been specially useful in matters of business. Two years before his death he formally resigned: thus showing his usual practical wisdom.

It is a melancholy sight to see an old man, or indeed any worthy man, holding on to a place after everybody else sees that he ought to resign. But few men have the grace of resignation; whereas it is needed in a great many cases. It is a rare power to be able to see just when is the right moment to step out of an office. The old are almost sure to hang on too long. A proper amount of appropriate and satisfactory service, is the only equitable claim any man can have on the public position he may hold. And on this point it is far better to be over-sensitive than obtuse.

The trustee board of this College has never suffered more than usual from "dead wood," and it has always had some devoted members, from Samuel Lyle to Judge McLaughlin. And as a body it has always been composed of men of superior ability and the highest standing; men, too, who had usually large interests of their own; and yet they have given their services freely, without fee, or any reward except the satisfaction of serving a great cause. The early trustee had a task much more difficult and discouraging than is required of the trustee in these comparatively hazyon days. Let any one follow the history of that trustee board which carried the Academy through the starving time of the old Revolution, and the decades immediately following it; see their abundant and often disagreeable labors, extending to the smallest minutiae; and he will see how richly these men deserve to be remembered and honored.

But to return to the subject in hand—Capt. Lyle was led to return to the country by two sad occurrences ; namely, the burning of the town, and the death of his father.

The great fire in Lexington occurred in 1796. It commenced on the lot next above the one now occupied by the new Methodist church, where there was a stable which was set on fire in the morning by the pipe of the negro hostler, or, as some say, from fire under a wash kettle. The stable was well filled with hay, and a high westerly wind was blowing. The blaze was seen when it was quite small, but the wind in a moment fanned it into a roaring flame, and carried a storm of sparks toward the body of the town. All the houses, on both sides of Main street, were burned, down to and including the Court House square,—which area included the best built part of the town, the town not having been laid off on so extensive a scale as that on which modern towns are projected. The original plat of Lexington was 1300 feet long and 900 feet wide.

Capt. Lyle's buildings were all destroyed. He was absent at the time on one of his trips to Philadelphia. Before starting he said to his family what he had never said before—"If a fire occurs in my absence, save my account books." When the cry of fire was heard, his wife ran across the street to the counting room, and saved his books. Persons came in to help, and made rather more than the usual number of ridiculous blunders in trying to save property ; but whilst the building was burning a slender young lady darted into the front door of the store, unrolled a web of carpeting between the counters, piled broad cloths, silks, and laces upon it, and bringing the ends of the carpet together dragged the pile out to the middle of the street, and saved it. In her noble zeal she performed a feat worthy the prowess of a powerful man. I have forgotten her name, but her residence was on the corner nearly opposite to the Baptist church.

In a short time Capt. Lyle returned, with his family, to the paternal home, where he remained with his mother until he built the Oakley mansion, a comfortable brick house in what was then a grove of oaks, four miles north-east of Lexington. Here he took up his residence permanently, and lived the life of a farmer in easy circumstances. The dwelling and part of the land are now owned by the Sterrett family.

During his sojourn at the old homestead a remarkable instance of acuteness of hearing occurred in connection with the death of General Washington. Capt. Lyle had a servant girl named Phillis, who all her life heard sounds inaudible to other people. On this occasion Phillis was in the yard and her master in the porch. Suddenly she called out, "Master! General Washington is dead! I heard a man tell Mr. Trevy." A messenger was sent, who learned that a passing wagoner had called out to Mr. Trevy this news. The space between the wagoner and the girl was about one mile. Dr. Alexander tells us that the clarion voice of "Silver-fist" Lacy could be heard a mile, but it is not reported that any one ever heard his language at that distance.

On a subsequent occasion the auditory sensitiveness of Phillis created some excitement. She and others heard a party of horsemen passing by the Oakley mansion at a very late hour of the night, along the private road. The next day it was reported that a grave had been robbed in Timber Ridge graveyard. Such desecration had never occurred before, and the ire of the church people kindled at once. The family at Oakley at once suspected that the mysterious cavalcade through the farm was the procession of the ghouls. Nobody had seen them and not a word had been spoken, but as usual, Phillis's ears were wide open, and she heard enough to satisfy her that they rode new saddles; she knew the difference between the "crying" of old and new leather. This remark was carried to Lexington, and led to the identification of the party. This was about 1824. The rest may be inferred. Nobody was hurt. The common sense of mankind is forgiving toward science.

Captain Lyle's father had avoided the error of most of the early settlers, who regarded the Timber Ridge lands the best in the country, because the ridge was well timbered, whilst other lands were covered with "brush." In fact the brush lands were the best, and had been burnt off by the Indians for the sake of the fine pasturage that afterward came up. "Old Uncle Tommy Walker" told me that Borden had offered to sell the narrow bottoms along Hays Creek for what was equal to fifty cents an acre, provided the purchaser would take for nothing two acres of hill land for every acre of bottom, in order to relieve him of the royal tax on lands that he considered worthless. These rejected hill lands were among the best in

the Valley of Virginia. Borden insisted that John McDowell should locate on Hays Creek the thousand acres he was to get for surveying Borden's Grant ; but McDowell would not go to the " Barrens," as these fine lands were called, and brought suit for the tract on Timber Ridge, which finally he got, much to the chagrin of the great proprietor, who wanted that particular tract for his own use. Samuel Lyle fixed upon Mill Creek, and especially the West side, and he could scarcely have done better. The Oakley tract included a large body of this good Trenton Limestone soil. Its chief glory in its best days was the watered meadow of more than a mile in length. Both meadow and farm have since been so cut up by sales, divisions, and change of roads as to be no longer recognizable.

Capt. Lyle, according to the fashion of the day, had a house full of children ; but in number they reached only the moderate figure of twelve ; six of whom were sons and six daughters. Two of the children died in early life. Of his five sons who grew to manhood, four were educated at Washington College ; the fifth received an injury which affected his mind. His five daughters received the best education that the country afforded ; chiefly at Ann Smith Academy.

Samuel W. Lyle, the eldest son of Capt. William, married Margaret Alexander, a descendant of the first Archibald on one side, and on the other, of Duncan Campbell, a highly intelligent Scotchman, who was a brother of Alexander Campbell, the trustee, who has been mentioned. Mr. Samuel W. Lyle was an independent farmer, with mills and watered meadows ; a man who always paid when he promised ; an elder who was as devoted to Timber Ridge church as his father and grandfather had been ; a man of overflowing wit and sound sense. He dwelt for eighty years on the hills of Mill Creek, cheerful and contented with his best of wives, whom he playfully called " Blossom," and a goodly number of children. He sent two of his sons to Washington College ; one of whom is Duncan Campbell Lyle, M. A. of Washington and Lee, afterward a student at the universities of Berlin and Göttingen, now the well known principal of the McDonogh School.

Capt. Lyle's second son was James Gamble, who, after finishing his education at College, studied law, and practised successfully at Wetumpka, Alabama. He was a good lawyer and an excellent man. His wife was Elvira McClung, whose mother was a sister of Dr.

Archibald Alexander, and whose father was Capt. Henry McClung, a captain in the war of 1812, and a trustee of Washington College.

The third son, William A., a strikingly handsome and graceful young man, died in Staunton at twenty-six, just as he had begun the practice of law. He studied law at the College of William and Mary.

John Blair, the fourth son, who, like his brother William, did not marry, lived in Lexington, and had an automatic bookstore, that is to say, one that was left often to itself with a request lying on the counter to the effect that if any one wanted any thing in the store he could take it, provided he would make the proper entry on the slate! John was too fond of society, too jovial, too philanthropic to care much for money, or to be an attentive business man. It made him happier to give than to make; and the size of his gifts was measured by his feelings, rather than by his ability. Under a warm appeal for an ordinary object I have known him to plunge his hand into his pantaloons pocket, which was his money drawer, and bring out the hand as full as it could hold of silver change, and drop it into the collection basket. He died about the time he got to the bottom of his pocket. But whilst his chief book account was that of profit and loss, his moral record was rich in heavenly words and noble deeds. No church was ever blessed with a better elder. Few richer voices ever led the music in the sanctuary. No better friend ever watched over the weak and the erring. He was indifferent to money because of his greater regard for the salvation of men. He and Col. John T. L. Preston were life-long friends, and when he died Col. Preston requested that he might be laid in his cemetery lot, and on his tombstone he inscribed the rare tribute—"He was the bravest man, the truest friend and the best Christian ever known to him who has erected this stone to his memory."

Capt. Lyle's daughters also bore close relations to the College. They were intelligent, beautiful and attractive, and for many years Oakley was thronged with visitors. Nearly all the daughters in marrying strengthened their ties to Washington College. The eldest daughter, Elizabeth, married Major John Alexander, who was a trustee; and her only son, William Lyle Alexander, was educated at Washington College, and still lives a cheerful octo-

genarian near Clifton Forge, where for many years the roar of his water-blast furnace and the thunder of his great tilt-hammers reverberated in that wild gorge and among those wonderful arches of Medina Sandstone.

The next daughter, Sarah Montgomery, was in her youth a distinguished pupil of that gifted and popular lady, Miss Ann Smith, the founder of Ann Smith Academy. When, about 1810, the present academy building was to be erected, Miss Smith laid the first brick in the foundation, Miss Sarah Lyle the second, and Miss Betsy Reid the third. This last mentioned lady was the sister of Col. Samuel McDowell Reid, the well known trustee and treasurer of the College, and became the second wife of Major John Alexander. She contributed two sons to the catalogue, one of whom, John McDowell Alexander, became a trustee. Sarah Lyle, or Sally, as she was generally called, married Henry Ruffner about the time he took the chair of languages, in 1819, and died in 1849, seven months after Dr. Ruffner had resigned the presidency, so that her whole married life was spent in the closest association with the College. It is not for me to speak of the rare gifts and graces of this remarkable lady, who was the presiding genius in a wide circle of cultivated people.

Her two sons, William Henry and David Lewis, both were graduated at College, and, as heretofore mentioned, two of her granddaughters married alumni, and a grandson was a student.

Capt. Lyle's third daughter, Julia, married John B. Hart, of Albemarle county, an "old Virginia gentleman" in the best sense, whose acquaintance she made whilst he was a student at Washington College, showing that some of the young ladies of Lexington of a *former* generation had a way of capturing students.

Capt. Lyle's fourth daughter, Martha Alexander, or Patsy, as she was usually called, whose precious memory is fresh in the old homes of Lexington, reached the very focus of College relationship when in her young womanhood she married Dr. Archibald Graham, who was not only one of the brightest men of his day, but was more variously connected with the College than almost any other person. He was himself an alumnus, as was his brother, Dr. William Alexander Graham, the inventor of the carbon dioxide fire extinguisher, and the hero of Judith Bensaddi, and also his

brother Edward, who died whilst he was a theological student. These three were sons of Professor Edward Graham, who was trustee as well as professor, and brother of the rector, William Graham, and who married Margaret Alexander, who belonged to the centre of the "Alexander clan." Dr. Graham and Patsy Lyle sent four sons and three grandsons to College. The sons whose names are found in the Catalogue are: 1. William Lyle, who was a captain in the Confederate service. 2. Edward Lacy, M. D., who was a popular and skilful physician in Lexington, whose two sons Samuel Jordan, of Florence, Ala., and Edward Lacy, a merchant of Lexington, both now prosperously engaged in business, are also on the roll of the College. 3. John Alexander, M. D., who is still attending to his large and select practice in Lexington. His first wife was a daughter of Wm. M. Tate, a descendant of Wm. McClung, and a man of fine intelligence, who was both trustee and alumnus of the College. His second wife is a daughter of the deeply lamented Professor John L. Kirkpatrick, D. D., who was a Nestor in wisdom and excellence, though he sometimes wielded the satiric thong of Juvenal. He was one of the Alexander clan by marriage. 4. James McDowell, a lawyer of poetic genius, who died young. The fifth son, Archibald, is not on the College catalogue, but is on another roll of honor as captain of the Rockbridge Battery of artillery. He married a descendant of Rev. Dr. McElhenny, the Apostle of West Virginia, who received his A. B. and his D. D. from Washington College, and who sent many a student here from his Lewisburg Academy. Dr. Archibald Graham's eldest child, Margaret, married Samuel C. Robinson, of Richmond, a man of extraordinary genius, and sent her son Archibald Graham here to be educated.

Capt. Lyle's fifth and youngest daughter, Elizabeth Hannah, postponed matrimony until after the death of her father, when she became the second wife of Rev. B. M. Hobson, whose first wife had been the daughter of Rev. Matthew Lyle.

Thus ends the list of Capt. Lyle's children, who in their influence, their marriages and their descendants exhibited their inherited identification with the College, and furnish a striking illustration of how blood and affinity may operate in establishing and permanently sustaining a literary institution.

Before concluding, it may be worth while to mention two or three more circumstances in the life of Capt. Wm. Lyle. Though always pure and upright in life, he declined to connect himself with the church during the earlier period of his manhood, because his habit of using ardent spirits, according to the custom of the times, was not perfectly under his control ; but as his boys grew up he was seized with such a dread lest they should acquire the drinking habit from his example, that he banished the decanter from the sideboard, and entered upon a course of total abstinence, which he rigorously maintained through life. Soon afterwards he made a profession of religion, and, like his father and his son, became an elder in old Timber Ridge church.

An almost incredible lapse of memory once occurred with Capt. Lyle, and, so far as we know, with all the members of his large establishment. The arrival of the Sabbath was unnoticed, and all the operations of the farm and house went on as usual until sometime in the afternoon, when a passing neighbor reminded the family that this was the Lord's Day. Of course work was immediately suspended, and all hands were mustered to receive the explanation, and also the order to observe the next day, Monday, as a Sabbath ; which was strictly attended to.

Capt. Lyle's appearance in his old age was singularly venerable. His countenance was refined and beautiful ; white, silken hair adorned his shapely, well-poised head ; a kindly light shone from his blue eyes ; and only gentle words in gentle tones came from his lips. He and his quiet, fitting companion spent their latter days together chiefly at the hearthstone—he with his newspapers, she with her knitting or her little flax wheel ; but until near the last, he never gave up his habit of daily, or twice a day, mounting his blooded gray filly, so gentle with him, so fiery with me ; of going on Sunday to the old church, even when his deafness prevented him from hearing a word of the service ; and of riding to Lexington to get the mail and see his daughters, calling at Major Alexander's by the way. Often he had to be lifted from his horse ; and when in the field I have seen his negro men lift him from his saddle, and bring him home in a farm wagon. He died at about 86 years of age, and was buried at the old church. He had served his God and

his generation as faithfully, and left a name as unsullied, as his father had done.

The general characteristics of the Rockbridge Lyles belonging to past generations were of the best, and yet not strikingly salient. They were social and gentle in spirit, and yet courageous in maintaining their convictions. They possessed clear judgment, ready wit, and the gift of speech, without usually being either profound or brilliant. Intelligent, and some of them scholarly, they were inclined to the quiet pursuits of agriculture and the learned professions, rather than to trade or to public office. They were decided Whigs and active citizens without ever having produced a politician. That they were promoters of education and religion need scarcely be remarked. They were undeviating Presbyterians, yet neither uncharitable nor controversial. They were always ready to take part in good works, but were without vanity or ambition. In short they belonged to that class of good, substantial, intelligent, conservative people, who are the main dependence of every community for the support of all its most important interests.

DR. JAMES RAMSEY, TRUSTEE.

James Ramsey, who served on the board of trustees for twenty-two years, was the son of William Ramsey, a large landholder of Rockbridge county. The father did a good service to the church by liberally aiding a Scotch youth, Archibald Scott, to obtain an education, and thus projecting four generations of ministers.

Dr. James Ramsey was a well educated man. Probably he commenced his classical education at Liberty Hall Academy, his father's residence being only about four miles from the school; but the war troubles had begun to produce effects which soon afterward disorganized the school for a time, and this may have caused his father to send James to William and Mary College. All that we know on this point is that in 1777 the name James Ramsey appears on the roll of that College. Dr. Ramsey was a man of force, and is said to have been a good physician. He was certainly a man of substance. Like his father he was a large landholder. Among other tracts he at one time owned the Green Forest estate, which is now a part of the city of Buena Vista; but the permanent home of his family was

on the Big Calf Pasture River, his lands being on both sides of the line between Rockbridge and Augusta—a large tract, which has been subdivided, but is still chiefly if not wholly owned by his descendants.

Dr. Ramsey married Jane Lyle, daughter of the first Samuel, February 16, 1786, at the same time and place with the marriage of Michael Graham to Elizabeth Lyle, the sister. Two of Dr. Ramsey's children and one of his grandchildren married into the well-known Gamble family of Augusta county. Robert Gamble, the American head of this family, had two grandsons who were closely connected with Washington College. One of these was Col. Robert Gamble, who, although a captain, commanded a Virginia regiment at Stony Point, and served to the end of the war, chiefly in the main army under Washington. After the war he and his brother-in-law Robert Grattan engaged in mercantile business in Staunton until 1793, when he removed to Richmond; where he became a wealthy merchant and a highly influential citizen. His residence was on the beautiful hill which bears his name. Col. Gamble was unusually well educated at Liberty Hall Academy; and it was to his hospitable home that William Graham went when he reached Richmond at the end of his last ill-fated journey and there gave up his strong and noble life. One of Col. Gamble's daughters married that distinguished and charming gentleman Judge Wm. H. Cabell, of the Court of Appeals, whose sister was the mother of Miss Sally Hare of Nelson county who became the wife of Col. Samuel McDowell Reid, and the mother of Mrs. Prof. James J. White and Mrs. Col. J. D. H. Ross; and who was a lady of rare grace and loveliness. Col. Gamble's two sons both went to Florida, and his grandsons Dr. Cary Breckenridge Gamble and Wm. Cabell Gamble were both alumni of this institution.

Col. Gamble's brother John married a sister of the eminent Rev. Wm. McPheeters, D. D., who was an alumnus and also a trustee of this institution, and progenitor of distinguished men. Two of Dr. McPheeters' grandsons are in the Catalogue. John Gamble's son, Rev. James Gamble, whom Green speaks of as "an able Presbyterian divine," was educated at Washington College, and married the daughter of Dr. James Ramsey and Jane Lyle. They removed to Georgia, where their daughter married Rev. Alexander B. McCorkle, who was originally a Rockbridge man belonging to an excellent

family of substantial Scotch-Irish farmers, and was educated at Washington College; two of his sons, namely, Alexander G. McCorkle and Wm. P. McCorkle, were educated here, and the latter took the "Gazette Medal" in 1875. Two other descendants of Dr. Ramsey married Gambles, but bore no special relation to the College. Three of Dr. Ramsey's grandsons were killed in battle. Two daughters and one granddaughter married Presbyterian ministers. His posterity are numerous, and are scattered from Pennsylvania to Texas, though a goodly number of them remain on their ancestral lands.

REV. JOHN MONTGOMERY, TRUSTEE.

John Montgomery, student, tutor, and trustee of Washington College, including the antecedent schools, belonged to an Augusta family, and in all probability was the son of the John Montgomery whose name is signed to the call to Rev. John Brown and is on the New Providence subscription for 1754. This relationship seems to be plainly implied in the letter from Rev. Samuel Houston, given by Foote. The family residence was then near to Old Providence church, which, as heretofore remarked, is on Timber Ridge, a short distance from the county line, but on the Augusta side. Here the grammar school was first revived after Robert Alexander's failing health compelled him to give it up. Old Providence church is only one mile from the spot where Alexander's school was kept. John Montgomery the father, and his brother-in-law Houston, were among the founders of this Old Providence school. Here John Montgomery, the subject of this sketch, commenced his classical education. Thence he went to Princeton College, and enjoyed the great privilege of studying under Dr. John Witherspoon. When he became a candidate for the ministry in 1777, Mr. Graham introduced him to Hanover Presbytery as "a young gentleman of the county of Augusta, who had finished his education at the college of New Jersey, in 1775." It was in October, 1775, that he was appointed by the Presbytery as Mr. Graham's assistant at Mount Pleasant. He there taught until the academy was removed to Timber Ridge church, in 1777, at which time he accompanied Mr. Graham to the church, and here continued to teach until his licensure

to preach the Gospel, in 1778, after which he devoted himself to the duties of his sacred calling. Mr. Montgomery was among the best scholars of his day, a good teacher, and personally popular.

His first settlement as a preacher was over a group of three churches in Frederick county, namely, Winchester, Opequon, and Cedar Creek—a most historic region from the days of the Indians to our own day. Here he continued until 1789; when, much to the regret of his congregations, he came to the western part of Augusta county, where he settled for life on his “inherited lands,” near Deerfield, on the Big Calf Pasture river, some ten miles above the lands of Dr. Ramsey. The congregations of Lebanon and Rocky Spring constituted his pastoral charge. Dr. Foote says of him: “He was a very popular preacher, a good scholar, an esteemed relative and an amiable man.”

Mr. Montgomery married Agnes Hughart, and became the father of eleven children, which was about the canonical number. The most of these with their posterity bore relations more or less intimate to the College.

His daughter, Miss Hetty Montgomery, was Prof. A. L. Nelson's first teacher. She was a most attractive lady, and somewhat late in life became the wife of Rev. James C. Wilson, pastor of Tinkling Spring church, and an alumnus of Washington College.

John Montgomery, son of Rev. John, married Elizabeth Nelson, an aunt of Prof. Nelson, and became the mother of seven children, five of them sons. Two of these sons went into business in Richmond, Va., and the other three in Lewisburg, West Va., where they were honored and influential citizens. One of them, James, was the father of Col. Wm. G. Montgomery, an alumnus of Washington and Lee University, who and a brother are now important citizens of Birmingham, Ala.

Thomas, another son of Rev. John Montgomery, lived near the old home, where he had his farm and his mill, but seemed to prefer his violin to either. Prof. Nelson, when a boy coming from school, once found him sitting on a log in the woods, alone, half a mile from his house, playing the violin “for dear life,” and he continued to play for some time for little Aleck's amusement and his own. This happy musician, though not regularly intemperate, did not despise an occasional inspiration from the honest still of some

worthy Scotch-Irish brother—the nascent anti-alcohol reformation not having yet taken firm hold of the people of the Pastures. Thomas loved Julia Dalhouse, the granddaughter of the first Samuel Lyle, and they entered upon a long and happy wedded life; and reared an admirable family of children. Their sons, William and Edwin, were agreeable and popular Christian gentlemen, and inherited their father's musical talent, though they employed it differently. They performed the beautiful service of leading the church music for years at Rocky Spring church, standing behind a desk in front of the pulpit, and facing the congregation; William singing the air, and Edwin the base. Prof. Nelson's two uncles, William and James Guy, had preceded them in the same office, and on great occasions all four would sing together. No lady was ever admitted to that choir! William, one of the two brothers, was the father of Eugene Irvine Montgomery, who was a student, and took the Young Prize Scholarship, at Washington and Lee University in 1876; and it may be added, was the father also of a daughter, Agnes Hetty, who inherited the musical talent of the Montgomerys, and who is now the wife of Mr. David B. Taylor, a prosperous Baltimore merchant and one of the directors of the Lexington Development Company.

Thomas Montgomery's daughter Mary Jane married Robert J. Glendy, the great cattle dealer, who lives at the former home of Gen. Blackburn, the Wilderness, a beautiful spot hid away among the mountains near the border of Bath and Augusta. Their son Thomas H. Glendy was a student at this University. This family of Glendys is the same as that of the eloquent preacher, Rev. John Glendy, who was invited from Staunton to Washington City by Thomas Jefferson, and became the chaplain in turn of both houses of Congress.

Two sons of Rev. John Montgomery, William and Hughart, became physicians; the one lived in Lexington, and the other partly in Deerfield and partly in Lexington. They were both educated at Washington College; both were men of fine talents, and of the highest standing as physicians; though neither was as temperate as might have been expected. Dr. Hughart Montgomery had the musical taste characteristic of the family, but he was not so fond of singing Watts' Psalms as he was of singing the odes of Horace in the original. He amused himself by teaching young Nelson to sing some

of these odes. At that time the future mathematical professor knew not a word of Latin, but afterwards he was pleasantly surprised to find these old songs in Horace. Might it not have been this association with the Montgomerys that awoke in young Nelson that musical talent and tendency which led him into his long career of usefulness as choir-leader, which will go down in the records of history along with his fame as a mathematical professor!

Dr. Hughart Montgomery, in conjunction with Dr. Wm. A. Caruthers, established a drug store in Lexington; but afterward united with his brother-in-law Eugene Irvine in building and operating Estelline furnace—so named for his beautiful sister. But they failed, like nearly all the old iron masters, because they were so far from market, and had to depend for transportation on bad wagon roads, and small boating streams on whose banks would often accumulate the product of many months of smelting and forging, awaiting a freshet.

I have known many of the Montgomerys, and heard them much talked of in my early days; which long since fixed in my mind that they were uncommonly good people, and their goodness was of the lovely kind. There was that indescribable something about the family that made people love them and trust them. The name, too, has a historic ring in it, and very likely these Montgomerys had the right to emblazon their stationery with ensigns armorial. I know not whether this be certainly true, but I do know that in the higher heraldry of worth their sweetness and virtue entitle them to a nobler rank than their unobtrusive modesty would ever permit them to claim.

THE VALLEY OF NORTH RIVER IN ITS HISTORICAL RELATIONS.

The Big Calf Pasture river has been mentioned as flowing through the lands of John Montgomery and James Ramsey. This and its twin stream, the Little Calf Pasture, form the North river, or north branch of the James, which flows diagonally across Rockbridge from north to south, and with its tributaries drains a region full of interest, historic and physiographic, which should long ago have stirred the pen of the historian and the muse of the poet.

The Big Calf Pasture, the main stem, heads in Augusta, on the water-shed which divides the waters flowing toward the James from those flowing toward the Shenandoah. Thence it flows southward into Rockbridge through a pastoral region, bordered by meadow flats between mountain ridges, passing the well named Goshen, below which it receives its bucolic congener, the Little Calf Pasture, and with their united waters, now called North river, enters the long, rugged and tortuous defile, walled with lofty cliffs of Medina sandstone, adorned with azalea, kalmia, rhododendron, and many a curious shrub, vine and stunted tree,—the defile once called Strickler's Gap, now known as Goshen Pass; which so charmed Commodore Maury that he expressed the hope that when his time came to go the way of all flesh his body might be carried through Goshen Pass when the laurels were in bloom. After miles of rushing and roaring the river emerges from the mountain, through the gap between Jump Mountain and the Hog Back, into the Great Valley, at a point now called Wilson's Springs, where a delightful sulphur spring rises in a small island in the river bed. This spring was deeded to the public forever by our trustee Andrew Alexander, whose name ought never to have been supplanted by any other, however worthy. Hurrying out into the valley, the river in two miles passes the Rockbridge Baths, where comes in from the northeast Hays creek, in whose valley stands New Providence church and many old homes which were once inhabited by early friends of Washington College. Farther on comes in, from the west, Kerr's creek with its thrilling history; and soon after we reach the flower-decked and cedar-fringed cliffs, the green hills and the matchless scenery of Lexington. But we cannot stop now at this, the centre of all, and can only add that here the river receives Woods creek from the south and Mill creek from the north, the latter heading near the historic Timber Ridge church. On goes the river, winding among its blue limestone cliffs and fertile slopes, washing the border of lands once owned by strong men, and along its whole course propelling mills and factories. At five miles below Lexington it receives the apparently misnamed South river, which comes from the northeast, flowing rapidly down between Timber Ridge and the Blue Ridge mountains. In three miles more it passes the magic Buena Vista, which stands on two farms once owned by

College trustees, namely, Green Forest, which has already been mentioned as once the property of Dr. Ramsey, and Hart's Bottom, once the possession of that appreciative Irish bachelor, John Robinson, who set an example which should have been more frequently followed in giving every thing he had to the College. All honor to the memory of John Robinson! In ten miles more the river, swelled in its volume by the influx of Buffalo creek, in whose basin stands Falling Spring church, one of the first three erected in Borden's Grant, finally reaches the beautiful mountain-framed site of Glasgow, and there joins the main James just before it enters the wild gorge of the Blue Ridge, and dashes its waters over the quartzite ribs of Balcony Falls.

APPLICATION AND CONCLUDING REMARKS.

Here, in this North River basin, whilst it was yet crossed by Indian trails, settled a large section of that column of Scotch immigrants from the North of Ireland who came to this region in the first half of the eighteenth century. In the middle of the area, and lying wholly in this basin, was Borden's Grant, which measured out 92,000 acres. The Pastures on the northwest, and the South River valley on the southeast, and so much of the immediate valley of North River as lies below the mouth of South River, were outside of Borden's Grant; but these outside sections were settled soon after the first occupation of the country. The settlers were a highly civilized people, devoted alike to education and religion, and craving civil and religious liberty. Industrious and thrifty, schooled in danger and hardship, resolute and unconquerable, they came to this wilderness not as scouts, gold-hunters or cow-boys, but as a well-ordered community, bringing their wives and children, and establishing the cardinal institutions of Christian civilization along with their pioneer homes. They belonged to the race of people who even then had in full operation in Scotland the first and only system of universal education in Europe. They believed in a free Bible and in the ability to read it, in the right of private judgment, in liberty of worship, and in the supremacy of the people over the government. They hated tyranny in every form, and distinctly held the doctrine avowed by John Knox to Mary Queen

of Scots, that if rulers transcended their bounds they were to be resisted by force. Still, they were not turbulent: they loved best to pursue the arts of peace, and they were devoted to family life.

When these people came to the mountains of Virginia, liberty of worship was sorely interrupted in the Eastern part of the State, but the Scotch-Irish preserved their freedom from the first. Though ever ready to discharge their full duty to the government, their course was a silent protest against oppression of every kind. More than a century previously they had removed from Scotland to the North of Ireland to dwell as strangers among a wild and hostile people, but hopeful, because they carried the royal pledge of freedom, which was perfidiously broken. As soon as the way opened, large numbers of them left the country cursed with a landed oligarchy, the domination of one church over other churches, and test oaths in religion. They preferred to try new dangers and hardships, but with a better prospect for an independent career. They fought the Indians and the French, but the enemy from which they had suffered most in the past, and from which they had most to fear in the future, was the government of Great Britain! Hence when the great controversy came with the mother country, the very first to utter the word independence were the Scotch-Irish; and after civil freedom had been won, the first voice lifted for the freedom of religion was from the Scotch-Irish; and be it noted that the Scotch-Irish of Augusta, Rockbridge, and Botetourt counties were not a whit behind their fellow countrymen in North Carolina.

In the early years of the settlement of this region great difficulty was experienced in getting both preachers and school-teachers. The first school on the ground of what is now Lexington was taught in a small log building erected for the purpose near the spot where now stands the railroad depot. It was opened in 1776, the same year that the log college was going up on Timber Ridge. This little seminary of learning was taught by John Reardon, a classically educated young Irishman, who had been transported for crime, sold in Baltimore to pay for his passage, and bought by William Alexander. The young man had a large school, including some well grown boys. Previously the neighborhood school was beyond the river, near the site of East Lexington; and others on Timber

Ridge. When there was no school near enough to be attended from home, children were sometimes sent to be boarded in the neighborhood of a school.

Upper schools were established in all the Scotch-Irish settlements, from which grew colleges at an early period in Pennsylvania, North Carolina, and Tennessee, as well as in Virginia. The germ of Washington and Lee University was planted on the watershed heretofore mentioned, and from the time it was removed to the neighborhood of New Providence until now, its domestic history has belonged to the basin of North River.

Looking only at the present one could not understand how strong was once the rural population of this region. It has gone through three stages, and is now entering upon a fourth. First was the pioneer period, in which there was abundance of land and food, but a scarcity of the means and appliances of an advanced civilization. It was an economical, hard-working, homespun period; in which, next to the daily and pressing necessities of self-preservation, the people were most concerned to lay the foundations of religion, education, and civil liberty. This covered the period of Indian raids, of pre-Revolutionary wars, and of the great contest with England; and lasted say to the year 1800.

The second period extended to 1861. At its opening the proportion of even moderately wealthy men was very small, and, owing to wars, dangers and hardships of many kinds, the general progress had been slow. But now with peace, safety and liberty, the country entered upon a career of prosperity. Excepting the small collection of well-to-do people always to be found about the court house, the substantial, educated, prosperous people were in the country. Slaves were introduced in increasing numbers, and whilst food and clothing were cheap, they added greatly to the wealth of the landholders; but, as has always been the case, slavery relaxed the energies of the ruling classes; and with more abundant means, better houses were built, a more elaborate style of living was introduced, and more time given to social life.

Prosperity gradually came to schools and colleges. Secondary schools were multiplied. A better class of female schools came into being. Increased attention was given to the general education of the people. Liberty Hall became Washington College, and her

previous poverty was exchanged for ease and independence; the faculty was enlarged, the course of study improved, the grade of scholarship elevated, and the number of students quadrupled.

The third period is the one since the war. It has been a strange mixture of adversity and prosperity. The evolution of the College is familiar to all. As with the old Revolution so with the war of 1861-5, the adversity which threatened death led to a new and stronger life. But the people have had a hard time. The loss of men, the loss of property, the growth of old debts, the acquired habits of free living, and the loss of former habits of labor, seemed to bring almost universal ruin. The class of "country gentlemen" was broken down almost entirely. If their lands were not sold for debt, the owners had generally to come down to hard work and plain living. In many cases families moved away from their lands and rented them out. Owing partly to the war, but more to costly living, the most of the wealthy country families of half a century ago have come down to poverty, their lands sold, and their children scattered. This great change is very sad to those who remember the former times, and also very unfortunate in its public aspects.

But there are many redeeming and most encouraging features in the present situation. The advantages of free labor are very great, and will show themselves more and more. The homely habits and unconquerable industry of our present rural population are not only worthy of all praise, but will gradually restore prosperity and intelligence. Soon they will be able to patronize the colleges more liberally. Education has enlarged its patronage ground, and diversified its forms; and out of this will grow diversified occupations, liberality of spirit, immigration, towns and cities, varied manufactures, improved agriculture, art, science, and every branch of intellectual and social culture. And in connection with all this will be developed an increasing demand for the highest attainments in every branch of university instruction. Happy the institution that already stands upon so broad and firm a base as Washington and Lee University!



GEORGE A. BAXTER, D. D.

WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY

LEXINGTON, VIRGINIA

HISTORICAL PAPERS

No. 4.—1893

1. CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE, EMBRACING THE ADMINISTRATION OF REV. GEORGE A. BAXTER, D. D., PRESIDENT, 1799-1829, WITH SKETCHES OF ALUMNI OF THAT PERIOD. BY WILLIAM HENRY RUFFNER, LL. D.
 2. SKETCHES OF TRUSTEES, CONTINUED.
-

BALTIMORE:
JOHN MURPHY & CO.

1893.

PREFACE.

We now present the continuation of the History of Washington College, by William Henry Ruffner, LL. D. This embraces the period of Dr. Baxter's administration from 1799 to 1829, with sketches of many of the Alumni who were educated under him. It will be read with absorbing interest by the friends of the University, who owe Dr. Ruffner a debt of gratitude for his labor of love. This history will be continued in the next number.

We also continue sketches of the Trustees. In the preparation of them we have been aided by Rev. William Brown, D. D., of Florida; Rev. William M. McPheeters, D. D., of Columbia, South Carolina; Mark L. Spotts, Esq., of Lewisburg, West Virginia; E. McK. McCue, Esq., of Fort Defiance; Joseph A. Waddell, LL. D., and Thomas D. Ranson, Esq., of Staunton; James T. Bowyer, Esq., of Fincastle; Mr. John W. Stephenson, Warm Springs; Dr. John B. Taylor, of Montgomery county, Virginia, and Miss Mary Davidson of Lexington. These sketches will be continued in future numbers.

WILLIAM McLAUGHLIN,
WILLIAM A. GLASGOW,
HENRY ALEXANDER WHITE,
Committee.

WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY,
February, 1893.

CONTENTS.

HISTORY OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY: A CONTINUATION OF THE "EARLY HISTORY
OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE, BY HENRY RUFFNER, D. D., LL. D." BY
WILLIAM HENRY RUFFNER, LL. D.

| | |
|--------------|---|
| Preface..... | 3 |
|--------------|---|

Chapter I.—Dr. Baxter's Administration—decade 1779-1809.

| | |
|---|----|
| The Change of Faculty..... | 5 |
| The Old Site of Washington Academy..... | 5 |
| The New Site..... | 7 |
| The New Buildings..... | 8 |
| Board of Trustees, and its Action..... | 9 |
| Officers of the Board..... | 11 |
| The Water Supply..... | 12 |
| On the Death of Washington..... | 14 |
| Honors to William Graham..... | 14 |
| Library and Apparatus..... | 16 |
| The Faculty: | |
| Dr. Baxter and Mr. Blain..... | 17 |
| Joseph D. Logan..... | 21 |
| William L. Turner..... | 22 |
| Jahab Graham..... | 24 |
| Proposed Law School..... | 24 |
| Salaries of Instructors..... | 24 |
| The Students..... | 25 |
| The Studies..... | 27 |
| Degrees Conferred..... | 30 |
| The Living Arrangements..... | 30 |
| College Laws and Penalties..... | 33 |

Chapter II.—Second Decade of Dr. Baxter's Administration— 1809-19.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|----|
| Board of Trustees, New Members..... | 35 |
| Numerous Orders..... | 36 |

| | PAGE |
|---|------|
| Andrew Reid and Mulberry Hill..... | 37 |
| Washington Academy becomes Washington College..... | 38 |
| Creation of the University of Virginia..... | 39 |
| Some Educational Devices..... | 41 |
| The Faculty, and tutors Lewis and Henry Ruffner..... | 42 |
| Teaching of French—Hyacinth Crusolles..... | 42 |
| A Third Professor, Edward Graham..... | 43 |
| Death of Professor Blain..... | 44 |
| Sketch of Rev. Daniel Blain..... | 44 |
| Rev. Matthew Lyle appointed Successor..... | 47 |
| Rev. Andrew Heron appointed..... | 47 |
| Sketch of Rev. Andrew Heron, D. D..... | 48 |
| More Trouble in filling the Chair of Languages..... | 51 |
| Col. Augustine C. Smith..... | 51 |
| Henry Ruffner appointed Professor of Languages..... | 52 |
| Effort to rescind the Appointment..... | 52 |
| Salaries | 54 |
| Students | 55 |
| Degrees | 56 |
| Books and Apparatus..... | 56 |
| The Literary Societies | 57 |
| Hon. Wm. C. Preston's Visit..... | 57 |
| Chapter III.—Third Decade of Dr. Baxter's Administration, 1820–29. | |
| New Trustees..... | 62 |
| The James River Company—its History..... | 63 |
| Important Changes in the Stock | 63 |
| The Society of the Cincinnati—its History..... | 66 |
| John Robinson and his Benefactions | 79 |
| Extracts from his Will..... | 86 |
| Subsequent History of the Robinson Estate..... | 90 |
| The Centre Building | 91 |
| The Faculty, and tutors Miller, Campbell, and Seabrook..... | 95 |
| Notice of William G. Campbell | 95 |
| Studies—the old course and the new..... | 96 |
| Saturday and Sunday Lessons..... | 99 |
| Disorder among the Students..... | 99 |
| Gen. Blackburn's Address..... | 100 |
| Increase and Decrease of Students..... | 100 |
| Significant Resolutions by the Board..... | 100 |
| Resignation of the Faculty..... | 101 |
| Dr. Lindsay elected President | 101 |
| Henry Ruffner reelected Professor of Languages..... | 101 |
| Degrees A. B. and A. M..... | 102 |
| Salaries | 102 |
| Students, and Steward's House..... | 103 |

CONTENTS.

vii

| | PAGE. |
|---|-------|
| Room Rent and Deposit Fee..... | 103 |
| John Limas, first Colored Servant..... | 104 |
| Apparatus, Books, Museum..... | 105 |
| Students' Church Pews Sold..... | 106 |
| Diplomas..... | 106 |
| Public Exhibitions..... | 106 |
| Summary of Dr. Baxter's Administration..... | 106 |
| Criticisms Answered..... | 107 |

Chapter IV.—Family and Personal Notices.

| | |
|---------------------------------|-----|
| Dr. Baxter's Family | 109 |
| The Breckinridges..... | 114 |
| The Prestons..... | 117 |
| Governor James McDowell..... | 128 |
| Col. J. T. L. Preston..... | 138 |
| Major John Alexander..... | 145 |
| Samuel Lyle Graham, D. D..... | 149 |
| Alexander Moseley..... | 151 |
| Samuel McDowell Moore..... | 153 |
| John Blair Hoge | 154 |
| Brief Notes on many Alumni..... | 155 |

SKETCHES OF THE TRUSTEES, CONTINUED.

| | |
|------------------------------------|-----|
| General Samuel Blackburn..... | 167 |
| Rev. William McPheeters, D. D..... | 172 |
| Judge John Brown..... | 176 |
| James J. Mayers..... | 179 |
| Robert White..... | 180 |
| Capt. Henry McClung..... | 181 |
| Hon. William Taylor..... | 182 |
| Dr. William McCue..... | 188 |
| Col. Henry Bowyer..... | 189 |
| Rev. Andrew B. Davidson..... | 190 |
| Allen Taylor..... | 192 |
| Rev. James Morrison..... | 194 |

THE
HISTORY OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE,

NOW WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY,

DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY:

A CONTINUATION OF THE

"Early History of Washington College, by Rev. Henry Ruffner, D. D., LL. D."

BY WILLIAM HENRY RUFFNER, LL. D.

PREFACE.

The following narrative is intended as a continuation of the "Early History of Washington College" by Henry Ruffner, D. D., LL. D., which was published in 1890 in the Historical Papers, No. 1, of Washington and Lee University. That history was not only left unfinished, but was not brought to a square termination. The donation by the Society of the Cincinnati was followed, with some omissions, until it was fully received in 1848, and some of the more important facts belonging to the early years of the present century were mentioned. But instead of gleanings, I shall begin with the beginning of Dr. Baxter's administration in the latter part of 1799, and whilst not wholly avoiding repetition, I shall pass lightly over such matters as were mentioned in Dr. Ruffner's History, and add such as were omitted. Dr. Baxter's administration having covered the long period of thirty years, I divide it into three chapters, each including a decade, and add a fourth chapter containing family and personal notices. It is intended to follow this paper at some future time with a chapter on each of the succeeding administrations, until 1848, or later.

I do not regard my work as constituting the standard history of the period I may treat of, but as a collection of materials for the historian of the future, who will have the advantage of a great mass of matter which is now being collected from many sources, and which will be recorded in the series of Historical Papers. I will put down what I can find in imperfect records, what I can get from old newspapers and books, what I can gather from scattered individuals, and what I have heard or known in my own experience, which runs back with considerable distinctness for sixty years. I am glad not to feel hampered by any pressure in regard to style, completeness, or unity. I want to be indulged in episodes and personal memoranda, and free comments; by which means I may save from oblivion many facts and incidents which, although small and not always pertinent, may possess some value, and have an incidental relation to the course of college history.

W. H. R.

LEXINGTON, VA., *February*, 1893.

HISTORY OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE.

DR. BAXTER'S ADMINISTRATION.

CHAPTER I.

DECADE 1799-1809.

The beginning of this century was also the beginning of a new era in the history of Washington Academy. A new Rector (or President), with a new course of study and new rules of order, had just entered upon his work; other new instructors were soon added, making an entirely new set of teachers. The then existing financial pinch—probably the severest in the history of the school—was shortly to be relieved by the productiveness of the James River Stock, which, although bestowed by Gen. Washington in 1796, yielded no dividend until 1802. Fire was soon to destroy the substantial Academy building, and, as a result, add another to the three or four changes of location to which the school had been previously subjected; new ground must be purchased, new buildings erected—all of which changes occurred in the first four years of the century.

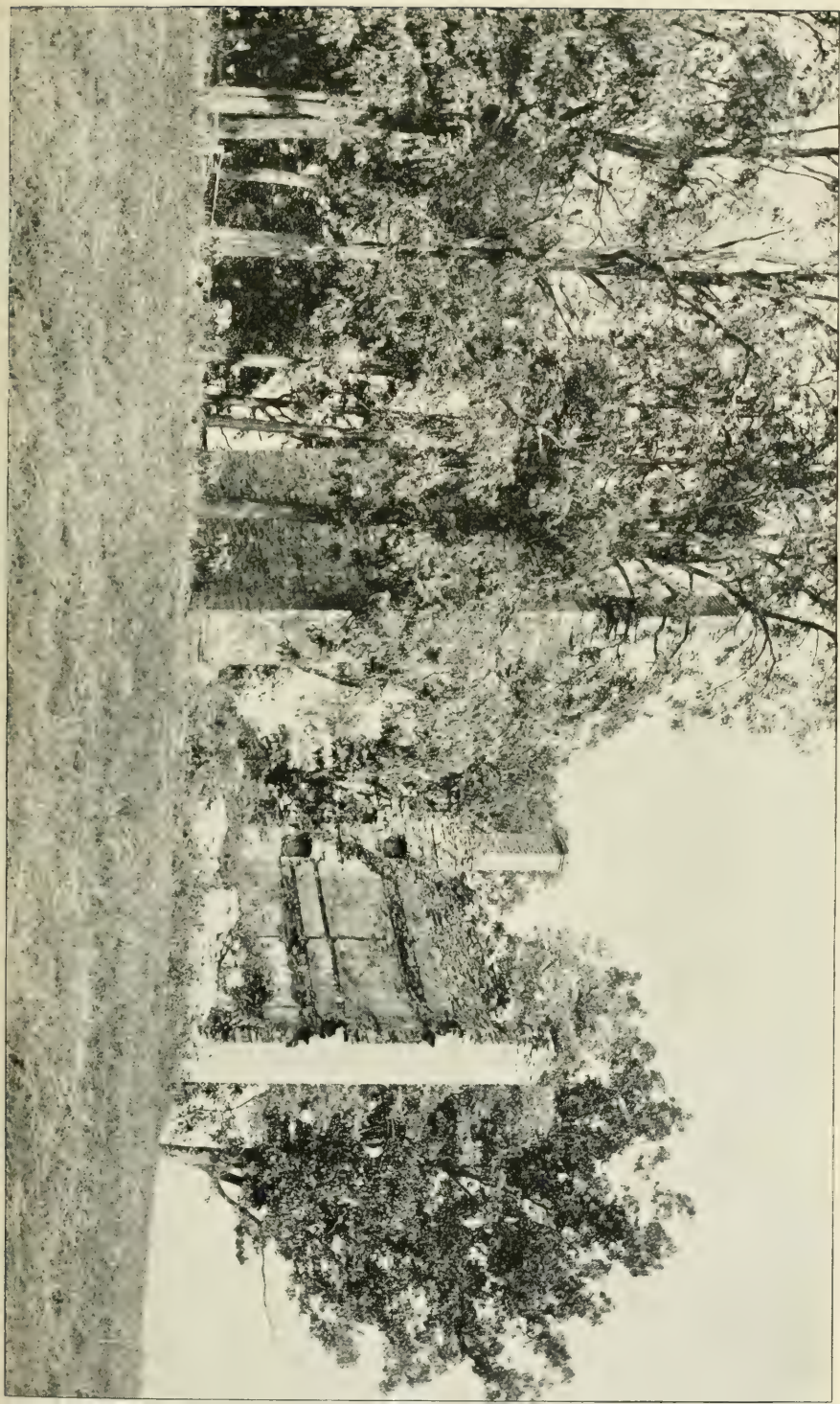
The town of Lexington with its one hundred families succeeded in 1803, after a struggle, in drawing the Academy from its retirement on the northern verge of Mulberry Hill to its present site. Dr. Ruffner and many other wise men regarded the change as highly injudicious; and not without reason, as will be seen in the progress of this narrative. Even as a matter of sentiment one might be excused for preferring to remain on that attractive spot, where may be seen the well preserved ruins of the solid limestone building erected now one hundred years ago. The beautiful plateau

on which it stands, and the fine landscape all around, are not more fascinating to the appreciative mind than the ridges and ravines in the rear with their rocks and cedars, their caves and cliffs, their wild flowers, their bold springs, and that umbrageous river on whose banks the fiery Priestly declaimed the orations of Demosthenes in the original, before his Greek classes.

To take boys from the influence of such scenes as these to the associations of a village, was by many thought to put in jeopardy every object of a college. And this, too, in the face of the historical fact that the very name college originated in the necessity, or supposed necessity, for separating students from towns-people; and the separation originally took place as the direct result of difficulties between the parties. Students were collected in isolated buildings, and carefully supervised. Taking the whole history of college government this has been the prevailing practice. There are always certain types of character, certain nationalities, certain ages of the world, in which the subjects of government are, or were, in that undeveloped condition which demands physical restraint, and rigid supervision. Hence there always will, and ought to be, schools specially adapted to this type of character.

But as society develops so does every form of government become freer. Time was when the mass of the people needed a master. Now the people are becoming their own masters. The American boy of a century ago was a much ruder creature than the boy of to-day; hence the severe family and school government of the past, which we now abhor, may have been the best in its day. These considerations should be borne in mind when we study the controversies of the past. It is not long since the old preachers inveighed against the relaxation of family discipline, but children are better now than they used to be; family life is less stern, but it is sweeter, and hence more persuasive. Hence the best environment for a youth are the influences found in a well-bred family.

Dr. Ruffner was not in favor of the monastic system; he saw the right principle of student life, but he did not regard the circumstances then existing as favorable for merging the college life into that of the village. Bitter experience showed that he judged correctly as to the immediate effects of removal, and he could not foresee how steadily the traces of barbarism remaining in social life



would be eliminated, and a progressively higher life be evolved. Nor was it considered that as soon as a good understanding could be reached between town and college, their reciprocal influence would be mutually improving. Education strengthens; society refines. With the progress of civilization all good things are brought closer together. The modern university establishes itself in the bosom of the community, and wishes to scatter its knowledge among the people. The people respond. The university halls are filled, and her endowments augmented.

Considering the progress of events, one cannot doubt that the experiment of bringing the College to the town has been successful: and with the present tendencies, we may wish well to those efforts which aim to surround the institution with houses and people.

THE PRESENT SITE.

Within the last twenty years numerous small additions have been made to the real estate owned by the institution. The original purchase from Andrew Alexander in 1803 consisted of just 30 acres, and was admirably adapted to the purpose for which it was intended. It is the handsomest and most convenient section of one of the three low ridges on which the town of Lexington rests. Its crest line having at the South end a right angle, gives a frontage in four directions, and being sufficiently elevated, insures pure air and a wide outlook. The observer may look from any part of the grounds upon such a scene as might naturally excite envy in the mind of a man from Harvard, Yale, or Johns Hopkins: but if he will ascend to the top of one of the University buildings he will behold a wider landscape, which called forth from the lips of the accomplished Professor Farnum the exclamation: "If this scene were set down in the middle of Europe the whole continent would flock to see it."

On this 30 acres when purchased there was at the South angle of the crest line, on the spot where now stands the commodious mansion of the president, a plain two-story, wooden house which had been the residence of the former proprietor, but was now set apart for the use of the rector, and continued to be so used for forty years, additions and other improvements being made from time to

time. A plan for College buildings was promptly adopted, and before the end of 1804, two academical buildings and a steward's house, all of brick, were completed. One of the former stood on the ground now occupied by Newcomb Hall, and the other where now stands the low building at the Eastern extremity of the University group. These were well-proportioned buildings fronting on the line still adhered to as the front line of the buildings. These two structures were exact duplicates both without and within, except the merging of two upstairs rooms of the East building into one for an assembly room, or chapel, as it was called. These two buildings were named by the Trustees Graham Hall (the Eastern), and Union Hall (the Western). The two contained fifteen rooms, and served for dormitories and class rooms for 20 years, namely, until 1824, when the centre building was erected.

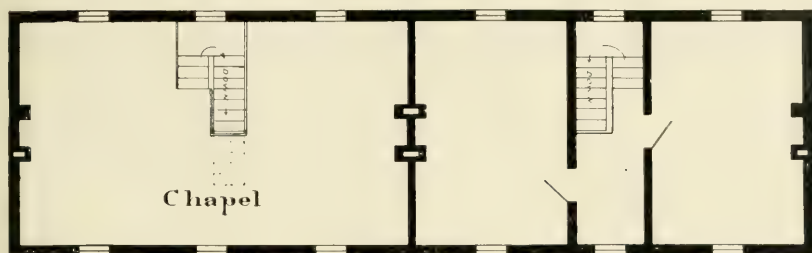
The Steward's House, which was built also in 1804, stood at the front entrance to the grounds, which were then cut off from the street of the town by a row of building lots, but were reached by a prolongation of Henry Street, which is now within the enclosure. The depression where stood the Steward's House may still be seen below the curve of the carriage-way where it turns to the North. It was a perfectly plain, unattractive structure with its gables facing N. E. and S. W., with basement kitchen next the gate; Steward's quarters overhead, and the eating room at the N. E. end.

I have a distinct recollection of all three of these buildings, and of their decay and ultimate demolition, assisted by the students who attacked the tottering walls with battering rams made of the joists of the buildings. But whilst they stood, the boys had beautiful ball alleys at the gable ends of the academic buildings. In 1831 the Grammar School was taught in the Hall or Chapel room of the East building, but before the year was out the aforesaid battering rams drove the school down to the old Steward's House. The cause of this premature decay of these buildings, was the same in all, namely, narrow foundations of badly burned bricks. Superintending architects and practical bosses are a great economy, unless a College happens to have such a president as Gen. R. E. Lee, whose ability as an engineer was perhaps as great as his generalship.

By the time the new buildings were paid for—which was not immediately—the property of the Academy consisted of the thirty

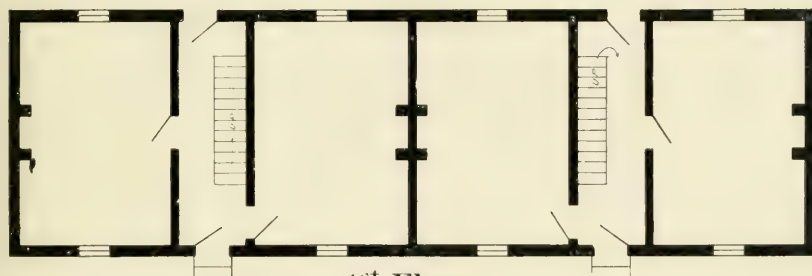
EAST BUILDING

70 x 20 ft.



2nd Floor

Scale of Feet.
0 2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20



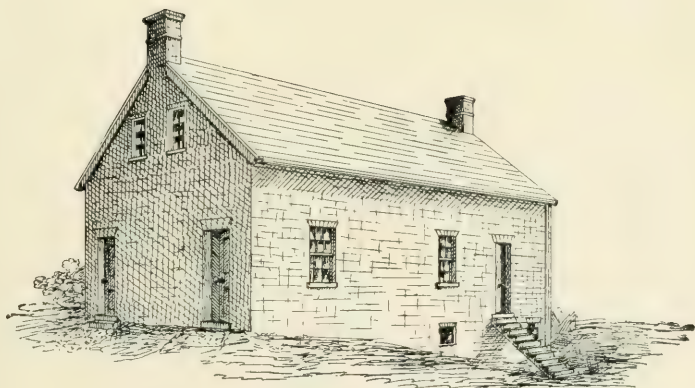
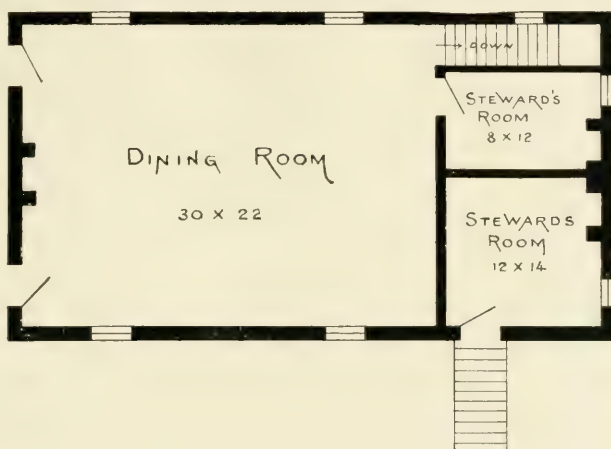
1st Floor



The West Building was like this except that the chapel space was divided up like the other end. Both buildings were of brick and were erected in 1864.

STEWARD'S HOUSE

Erected 1804.



The kitchen was in the basement and there was ample cellar room. The attic was floored. Built of brick.

acres of ground with its four buildings, some thousands of dollars worth of books, apparatus and furniture, and the Washington donation of \$20,000 in the stock of the James River Co. This equipment though not large was in happy contrast with the former condition of the school. When the dividends were made the James River Stock yielded from \$1,200 to \$3,000 per annum, and when the usual number of students were in attendance—40 to 50—about a thousand dollars would be received from tuition fees. For the first time the Academy was in comfortable circumstances.

THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

The corporation consisted of twenty members, including the rector. The list at the beginning of the century was as follows; Rev. George A. Baxter, D. D., Rector, Gen. Andrew Moore, Joseph Walker, Alexander Campbell, John Wilson, Maj. John Hays, Rev. Wm. Wilson, Col. Chas. Campbell, Dr. James Ramsey, John Lyle, Rev. James Mitchell, Rev. Samuel Houston, Zechariah Johnston, Dr. Samuel L. Campbell, Col. James McDowell, Rev. Benj. Grigsby, Capt. Wm. Lyle, Andrew Alexander, Rev. Samuel Brown, Gen. Samuel Blackburn, Hon. John Coalter; and during the decade Edward Graham, James J. Mayers, and Rev. Wm. McPheeters were appointed.

This was a body of strong men, some of them men of wide distinction, the majority of them men of mark, and the most of them alumni of the institution. The position of trustee was no sinecure. Fifty-one meetings were held in the first six years of the century, an average of over eight a year. Fifteen meetings were held in 1803, and twelve in 1804; the years of the fire, the change of location and the erection of buildings. Much committee work was done besides. Whilst the members usually attended fairly well to the duties of the office, two of them deserve special mention, namely, Andrew Alexander and Dr. Samuel L. Campbell. These two were rarely absent, were always willing to act, did their work promptly and faithfully, and with ability such as few men possessed. The Board maintained discipline among themselves, and were not backward in giving warning to careless members that if they did not do better, their resignation would be acceptable; and this without any

regard to the eminence of the delinquent members. The scope of trustee duties as recognized by these gentlemen was very wide. At this time but little power to act independently was given to their own committees, or to the faculty. Matters of detail were considered in the meetings, which would now be referred to a "committee with power." But the trouble taken by the Board in disciplining students, and attending their examinations, showed diligence worthy of admiration; but the members gradually found out that this was a form of penance that belonged rather to the faculty than to the corporation. And so with regard to awarding academic degrees; that the faculty could best judge as to the worthiness of candidates.

But considering the times in which they acted we may well excuse anything and everything that to us may seem to have been overdone, or underdone. No doubt the proper relations between the corporation and the academic body are better understood now than formerly, but even yet much remains to be learned. The three parties that make up a college, namely, trustees, professors, and students, whilst perfectly harmonious and coöperative in design, keep alive a certain spirit of antagonism that grows naturally out of the possession of authority on the one hand, and the spirit of independence on the other. How to reconcile these parties with each other, and with the high objects aimed at, is a question whose solution is being gradually approached, but which is far from being settled; and which cannot and ought not to be settled; because a policy suited to one age may not suit the next. A century ago it may have been exactly the right thing for the Board of Trustees to order that a certain small boy in the Grammar School should get a switching, or be "kept in," or both. In that day the switch was the badge of authority, and its judicious use was to the boy the most natural expression of the disapprobation of embodied justice; and hence the measure of the turpitude of his own offences. And so far as a change has come in regard to this mode of correction it has come from a change in domestic government, and in the earlier development in children of those susceptibilities which respond to means of a gentler and really more effectual character. And it is along this line that improvement has come in college discipline proper. Changes in the subjects governed require a change in the

mode of government. One of the happiest effects of this amelioration in manners and methods, is the removal of many causes of animosity among the parties who constitute the college community.

So far as can now be discovered the Board at this period was free from cranks. It was not always to enjoy this immunity. A crank is not always an unmitigated evil. Now and then a man without discretion or delicacy of feeling, is needed to take the lead in disagreeable duties; but commonly he is an unspeakable nuisance, and should be kept out of college boards, if possible. Whilst there is evidence of the usual differences of opinion, the Board seems to have been a harmonious body. Numerous resolutions were passed which were not carried out, the reason for which in some cases seems to have been a change of mind, in others unexpected difficulties, in others the common one of want of funds, and in a few cases simple neglect; but generally the action taken was deliberate and effective. And there was a certain admirable faithfulness in dealing with all practical matters, from the building of a Dutch oven to the management of the endowment, and from the behavior of a "Grammar tackie" to the conduct of the Rector. There were always a few select politicians in the Board, which was well, but politicians were never in the ascendant. The clerical element has always been stronger in the Board heretofore than it is now. Formerly the clergy were the best educated class in the community, especially the Presbyterian clergy; and whilst they were extremely tenacious of their opinions in religious matters they were singularly free from priestcraft. There is no evidence of undue sectarianism, or any form of illiberality in the official conduct of the clerical members, even when they had control. They were lovers of learning, and always anxious to make the Academy practically undenominational in its operation. They did desire a strong religious influence in the school, and in that feeling they always had the sympathy of every other member of the Board.

The officers of the Board besides the Rector were Secretary and Treasurer. The first Secretary on the list is James Lyle, Jr. He was not a member of the Board, and though listed as the first Secretary, his father, Samuel Lyle, had been Secretary as well as Treasurer. After James Lyle the secretaries were all members of the Board until 1865, when Col. J. H. Edmondson was appointed.

Afterward he was made Trustee. During the first decade of the century the Secretary was Rev. Samuel Houston, a name well known in the annals of the college, the county, and the church. A small compensation was allowed to this officer.

The first Treasurer was Samuel Lyle, a full sketch of whom is given in Historical Papers, No. 3. The second Treasurer was William Alexander, the father of Andrew and John Alexander, trustees, and of the eminent divine Archibald Alexander. Proper notices of the Alexanders will, of course, appear in these papers. At the beginning of the century Dr. Samuel L. Campbell was Treasurer. He has been sketched by Rector McLaughlin in the Historical Papers, No. 3. In 1803 Wm. Wilson, not a trustee, was appointed treasurer, and held the office for 37 years. Until near the last of his term Capt. Wilson had no salary, because he, as well as those who went before and came after him until a recent period, were expected to use the college money, bank fashion, in their business. Defalcations usually develop on this line, but such have been the integrity and responsibility of the men who have held the office that no loss has ever occurred. Capt. Wilson was a clear-headed merchant, and a man of great worth. He acted as postmaster of the town during the latter part of his life. He built and lived in the brick house with the wide, double-decked, pillared portico, which stands two doors above Odd-Fellows Hall. Mr. Adair now has the property which was Capt. Wilson's business stand. Thus he was easily accessible to the students, and as he kept their pocket-money in most cases, he was constantly liable to small drafts and long visits, which took up so much of his time that he finally informed the Board that he could not afford to hold the treasurership any longer without a salary; which the Board thought so reasonable that they voted him a salary of fifty dollars, which seemed to satisfy the worthy captain entirely!

WATER.

The important matter of a water supply was provided for in the change of site, by means of a spring on the north edge of the Academy grounds near to Woods' Creek. Another and more convenient source of supply was secured from one of the town springs

as a part of the consideration in the removal of the school. Lexington is as remarkable for its numerous sources of natural water-supply as it is for its fine natural drainage. Besides the river and the creek, and numerous suburban springs, there were two bold, clear springs, within the original contracted limits of the town. The one most used was at the north corner of Jefferson and Washington streets. This spring is eight or ten feet below the level of the street, is enclosed in a stone box, and is approachable from the basement of the old wooden house on the corner. The spring formerly had in it a tall wooden pump, with a long iron handle, by means of which the water was lifted above the level of the street for the accommodation of the buckets ; but barrels on sleds or cart wheels had also to be accommodated, and to do this a slip was cut on the north side of the pump along the wall of the house, usurping the space naturally belonging to the sidewalk, and a part of the street besides ; and thus allowed the barrels a lower level, so that they could be filled by gravity. The remains of a small iron pump, lately standing by the curbstone, indicated the place from which the students with heavy stoneware pitchers first, and the College servant with buckets afterwards, carried water for thirty years.

Robert Gold lived on this corner, and the spring branch furnished water to his tannery, which occupied the low-lying lot immediately below the house. Out of this grew a difficulty. The trustees wished to pipe water to the Steward's House. This involved a reduction in the quantity of Mr. Gold's supply, and the laying of a line of pipe through his lot, but there had been some agreement on the subject, and this caused a suit to be entered ; but after a time a private agreement was entered into by which a sufficiency of water was piped to the Steward's House across the lots of Gold and Andrew Alexander. The latter lot is now the property of the University. This source of supply was practically abandoned soon after 1830, when a hydrant was placed immediately in front of the centre College building, and the sparkling and exceptionally pure semi-freestone water from the Brushy Hills was brought in abundance through the town pipes. From that time the town pump was resorted to only to get some cool drinking water in very hot weather. The regular use of the water from this spring was revived

a little before and after 1870 during the existence of a boarding house near the front entrance of the College grounds, to which the water was piped.

The town pump, as is usually the case with town pumps, had a history; one chapter of which could be made up of scenes there occurring between students and towns-people in early days. One of the summer night amusements of students was bathing at the pump; but unhappily the sport would sometimes begin too soon. At such times Mr. Gold would come forth like a roaring lion, and immediately would occur "either a fight or a foot race." Perhaps a succession of fights, followed by arrests, and examinations by magistrates, or by the Board of Trustees. From such beginnings set in a state of war, which became chronic, and was known as the war between the "students and mechanics." Even I can recollect when armed sentinels patrolled the College grounds, whilst squads of the "enemy" armed with knives and "river-jacks" hung around the outskirts.

ON THE DEATH OF WASHINGTON.

This solemn event was suitably commemorated by a forcible minute spread upon the records of the Board, and the appointment of the President to deliver a eulogium, which was appropriately done on the 22d of February, 1800; and the appropriate observance of the day has continued ever since.

HONORS TO WM. GRAHAM.

Mr. Graham having died in Richmond June 8, 1799, President Baxter by request of the Board delivered a commemorative address October 16 of the same year. The Board also set on foot a subscription for removing the remains of Mr. Graham to Lexington, if not objected to by his relations, and for placing over his grave a handsome tombstone. The body was not removed from its resting place in old St. John's Church yard, but a tombstone was placed over the grave, on which was engraved the following inscription:

Sacred
to the memory
of the
Rev. William Graham,
Founder and for twenty years Rector
of
Washington College
in
Rockbridge County
Virginia,
Who was born in the State of Pennsylvania,
December 19, 1746,
And died in the City of Richmond,
June 17, 1799.
He was distinguished for the strength and
Originality of his Genius :
and the successful tenor of his exertions
in behalf of solid literature and
evangelical *Piety*.

The marble slab lies horizontally on a low wall, and the whole structure was in a perfect state of preservation a few years ago. It should be mentioned to the credit of Dr. Archibald Graham (a nephew of the former Rector) who died a few years ago, that he devised a thousand dollars for the erection of a monument in Lexington to the memory of his distinguished uncle. Of course there will some day be a monument in honor of Wm. Graham in the grounds of the institution which is so much indebted to him.

The Board also resolved to educate Mr. Graham's son, William P., and in the resolution the Board bound themselves personally to furnish the means in case it should prove unlawful to use the funds of the institution for the purpose. I suspect that his name has been accidentally omitted from the list of students. He was a bookseller in Petersburg in 1814, and furnished some books to the College. He had some thought at that time of entering the navy ; but I have no farther knowledge concerning him.

LIBRARY AND APPARATUS.

It was the intention of the Presbytery of Hanover in founding this school to make it a school of advanced learning. It was expected to become the College for West Virginia, as Hampden-Sidney was for East Virginia. When Wm. Graham, a college-bred man, was made principal of the adopted Presbyterial School on Mt. Pleasant, the Presbytery promptly set collectors to work to raise money to procure books and philosophical apparatus for the use of the school. This was in 1775. By May, 1776, Mr. Graham had purchased books and apparatus to the amount of 160 pounds sterling. This purchase is described and commended by Dr. Ruffner on page 20 of his History. When in 1780 Mr. Graham moved to his Mulberry Hill farm, he took with him the library and apparatus of the school, some if not the most of which is still to be found in the collection of Washington and Lee University, in spite of fire, removals and wars. Mr. Graham though a specialist in Psychology and Ethics, and a believer in the fundamental value of Latin, Greek and Mathematics, yet, as we are told by Dr. Alexander, had a "strong leaning to the study of Natural Philosophy, and took great pleasure in making experiments with such apparatus as he possessed." This is another evidence that Mr. Graham's mind was many sided and was constantly diving into the unknown.

In March, 1802, out of the first dividend of the James River Stock one hundred dollars was appropriated for apparatus, and it was farther ordered that two hundred dollars out of each of the next four dividends should be used to increase the library and apparatus. With this money an electric machine, a telescope and other apparatus were bought; also books to the amount of two hundred dollars.

Soon after this the fire occurred, by which the stone building was destroyed, but the library, apparatus and most of the furniture were saved. After the fire, in the same year, a set of globes was purchased, and an inquiry was ordered as to whether the funds would admit of the purchase of a single-barrel air pump with receiver, etc. In 1804 a quadrant was added. In 1806 the Rector was authorized to spend two hundred dollars in the purchase and transportation of an electrical machine—perhaps a more costly one than

was contemplated in the former order. In the same year three hundred dollars more were appropriated for apparatus, some of which was bought in Europe by Col. Robert Gamble.

All this shows that from the beginning there was and continued to be a distinct and steady purpose to give this school the best possible equipment for working in the field of superior learning.

THE FACULTY.

During the first decade of the century the teaching, including the Grammar School instruction, was done by the Rector—not called President until 1813—and the Professor of Languages, sometimes without and sometimes with assistance. The corps consisted of Rev. George A. Baxter, D. D., Rector, and Rev. Daniel Blain, Professor of Languages, assisted during parts of the decade by Joseph D. Logan, Wm. L. Turner and Jahab Graham. All of these were alumni of the Academy. Messrs. Baxter and Blain between their graduation and return to the Academy conducted the New London Academy in Bedford county, a famous school in its early days, and still in existence. These two gentlemen came together to Lexington in the spring of 1799; Mr. Baxter to take charge of a professorship, and Mr. Blain to take charge of Timber Ridge and Oxford churches. The records do not show exactly when or how the latter first became connected with the Academy, but the indications are that almost from the first he assisted in the instruction, though perhaps somewhat irregularly in the beginning. In 1802 he became Professor of Languages. These two men would have given dignity to any school. They were men of ability, good scholars, and of the highest personal character. Dr. Baxter is well known in history as a man of extraordinary ability and great influence. Some notices of him appeared in the Historical Papers No. 3. The remarks concerning him in this paper are supplementary. He had been taught by Wm. Graham, whose superior ability as a teacher is well known to the readers of this series of papers. Dr. Baxter's strongest point as a teacher was his power of concise, lucid exposition. In class he pursued the Socratic method of testing his pupil's knowledge by a series of questions which masked his object until the point was reached, and the conclusion

inevitable. Like Socrates he would sometimes land his pupil in a manifest absurdity, and then chuckle silently over his bewilderment. His object was to make thinkers; in which aim he followed his old preceptor. Dr. Arch. Alexander records that a single remark once made to him by Wm. Graham had been of more service to him than any other item of suggestion ever addressed to him, namely, "If you want to be a theologian you must come at it not by reading but by thinking." This seemed to be the principle underlying Dr. Baxter's mode of teaching. He was himself a fine example of this mode of working out a subject. He was emphatically a thinker. The late Dr. Wm. H. McGuffey, though differing much in other respects, resembled Dr. Baxter in his mental habits. They made comparatively little use of books, and less use of the pen; and in the class-room they not only expounded with great force, but they pressed the student with searching questions, the answers to which could rarely be quoted from the text-book, and commonly had to be suggested by the operations of the student's own mind. This sort of instruction is, of course, specially suited to philosophical, or abstract subjects such as belong to the Moral Philosophy course, but may be used to some extent in the most concrete studies.

Dr. Baxter and Mr. Blain were both men of great amiability, though not lacking in firmness. They were both respected and beloved by the students. To my personal knowledge they were beloved and honored also by the community. Mr. Blain will be described in the sequel. My earliest recollections are associated with Dr. Baxter. He was pastor of the Presbyterian Church until I was seven years of age; and he impressed me much more than did the House Mountain. Remembering him as I do, I can understand the feeling of the child who stood before Dr. Plumer, and asked him solemnly—"Are you God?" My mother's counsels as to reverencing Dr. Baxter were not needed. By his ponderous frame, his massive head, his dignity, his rich, tender voice, the majestic march of his pulpit discourse, his swelling emotions, his unconscious tears—he impressed my boyish mind as the very embodiment of all that was great, good and loving. I watched him from our square pew in front of the pulpit, and from beginning to end his services fascinated as much as ordinary services afflicted me.

Dr. Baxter had the rare ability to control and direct his mental powers, so that whilst wholly absorbed in a train of thought he would allow interruption, and instantly return to his subject. He thought as he walked, as he sat, and especially as he lay upon his couch. If he had a sermon or oration on hand, he thought out his train; put it in the most compact, lucid form; revised and corrected the language; sometimes audibly trying different forms of expression until he cast it into a shape to suit him; and finally delivered the discourse exactly as he had prepared it, and all without any use of pen or pencil. I have been told by students who attended the Theological Seminary which he had charge of after he left Lexington, that some young men who boarded in his house frequently had the opportunity of observing him on Saturday afternoon when he was engaged in the preparation of the sermon he was to preach next morning in the College church. When circumstances permitted, his accustomed place for study was the end of a bench in the front porch in view from the upstairs window where sat the aforesaid students. Resting his arm on the railing, and his feet on the bench with his back against the wall, he would begin a low whistle, at the same time passing his forefinger back and forth in front of his lips as if to modulate the sound. There would he sit meditatively, murmuring a little at times, and occasionally breaking forth as if to a public audience. In such cases he would sometimes pause and repeat with changes of expression, and again relapse into his quiet whistle. The students who overheard him would listen next morning for the spoken and amended passages, and they always found that in due time the sentences came rolling out in the Doctor's grand style exactly as he had prepared them. His highest reputation was reached whilst he was at the Theological Seminary. As to his Sabbath morning discourses in the College church each one was regarded as an important event. A good story is told of one of our ablest preachers, Dr. J. G. Shepperson, who when a student had nothing to do during the time of review for examination; for what he had learned, on once going over, was still fresh in his memory. He was so delighted with Dr. Baxter's sermons that, often during the delivery, he would be smiling and nodding significantly to his friends around him; so that many considered him an inattentive, if not disrespectful, auditor; but when

the students would return to the Seminary "Brother Shepperson" could give them the sermon almost *verbatim*.

Dr. Baxter exercised great public influence, especially in matters ecclesiastical ; but he wrote very little, and published almost nothing. When he died he left fewer manuscripts than a modern young divine or college professor would accumulate in six months.

Dr. Baxter was heroic in his courage when he saw that it was his duty to take a decided course ; and when the boys would be so bad as to rouse him, he would punish with an unsparing hand ; but this mood was exceptional. His temper was indulgent and forgiving, and his mind was usually so taken up with his own thoughts that even when advancing upon a group of mischief makers with a view to catching them in the act, his heavy and somewhat halting step, the striking of his cane, and his peculiar manner of clearing his throat, would give timely warning that "Here comes old Rex !"

This delineation of Dr. Baxter may suggest that with all his ability and excellence there was some lack of adaptation to that part of a college president's office which requires constant watchfulness and attention to a multitude of small details. Dr. Baxter had an aversion to details of all sorts. He is said to have lost a large landed estate in Kentucky by simply not giving it proper attention. He had lands also near Lexington, which he neglected. But for the fine business capacity of Mrs. Baxter, the Doctor would have disembarrassed himself of worldly gear pretty effectually. He was far more disposed to give away than to accumulate. His normal condition was that of abstract thought, in which he was unobservant and oblivious of college regulations, bad recitations and mischievous boys. He was just one of those grand, supra-mundane men who deserved to be released from the carking cares of earth ; but alas ! it is but seldom that a student can enter this paradisaical state, and any man who undertook to be a college president in those days was located about as far from paradise as he well could get. Dr. Baxter came as near to his true environment as was possible on this earth, when, in 1831, he took charge of the Theological Seminary at Hampden-Sidney.

The three tutors mentioned above all became Presbyterian ministers, and all were alumni of Washington Academy.

JOSEPH D. LOGAN.

Mr. Logan belonged to a well known Scotch-Irish family, who were among the early settlers of Rockbridge County. One branch of the family removed to Kentucky among its pioneers, and became an important element in the early society of that State. One of them, Gen. Ben. Logan, a heroic Indian fighter, as is fully related by Mr. Green, was an uncle of Joseph D. The branch that remained in Rockbridge poured forth a stream of excellent and useful people, clergymen being the prominent element. Our tutor was the son of James, and was born and reared on Kerr's Creek in this County. He was one of twelve children, eight sons and four daughters. After his graduation as student, and his three years service as tutor, terminating in 1806, he was licensed to preach in April, 1807, and took charge of a congregation in Goochland county. From there he removed to Botetourt county where his brother Robert also exercised his ministry. Joseph's first wife was Jane Dandridge, a descendant of Pocahontas; his second wife was Louisa Lee, who survived him, and who removed to Lexington for the education of her family. Among his sons by the second marriage was Dr. Joseph P. Logan, an alumnus of this institution, who had a distinguished career, and at the time of his decease, in 1891, was a resident of Atlanta, Ga. Another of Rev. J. D. Logan's sons was James W. Logan, who married Miss Sarah W. Strother, of Goochland county, and remained there a successful planter. The posterity of James have been numerous. One of his sons bearing the name of his grandfather, Joseph D. Logan, is a prominent citizen of West Virginia, living in Union, Monroe county. Another son of James was the late Hon. John Lee Logan, who was a man of extraordinary ability, and possessed in himself all the elements of success. When the war of 1861 began he was a boy, but he came to the Military Institute, and after remaining for a few months, left school, and entered the army, where he remained until the close of the war. He was now only seventeen years of age, and at once recommenced study, which he prosecuted with such vigor under different teachers that in two years he became the assistant of Virginius Dabney, whose school was then at Middleburg, Loudoun county. There he taught from 1867 to 1870, and at the same time

read law with Hon. J. R. Tucker, who, in partnership with Mr. Noland, was then practising in that place. Mr. Logan married into the family of Mr. Tucker. In 1870 he boldly took his place in the bar of New York City, where only first-class men need hope to succeed on their own unaided merits. His resolution, talents and personal magnetism gradually overcame all difficulties, and carried him upward in his profession until his practice reached the higher courts. He was now surrounded by friends, and was fast approaching the acme of success, when he was brought to a sudden halt by an attack of violent cold which laid serious hold upon his lungs. It became necessary for him to seek a milder and drier climate. On the urgent recommendation of a large portion of the first men of the New York bench and bar, President Cleveland appointed him Associate Justice of Idaho Territory. He left New York in 1888, and took up his residence in Lewiston, where he entered upon his judicial work with the same energy and faithfulness that he had displayed in every situation; but in eighteen months he was compelled by feeble health to leave "the bench which he had adorned by his learning, legal ability and judicial impartiality." He died in Lewiston, January 15, 1890, in the faith of his fathers; and was brought for burial to his native State. Gen. F. M. Logan belongs to the South Carolina branch of this family.

WILLIAM L. TURNER,

Who acted as tutor in 1803-4, belonged to the class of 1802-3. He was a son of the famous Rev. James Turner, of Bedford county, who was a Trustee of Washington Academy, and a wonderful orator—one whose passionate eloquence at times was overwhelming. William was licensed to preach in 1805, and went from Lexington to North Carolina, in which State he preached and taught in both Raleigh and Fayetteville. Whilst so engaged he received the honorary degree of A. M. from the University of North Carolina in 1810. He died in 1813 greatly lamented. Dr. Sprague describes him as "a young man of strongly marked talents and character, and of great promise."

Mr. Turner's wife was Nancy Alexander, sister of Andrew, Archibald, etc., and she returned to Lexington after the death of

her husband, bringing her four children, namely, James, Martha, Sally, and Mary. James, an alumnus of Washington College, was at first a merchant and afterward a cotton planter in Alabama, in which State he married. His descendants are still to be found in that region. He was a handsome and agreeable gentleman with all the excellence that might have been expected from his lineage. Martha married Col. Henry Mitchell of Georgia. After completing his literary course partly at Athens, Ga., and partly at Union College, Schenectady, Mr. Mitchell came to Judge Thompson's Law School in Staunton, then noted; and there met with Martha Turner. Col. Mitchell seems, like many other Southern gentlemen, to have studied law as an accomplishment. His occupation was that of cotton planter on his estate near Columbus, Ga. He left a number of children. His son, Prof. H. C. Mitchell, now resides in Atlanta, Ga.

Sally Turner married James Hart, of Albemarle county, an interesting and thorough gentleman, an independent farmer, and one of four brothers who were long known as men of prominence; of whom one, Rev. Andrew Hart, spent the latter part of his life in this county. Mrs. Sally Hart left no children. Another, his brother, John Hart, married a daughter of Capt. Wm. Lyle.

Mary Turner became the honored wife of our late professor, Rev. Dr. Kirkpatrick. This family needs no introduction to any one who is likely to read these papers. It need scarcely be stated that one of the daughters is the wife of Prof. Graves; another has been elsewhere mentioned as the wife of Dr. John A. Graham. I hope to be pardoned for introducing here a personal reminiscence. I remember Miss Mary Turner as one of the charming young ladies of Lexington during my boyhood days. She staid much at Col. Reid's, and when she, and Mrs. Reid—a divine musician—played separately or in duets on the tall bird's-eye-maple piano with the green silk front, the little boy standing by was lost in fascination. Dr. Kirkpatrick sometimes told me that when a young man he was attending a party at the house of Dr. Henry Ruffner, and during the evening Mrs. Ruffner called him to her, and with a slightly emphatic, as well as delicately graceful manner, introduced him to Miss Mary Turner; which circumstance, as well it might, made him a life-long, indeed an enthusiastic, admirer of Mrs. Ruffner.

JAHAB GRAHAM.

Jahab Graham was the third who acted as tutor in this decade. He was the son of the former rector. He entered the ministry, which no doubt was his proper vocation. He enjoyed the confidence of all, and was an interesting man; but unfortunately he was very eccentric and absent-minded. I was told by a cotemporary of his that the trick of reversing the saddle on his horse whilst he was in the house, was tried with perfect success. He mounted in all seriousness with his face toward the tail of the horse, and for a time was at a loss to comprehend the peculiarity of the situation. Jahab married a Miss Heiskell of Staunton. The name Graham was not continued on this line. Mr. Graham was a sound scholar, and an interesting preacher. His licensure occurred in 1809. He preached in Petersburg and in some Southern State, and died in middle life.

PROPOSED LAW SCHOOL.

In 1804 an arrangement was made with Hon. Paul Carrington, of Prince Edward county, for conducting a Law School in connection with Washington Academy. By agreement a house was to be built at a cost of \$5,000 for the accommodation of the school and the family of the professor. For some reason not stated in the imperfect records, the plan was not carried out. Probably the failure was owing to the sudden cutting off of the income of the institution soon after by the diversion of the James River dividends to the building of the great locks at Richmond.

SALARIES.

Previous to 1804 the income of the professors was derived solely from tuition fees. Five pounds per annum being the tuition fee a thousand dollars was fully as much as could be expected from the fees of fifty students. This amount when divided among three men was not calculated to encourage luxurious living. It is said that Dr. Baxter sometimes refused to take anything, and let his part be divided between the other two. In 1804 the James River Stock having become productive, the Trustees voted to allow the Rector

\$150 from the permanent funds, and one-half of the tuition fees; Prof. Blain \$100, and two-thirds of the remaining one-half of the fees; and the tutor \$40, and the remaining one-sixth of the fees. In a full year the Rector now received about \$750, and the use of the President's house, Prof. Blain \$430, and the poor tutor about \$200. Their pastoral salaries and their farms in addition, enabled the professors to get along pretty comfortably. In 1807 the fixed salaries were doubled, and the tuition fee raised to \$25, from \$16.66 $\frac{2}{3}$ per annum. Thus stood the salaries until 1813.

STUDENTS.

Until after the completion of the buildings in 1804, the number of students was extremely small, and they chiefly were Grammar boys. But soon there was a gain in number and age. During the last half of the decade the average was about fifty; the extremes thirty and seventy. This included the Grammar school, which was at that time taught by the same instructors as those who taught the more advanced classes.

The students came from the best families in both East and West Virginia; with a fair proportion from Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Carolinas; and a sprinkling from other States. Society knew then but little of that universality of spirit which is rapidly resulting from the mobilizing effect of railways and steamships. Hence local and social prejudices were far stronger than now. Even in my day there was a tendency to cliques and local aversions. Students from Massachusetts or Iowa might now attend Washington and Lee University without the least danger of personal annoyance, but in the days of which I am writing, students even from opposite sides of the Blue Ridge in Virginia, under the names respectively of Tuckahoes and Cohees, constantly manifested sub-acute antagonism by playing tricks, and by hurling jibes and scoffs at each other. And there was generally far more disposition to make much of local and personal peculiarities than now exists.

The College government was more repressive in that day than a considerable proportion of the boys had been accustomed to at home, and out of this grew many difficulties with the College authorities. Moreover the life they had to lead at school had some

undeniably hard features. They were simply furnished with a bare room, whose walls were no doubt well covered with charcoal sketches, in which they were compelled to lodge with as many room-mates as the condition of things might require. They had to provide their own furniture and fuel, and to wait on themselves. The wood had to be piled in the sleeping room, and the water carried nearly a quarter of a mile. The Steward's table, where they were required to take their meals, could not have seemed inviting. It was probably no worse here than was common in those days in both England and America.

The average boy of the past was not the coddled personage of to-day. Neither did he have any strong literary ambition. He knew where the orchards were, and the bee-gums, and the patches of wild strawberries. He baited holes in the river, or used fishberries. He shot well, and sometimes would indulge in a 'possum hunt. He could jump, run and wrestle. He could handle a stone like a Benjamite, shoot arrows, and play marbles, and many a game of ball now forgotten. As for a fisticuff few things pleased him better; but he was slow to take the advantage of his adversary by using a knife or pistol. Even a club was sometimes considered unfair. But whilst it is undeniably true that the public sentiment of the school was not so much on the side of faithful study and orderly behavior as it is now, and the bachelor's degree not generally coveted, there was always a nucleus of first-class students, who became sound and thorough scholars to the extent of their opportunities.

In this period was adopted the system of merit and demerit notation, *bonus*, *melior*, *optimus*; and *malus*, *pejor*, *pessimus*; for the operation of which reference is made to the remarks of Dr. Ruffner in his History.

Whatever criticisms may be made upon the school, it will be shown farther on, that even in this its most criticised period, the Academy turned out, as it did in every decade of its history, a highly creditable proportion of men who were an honor to their alma mater. Could the career of each student be followed, it would not only illustrate this fact, but would show a fact not often noticed, namely, that idle and disorderly boys not unfrequently turn out to be men of distinction and high character. The runaway

colt often makes a fine horse. "Devilment" always implies energy of body and mind. The idler, as respects studies, may be very busy about other things. The student who is indifferent in regard to the curriculum, may be following his strong bias toward literature, elocution or dialectics, and become a distinguished man on this line. Or the bias may be toward some one particular study in the course, as a matter not only of taste, but of talent. A certain intolerably idle and mischievous student at Washington College in my day, was dismissed, and as he was telling "good-bye," John Henry, the College servant, who was a Nestor among the boys, said to him—"Mr. G——, I'm mightily afraid that when I next hear of you it will be that you are in the penitentiary!" "No, 'Fess," was the reply, "when you next hear of me I'll be in a theological seminary." And sure enough, the very next time I heard of the youth he was just where he said he would be. He became a popular preacher, and a D. D. But the *rule* is strongly the other way. The man who fails at college usually meets with but little success in after life. Nevertheless, his college experience may have improved his mind and elevated his aims. The poor students who afterwards achieve shining success, do not succeed, as is sometimes said, in spite of their failure at college, but partly because they are led to see what they saw not before—"nil sine pulvere"—and partly because this environment at college opens before them new vistas, and projects them along lines of effort which otherwise would never have come within their scope.

STUDIES.

The scale of studies in the Grammar School began at the end of the four fundamental rules of arithmetic, and ended with Virgil and the Greek Testament. But little attention was bestowed upon the English Language, as the time had not then come anywhere for regarding our vernacular as of equal importance with Latin and Greek, or even French. In much later days English Grammar was often slighted in a scheme of education. I have heard it said by learned linguists that the English language had no grammar worthy the name. But for centuries, the Latin grammar was revered as the root of all grammar, if not of all knowledge. Its study was expected to begin as soon as a boy could read well

enough to acquire the rules, and sing the paradigms. In Dr. Baxter's curriculum, which is said to have been that of Princeton, English Grammar is put down in a list of subjects which were "to be read!" But I have discovered no indication that the English language received any special attention until over twenty-five years after this date. A similar sentiment prevailed, though not quite so pronounced, in reference to the comparative merits of Arithmetic and Algebra. "A plague on the digits—work it with an x !"—expressed a common sentiment among scholars. Now and then the ghosts of these sentiments are met with in respectable quarters even yet; but these formerly neglected studies now receive the attention they deserve. Neither the characters nor the arithmetical processes ascribed to the Hindoos are likely ever to be superseded, and in the best primary schools, especially in Germany—the head-quarters not only of learned investigation, but of sound educational schemes from top to bottom—arithmetic is taught with an amazing thoroughness. I agree with President Eliot, however, that the bulk of arithmetic should be reduced in primary schools. English Grammar is an intrinsically difficult study for children, but under the best modern methods it has been so simplified that it is begun with the beginning of the primary course, and carried through to the end; so that the pupil passes with ease and pleasure into the more philosophical and erudite study of the language which has happily been established among the most prominent branches taught in all our superior institutions.

An elementary grammar school such as existed in connection with the College in the early days of which we are writing, was a necessity, growing out of the wretched condition of primary and secondary education then, and for many years afterwards. To this day upper schools in the South are made to suffer on account of imperfect teaching done in the lower. It may seem to have been a pitiful business for such men as Baxter, Blain, Logan, Turner, and Graham, to be teaching vulgar fractions and elementary geography to small boys; but it was no such thing. Not having been done before, this was the noblest and faithfulest work in which they could have been engaged. The men who lay good foundations are the men who build for the future. These men seem to have had none of the superciliousness sometimes displayed by college

men toward the "scanty knowledge of the three Rs." They were willing to teach the little boys those elements which are the germs of all knowledge, and without which sound scholarship is forever impossible. Most hopeful work is now doing in our Southern States in the primary and secondary grades, but powerful assistance may be rendered in this work by those who are laboring in the higher grades.

The college curriculum of the period is given in Dr. Ruffner's History, page 91, together with his judicious comments thereon. As to how the different branches were taught we have but little information. Natural teachers like Wm. Graham teach well by methods of their own. Pedagogy, either philosophical or practical, had not then been recognized as a special subject which might be studied by all who were preparing to teach in either the higher or the lower grades of schools. The ancient languages and mathematics made up the bulk of the acquisitions of the students, though other things were gone over. Mathematics had not attained its full development. Chemistry as yet was scarcely on its feet as a college study. Astronomy was soundly shaped, and Physics had won a firm standing, but the teaching of these was quite perfunctory in this period. Wm. Graham had given a dignified position to the Sciences of Nature, he regarding them as a form of Natural Theology. There were no undevout astronomers and biologists in those days. Voltaire had attacked the young geological doctrines, because they were regarded as fresh evidences of Christianity. Chemistry and Physics strengthened the theistic argument from design. The microscope and the telescope revealed the extent and magnificence of God's creation. Hence there was a double argument for the prosecution of natural science, and hence no doubt the zeal which was manifested all along to develop and equip the scientific chairs as rapidly as the funds of the institution would allow. Geography was a part of the third year's course. In the senior year, the Belles-Lettres course had the whole field. Just what were the proportions among the subjects enumerated in this course cannot now be ascertained. Political Science was not yet recognized as a college study. The Law of Nations was rather prominent. No doubt Rhetoric, including some study of the standard English poetry and prose, constituted the main feature of the course. History, either ancient

or modern, did not come in practically until later. Nor does there seem to have been much systematic study of Ethics. Paley is not mentioned. But Locke, Reid and Stewart are prescribed to be read in part: which shows the continued influence of Wm. Graham. Dr. Baxter was very strong on this class of studies. His own discourse was a model of unadorned style, of skillfully arranged thought, of metaphysical acumen and of compact logic; and hence naturally, he would teach such subjects with ease and ability.

DEGREES.

But few degrees are reported as having been conferred in this decade. In 1805 John Hendren, of Lexington, mentioned by Dr. Henry Ruffner, received A. B., and in 1806 the same degree was conferred on John McElhenny and George Coalter. Probably there were cases not recorded. The name of Dr. McElhenny is well known. George Coalter was a Rockbridge man, and though perhaps not reaching the eminence of Judge John Coalter, he became a distinguished member of the Alabama bar, was elected to the Legislature, and made judge of the Circuit Court. In 1807 John Morris received an honorary certificate for having completed the scientific course. In 1809 a similar certificate was given to John Prior. Here we have evidence of what I think was the fact, that neither at this nor at any other time were the students required to follow the curriculum except when candidates for the bachelor's degree; and at this time French was allowed to take the place of Greek in the regular course, which Dr. Ruffner considered objectionable.

THE LIVING ARRANGEMENTS.

We learn from Dr. Campbell's History of Washington College, that the Mt. Pleasant students were scattered among the neighboring families for their living; but the records show that when Liberty Hall was established at Timber Ridge Church in 1776, the plan was to board the students on the premises. Samuel Lyle was appointed in the autumn of 1776 to lay off five acres of ground for a Steward's House, and the next Spring he and Samuel McDowell were appointed to have built a squared log house 26 by

20 feet, and to appoint a new steward; as if there had been one before. This was done; but in a short time, namely, in the fall of 1777 the office of steward was again vacant in consequence of advanced prices of supplies; which showed how soon the Continental currency was discredited. Here was the first serious crisis in the history of the Academy. The students were unable to get boarding, or to pay such prices as would be equal to the old rates in purchasing value. Five substantial citizens living in the neighborhood, namely, Samuel Lyle, Samuel McDowell, David Gray, Capt. John Lyle and Alexander Stuart, met the emergency by offering to receive students into their own houses as boarders at low rates. Next came the removal of the school, including the boarders, to the new residence of Mr. Graham on Mulberry Hill. After the war and the establishment of the school on the lot which it occupied until 1803, the Steward's House was revived, and continued with abundant annoyance until the removal to Lexington. During the short interval between the fire and the erection of the Steward's House on the present grounds in 1804, the students lived among the families of Lexington and vicinity. After 1804 all the students not living at home were required to lodge in the Academy Buildings, and to take their meals at the Steward's House. The student was provided with part of a room in which he could lodge in any way most agreeable to himself. There may have been regulations as to the style of his room-keeping, but I have met with nothing on the subject. It is certain that there was not here, as in England, a class of stipendiaries or servitors—poor students, whose duty it was to wait on the sons of the wealthy. Republican equality prevailed, and when three students occupied one room the police work, even when thoroughly done, was not burdensome, and there is no evidence of dissatisfaction among the students in consequence of this sort of duty. The greatest objection to the system would seem to be the temptation it afforded to indulge in careless habits in respect to order and neatness.

But whilst we do not find any evidence that the lodging arrangements interfered with study or good behavior, it is on record in many places that the Steward's department was a prolific source of trouble. In fact, this system of feeding students, from beginning to end, was marked by ups and downs without any evidence of

comfort. Cheap living was necessary in order to bring the cost of education within the means of a majority of the students, and it should always be provided ; but where a meagre provision is forced upon all, and no sufficient restraint upon table manners, there are always enough malcontents to keep the concern in a state of disquietude.

During the three years 1800–1803, when Robert Scott occupied the position of steward at the old site on Mulberry Hill, the price of table board was \$30, for a session of five months. When the Steward's House was opened on the new site in 1804, John Morrison, steward, the price was raised to \$38 per session. The steward was comfortably fixed with his family apartments in the building ; a stable, a smokehouse, a garden, a dairy, and cool water at the door. Considering the cost of supplies and the plain habits of the times, one would have supposed that he could have afforded to satisfy all reasonable boarders. But when we find that boys would sometimes drop the contents of their plates under the table, and even hurl a hard biscuit now and then at the head of the steward, we must suppose that whilst tough beef and soggy biscuit were partly responsible for the disorder, there was something in the system which indulged—if it did not provoke—the barbaric spirit in boys, which is sure to break out when released from the normal restraints of a properly regulated social life. To this conclusion the authorities were compelled to come at last. In 1807 the price was raised to \$40 per session, but still neither students nor steward were satisfied, and after one more session the steward resigned, and for some time no one could be induced to take his place. This really was, though not then admitted to be, the break-down of the system. Students of necessity were now to scatter themselves among the neighboring families for their diet, and they cheerfully paid the same price they did before.

The Steward's House was rented out as a private boarding house from this time until 1821, when it was reöpened under the old regulations, but in two or three years the system was abandoned forever. Many a bright youth lost his chance for an education for want of feminine influence in the dining-room, and for the same reason the institution lost many students who after discipline went elsewhere, and ultimately become distinguished men. And yet

there is a class of steady young men of small means or of specially studious habits, who can best be accommodated by a modified system of commons. It is well to encourage a sufficient variety to meet peculiar cases; but for students generally, the present system of scattering in small groups among respectable families, is undoubtedly the best.

LAWS AND PENALTIES.

A frequent revision of laws characterized the policy of the Board of Trustees. About the beginning of Dr. Baxter's administration in October, 1799, the Rector was requested to revise the laws of the institution. He reported a revised edition the next month, which was provisionally adopted at the same meeting. In February, 1803, the subject was again taken up, and a committee was appointed to report a new version, which was done in March; at which meeting the Board considered the laws *seriatim*, but did not finish the work until the next November, when the new edition was ordered to be printed. No copy of this set of rules having been preserved, we can gain only a partial knowledge of their contents from recorded cases of discipline. It was evidently deemed necessary in those days to be very detailed in the rules of behavior. All forms of vice were specifically forbidden, and among these were classed dancing and card playing. In regard to dancing an exception was made in 1809 in favor of the Fourth of July and the Twenty-Second of February. The permit was in these words—“*Resolved*; That the students of Washington Academy shall have holiday the 22d of February and the 4th of July every year, and that they shall not be subject to the penalties for dancing on those days, provided their conduct in other respects shall be conformable to the laws of the Academy.” This regulation affords sufficient proof that the Trustees did not regard dancing as a sin *per se*, but only as ordinarily incompatible with devotion to study. Alcoholic liquors and fire-arms were not allowed to be brought to the Academy grounds. Whatever promoted study, good manners and good morals, was enjoined, including attendance at Church at least once on Sunday, and prayers twice a day in the chapel for the five recitation days in the week. The trustee meetings were always then as now opened with prayer.

In the earlier days students when called upon gave testimony in college trials, just as all citizens do when before courts of justice, and it is difficult to see why the same principle is not equally applicable to both cases; but it appears that about the middle of this decade students began to think that when called by the authorities it was more honorable to tell falsehoods than to expose the evil doings of their fellow students. Dr. Ruffner states this, and I allude to it for the purpose of adding that I found this spirit as strong among small children in the primary schools of the State as in those of higher grades; but the common form it now takes is refusal to answer, rather than the invention of falsehoods. I knew a case in which a boy eight years old persisted in spite of three or four severe whippings in refusing to expose the author of a serious offence committed by a fellow pupil, although he himself was innocent of all complicity in the act. I published the case, and asked opinions from every quarter, as to the ethics involved as respects both teacher and pupil. Numerous and different answers were given, showing an unsettled condition of the public mind; but the majority, including Ex-Gov. Wm. Smith, defended the boy, and condemned the teacher for whipping the brave little fellow. The abstract principle was in the teacher's favor, but his policy was wrong in the existing state of the local sentiment. It is really a difficult question in actual cases, and yet it ought to be regarded as still open for consideration. But whatever may be the correct doctrine it is a matter of history that about this time student testimony involving the conduct of other students became generally unreliable.

This fact is given as the reason for the more rigid enforcement, or rather attempted enforcement of the rules, and for the introduction of a system, not of espionage, as it was sometimes improperly called, but of surveillance, under which the professors were required to supervise the conduct of students more closely than had ever before been done. The faculty were required to visit each lodging room in the buildings after nine o'clock at night, which was the latest hour a student was allowed to be absent from his room. This regulation was kept in force for many years with varying degrees of efficiency. A right public sentiment among the students had not become strong enough to exercise much restraint upon

evil-doers. One of the best tests of civilization is the strength of public sentiment on the side of law and order, and this test is as applicable to a college as to the community at large.

As to penalties they were characteristic of the times. Grammar boys under twelve years of age were punished by whipping, or "keeping-in." Older boys were "reproved, rebuked and exhorted with all long-suffering and doctrine," sometimes by the Rector, sometimes by a trustee in the presence of the Board. For bad scholarship it was allowable to set the student back in his studies. The more serious offences were punishable by the offender being required to apologize publicly, or by being put on probation, by suspension for a limited time, or as a last resort by expulsion, followed in some cases by notice of the fact to other colleges.

In earlier times the faculty were not allowed to inflict the heavier penalties except provisionally, but gradually they were allowed more authority, and the Board of Trustees finally reserved only appellate jurisdiction.

CHAPTER II.

THE SECOND DECADE OF DR. BAXTER'S ADMINISTRATION.

1809-1819.

THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

During this decade vacancies in the Board of Trustees were filled by the appointment of John Moore, Capt. Robert White, Capt. Henry McClung, and Major John Alexander in 1812; Rev. A. B. Davidson, Dr. William McCue, Col. Henry Bowyer, and Hon. William Taylor in 1815; and John Robinson, Rev. Andrew Heron, and Col. Samuel McDowell Reid in 1819.

So far as internal affairs were concerned, this decade seems to have been among the most quiet in the history of the institution. The income from the James River Stock for a time more than supplied current wants, and allowed the appointment of a third professor. The Board was always on the watch for dangers and for

benefits. In 1807, the Cincinnati Society voted to bestow its funds upon Washington Academy, though their receipt into the College Treasury was delayed for over forty years. The Board was duly watchful in meeting efforts (some of them slanderous) to deprive the Academy of this gift, and in providing against the numerous emergencies which arose at intervals during this long period of suspense. The main facts in respect to the Cincinnati fund are stated by anticipation in Dr. Ruffner's Early History, but in the next chapter I will give a fuller narrative.

The Board was not backward in addressing the Legislature on all subjects affecting the welfare of its charge. It made suggestions about tolls on the Canal, and it strongly opposed the scheme to build a canal on the south side of James river, from Richmond westward. The Board also protested against the educational scheme proposed by the Board of the Literary Fund in 1817, out of which grew the University of Virginia.

By this time the financial condition of the College was so much improved that there were some thousands of dollars to be invested. Stock of the Virginia Bank and of the Farmer's Bank of Virginia was purchased.

In 1811 a charge of \$2.50 was added to the tuition fee, to be kept in separate account for the support of a contemplated teacher of French. In 1813 it was ordered that the regular tuition should be \$15.00 per session of five months. In 1816 was added a deposit fee of \$3.00 for keeping the buildings in order, or more specifically, for repairing the damage done in many small ways by the students.

The salaries of the professors were advanced twice during this decade, and extra fees were allowed to professors for extra services. The treasurer, having been enriched by a salary of \$50.00, was now required to settle his accounts twice a year.

An order was made which looked to a partial cutting off of the Grammar School. It was resolved to make an effort to induce the citizens to erect a building for the accommodation of the school, the trustees promising an annuity of \$200, and retaining control—a very good scheme, if there were any hope of inducing the citizens to give the money—but the order was rescinded. This sudden effort brought the Board thump against the problem of Secondary Education—the *pons asinorum* of the educational world.

Until this time the College grounds had remained unfenced. Some parties owning lots in front were allowed to set their fences ten feet on the ground of the College in consideration of their making and keeping up a good fence along the whole line. A long controversy concerning line fences between the College and Mr. Andrew Reid, had been settled. Andrew Reid, like his son, Samuel McDowell Reid, was a strong man both intellectually and physically. I remember him well as he sat in the front porch of the Mulberry Hill mansion, which in those days was embowered in vines and trees, and within was a beautiful picture of shining brasses, well-waxed passage and floors, and that air of order and neatness, combined with ease and comfort, which seems to welcome without embarrassing the visitor. Miss Magdalene was the house-keeper, and Miss Nancy the reader. On a couch in an inner room reclined the aged mother, née Magdalene McDowell, daughter of Samuel McDowell and Mary McClung; now totally blind, and not far from the end of her useful and honored life. Mr. Reid resigned the clerkship of the Rockbridge courts into the hands of his son in 1831, after an unbroken term of fifty-three years, and he now had much interest in his agricultural affairs. Many a time in my boyhood, soon after the dawn of day, did I hear his resounding call inviting his herd of pigs to the crib to receive their morning ration from the hand of the old gentleman himself. What was now the corn-crib was a house outside of the yard, with a porch in front, one room of which was Mr. Reid's business office. I suspect that it was once the farm-house, and very likely was the dwelling inhabited, and perhaps erected, by William Graham. Mr. Reid's favorite seat in summer was on the vine-covered front porch of the family mansion. Here he sat in his arm chair, or rested prone on a wide bench, at one end of which was a pillow of folio volumes, a leather bound, illuminated edition of Hume's England. The old gentleman was a great favorite with us boys. He was so companionable, and allowed us to climb the cherry trees and thrash down the mulberries without restraint. There are not many country homes nowadays like old Mulberry Hill.

How to manage line fences is another of the great problems of life which seem to defy the ingenuity of man, but Mr. Reid and the College finally agreed upon terms which not only caused a sus-

pension of hostilities, but established durable friendly relations. The work of closing up the College grounds proceeded slowly, and by 1820 the pigs and cows of the neighborhood had to mourn the loss of their fine blue grass pasture on College Hill. There was some movement toward renting out part of the ample grounds of the College, but it was not done. No new building was erected in this decade, but the large centre building was thought of. The President's house of five rooms and a basement kitchen, was made more commodious by the addition of a wing of two rooms, and some out-buildings. About the same time a long brick pavement was laid in front of the two College buildings, and extending from one to the other. The Steward's House continued to be rented out as a private boarding house at a rent of from \$40 to \$50 a year, first to Hezekiah Jordan, and afterwards to Wm. Davidson. In 1817, it was ordered that a man be appointed to "take care of the buildings as well during the session as during vacation, and to keep the hall, rooms and passages clean, make beds, and other things necessary; and that a tax of \$1.00 be paid to the treasurer by each student at the commencement of each session for the aforesaid purpose." Here we have the initiatory order—although it does not seem to have been enforced—out of which subsequently grew a proctor and college servants.

The name Academy was changed to College, and the title Rector to President by a brief Act of Assembly covering only these two points, January 2, 1813.

Due attention was given in this decade on the subject of discipline. The laws were revised twice; once in 1812, at which time 500 copies were printed, and again in 1819. Students who failed to attend examinations were not allowed to enter college the next session until their conduct was passed upon by the Board. If the College property were damaged by a student, he was, if detected, required to make good the loss, and if the act were intentional, he was also put on probation. Formal reproof by the Rector by order of the Board was a common form of punishment. One expulsion occurred. Seven students were suspended in a body, but were restored on confession. There was continuation of the monitorial system, but one student appointed to this service refused to act, and was suspended. The duty of writing to parents concerning their

sons was enjoined on the faculty in 1818. In 1819 the faculty were authorized to dismiss any student whose presence was deemed a disadvantage to the school without specific charges or formal trial, and if such an one should fail to depart when so dismissed he was to be expelled, and the fact made public. The vacations were ordered to be five weeks each; to begin on the second Wednesday of April and October respectively.

It was always regarded as important that the young men should attend Church regularly; and to encourage this habit the trustees, in 1819, bought three pews in the Presbyterian Church at the time of its enlargement. The church at that time stood in the cemetery. This effort did not seem to be more successful than the effort often made in pewed churches to induce the poor to attend by setting apart special pews for them to occupy. Before many years the Board sold its pews.

THE CREATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

In 1817 began the great contest concerning the establishment and location of the University of Virginia. The existing colleges were naturally opposed to the creation of a new college which being supported by the superior resources of the State would seem to threaten the very existence of other institutions. No one, not even Mr. Jefferson, supposed that Virginia was ready for a University in the German sense, namely, a school for supra-college learning. Nothing was expected in the beginning but a college with professional schools attached—in other words a new and formidable rival to Washington College, William and Mary and Hampden-Sidney. Besides the opposition which came from these institutions and their many friends, there were parties who considered the proposed institution as unnecessary, and others who were specially opposed to the plan for supporting the institution, namely, by diverting a large part of the proceeds of the Literary Fund from the education of poor children to which it had been consecrated in 1811. Nothing but the most strenuous exertions of an exceptionally able and devoted body of promoters could have sufficed to carry through the measure. But when the Legislature voted to establish the University, and took measures to have it organized and located, the subject was presented

in a different aspect. The first question to be decided was, where shall it be located? A committee was appointed to consider the subject, and its meeting was to be held at Rockfish Gap on top of the Blue Ridge to consider applications. Staunton was in early with a small but influential constituency. William and Mary appeared with a formidable party. The western people were bent on locating the institution west of the Blue Ridge, and obviously Lexington was a strong competing point. Under these circumstances the Trustees of Washington College very properly determined to go into the contest; and they went with a strong case and able representatives. They not only offered their property, and pointed to the preference shown by Gen. Washington and the Cincinnati Society, but they had the backing of \$70,000 of Rockbridge subscriptions, namely, John Robinson's subscription of his whole estate, valued at \$50,000, and \$18,000 of subscriptions by the people of Lexington and vicinity. This was decidedly the best offer made, and would probably have prevailed but for the active and powerful influence of Mr. Jefferson in favor of Charlottesville. He was the father of the whole scheme, and had been for years preparing for this crisis. He carried the committee at Rockfish Gap without much difficulty, but the contest on the floor of the Legislature made the friends of Jefferson tremble; but Mr. Jefferson had already started a College, which enabled him to win the battle.

The effect of the creation of the State University for a time had a depressing effect upon the existing colleges, but as time went on it appeared that the old institutions held their own, and that there was a constantly increasing demand for the higher education. Since the opening of the State University six new colleges have been established in the State, and every one of the whole ten has increased in numbers and strength, whilst the progress of the whole has far outgrown the progress of the State in wealth and numbers. The multiplication of centres of educational influence, and the dispersion through society of educated men have developed in still greater ratio the demand for liberal learning. And this increasing demand is intensive as well as extensive; by which I mean that not only is the learning wanted by increasing numbers, but fuller and more varied courses are wanted, and also more thorough instruction. Nor is this all. Variations are wanted in schools of the same grade;

not variations of scholarship so much as variations of tone, and general purpose. The State school, the denominational school, and the undenominational school each has its distinctive character, and its own constituency; and each may have a strong and successful career of its own. A college backed by the State, or backed by a Church, has certain advantages peculiar to itself, but the college that is thrown upon its merits, and moves on an independent and elevated plane has some advantages possessed by no other; and if it strikes the right key may surpass all others. It is quite certain that the present high position and peculiar strength of Washington and Lee University are to be accounted for largely by the fact that it does not belong to either Church or State.

SOME EDUCATIONAL DEVICES.

As a stimulus to study and to personal dignity among the students, the Board of Trustees adopted some little devices such as have been often tried in colleges, but never adhered to long. In this case we have no record of the success of the experiments, or even as to whether they were actually tried. An order was passed in 1813 that the sum of \$30 should be "annually expended in books and frontispieces to be distributed to such students as distinguish themselves in their studies and examinations, to be distributed at the end of each session." By frontispieces is meant engravings, in the opinion of Professor Harrison.

In 1815 it was ordered that distinctive badges should be provided to be worn by the members of each of the four classes of students; but we find nothing more in the record. Probably they were never actually worn, or if they were worn at all they soon went the way of students' uniforms, which within my recollection were worn by the students of Washington College, of the University of Virginia, and other institutions.

THE FACULTY.

In the early part of this decade the only regular instructors were President Baxter and Professor Blain. In 1813 the Board authorized the Faculty to employ an "usher," and in 1816 they were

authorized to employ a "tutor." These titles were employed interchangeably, and meant simply assistant teachers. At this period the work of the assistant teacher lay chiefly, though not exclusively, in the Grammar School. No record is to be found giving the name of either tutor appointed under those two orders; but I have information that Henry Ruffner (1812-14), and his brother Lewis Ruffner (1816-18), were both assistant teachers whilst they were students, and since the dates correspond, it seems reasonable to infer that *they* were the persons appointed under the above-mentioned orders of the Board. They had both been well prepared for college by Dr. McElhenny. Lewis Ruffner's collegiate education was as good as that of his brother Henry, and he was not inferior in natural ability. He thought also of pursuing a literary career, but after trying two or three terms as teacher of a classical school, he concluded that salt making would accord better with his tastes than school-teaching; and to this and coal-mining he gave his long life. Something more will be said of him hereafter.

In 1811 a movement was made toward the establishment of a chair of French; the practicability of which may possibly have been suggested by the frequent appearance of educated Frenchmen seeking employment. About this time the Prince de Joinville advertised in some Virginia newspapers for a place as teacher. I do not remember ever to have seen an Englishman in Lexington in my boyhood, but I saw many Frenchmen and Germans. Some of these got temporary employment as teachers of music or French. I remember one Frenchman who combined instruction in the French language with the practice of dentistry, and thus met two wants then existing in Lexington. He had a class in College; and was most punctilious in his politeness to his pupils, and in requiring like civility from them toward him. He had some personal peculiarities which amused the boys, and upon one occasion a student indulged in some thoughtless little disrespect to the teacher, and in a short time after the dismissal of the class, the youth was astonished at the receipt of a deadly challenge!

It appears from the record that in 1811 one Hyacinth Crusolles, a Frenchman, was teaching the French language to the young ladies at Ann Smith Academy. This gentleman was invited by a Committee of the Board to teach also in Washington College.

His pay was to consist of a five-dollar fee to be collected from each of his pupils, and one hundred and thirty dollars to be paid out of the fund which had been accumulated from the fee of two dollars and fifty cents which has been heretofore mentioned. Mr. Crusolles taught in College during the Summer term in 1811, and he must have taught fairly well as there was a disposition to continue him in the work. After considerable negotiation he agreed to teach for the fees of his pupils and one hundred dollars per session additional, provided he could still get employment in Ann Smith Academy. But it is stated in the record of the next meeting that Mr. Crusolles "failed to comply with his contract;" and an order was made to employ another teacher of French; which, however, seems to have been neglected.

In April, 1813, an important addition was made to the faculty by the appointment of Edward Graham, Esquire, as full professor. Mr. Graham was no stranger. He was then a practicing lawyer in Lexington. He had been a member of the Board for six years, and was at this time Secretary of the Board; both of which positions he continued to hold until his death in 1841. Mr. Graham was a younger brother of the former Rector, Rev. Wm. Graham. He was educated at Liberty Hall Academy; taught the New London Academy for a few years, during which incumbency he succeeded in starting the great mind of Conrad Speece on its literary career. Mr. Graham acted for a while as Steward at Liberty Hall after it had been established on Mulberry Hill; at which time he was probably engaged in the reading of law, for soon after, namely, about the beginning of the century, we find that he was residing in Charleston, Kanawha county, practicing law, and following cases into the District Court at the Sweet Springs; in which relation he was highly respected. He was the first commonwealth's attorney, and one of the first two delegates to the Legislature from Kanawha county. From Kanawha he came to Lexington. He was appointed trustee in 1807, and secretary of the Board in 1811. When made professor he was required to give up the practice of law, which by agreement he was allowed to do gradually.

The Board gave the three professors permission to divide the subjects of instruction among themselves; whereupon Dr. Baxter

took Belles-Lettres and Mathematics, Mr. Blain Latin and Greek, and Mr. Graham Natural Philosophy and Astronomy ; and they were formally appointed to these chairs.

The next year the College suffered a sad bereavement in the death of Professor Blain. He had served the institution faithfully for fifteen years, and his death was universally felt to be a serious loss to the College, and to the community.

REV. DANIEL BLAIN.

Mr. Blain was born in 1773 in Abbeville District, South Carolina. He was the son of Michael Blain, a farmer, who served as a soldier in the Revolutionary war. The family, although called Scotch-Irish, were of Huguenot origin. There is a place in France called Blainville, which is thought by the family to have been the original home of the Blains of South Carolina. They fled from France to Scotland, and joined the Scotch emigration to the North of Ireland, whence they came to South Carolina.

Daniel Blain's first teacher was Rev. Francis Cummins. When about twenty years of age he came to Liberty Hall Academy, where he completed his education, both academic and theological, under William Graham. He was licensed to preach by the Lexington Presbytery April 13, 1798, and was ordained to the full work of the ministry November 19, 1800 ; on which latter occasion he was installed pastor of Timber Ridge Church ; and about the same time he took charge of Oxford Church on Buffalo Creek ; both of which churches he served during the remainder of his life.

Before settling in Lexington Mr. Blain joined Dr. Baxter as his assistant at New London Academy. Dr. Baxter, succeeding Edward Graham, had taken charge of this school early in 1793, but did not receive his degree of A. B. until 1796. As Mr. Blain did not finish his studies at Liberty Hall until 1796, he probably went to New London in that year. The two came back to Lexington in 1799. The evidence shows that their school at New London had been prosperous, and that they brought ten of their pupils with them to Lexington. Mr. Blain began to assist Dr. Baxter in some informal way soon after he came, and was appointed full professor in 1802.

Mr. Blain married Mary Hanna June 3, 1799. She was the daughter of Matthew Hanna, of Lexington, a man of uncommon excellence, whose wife was a Montgomery. This family lived in the house still standing on the north corner of Main and Henry streets, and another daughter became the wife of Rev. Samuel B. Wilson, D. D. No two people could be better matched than were Daniel Blain and his wife; and as their children grew up around them they formed as happy a household as could have been found upon the earth. It is the home life that shows the true character of each parent and each child, and comparatively few households would bear the test of searching criticism; but all the testimony goes to show that in this family were uniform affection, piety and sunshine. Whilst Mr. Blain had talent, scholarship and teaching ability, the glory of his nature was his lovely spirit. He was witty and fond of a joke, but there was no sting in his mirth. His goodness was without cant or dogmatism, and was redolent of that sweetness which made even the wicked love to be with him. Such a man could not be otherwise than popular in college and in the community. My impressions of Mr. Blain are derived not only from the published sketches of such men as Dr. Foote, Dr. Henry Ruffner, and Hon. Sidney S. Baxter, but also from unpublished memoranda, and chiefly from fireside talk which I heard in my boyhood. Within my recollection his family occupied the house and lot which became the residence of James D. Davidson, Esquire, and is still occupied by the survivors of Mr. Davidson's family.

Mr. Blain's pulpit exercises were interesting and entirely satisfactory to his congregations. The matter of his sermons was excellent, but here again the chief charm of his preaching was its unction—that spiritual fervor and tenderness which as an element of converting power far surpasses mere intellectual force.

When the Synod of Virginia in 1803 considered the project of establishing a religious periodical, it was resolved "that Messrs. Samuel Houston, Matthew Lyle, George A. Baxter, Samuel Brown, Daniel Blain, and Samuel L. Campbell [all alumni of Washington Academy], be a committee to make all necessary inquiries on the subject, and if they shall think that the publication of such a work can be conducted to advantage, they are hereby authorized," &c.

The magazine, under the name of *The Virginia Religious Magazine*, was issued in Lexington, in 1804, and continued for some years. Mr. Blain contributed a number of articles, a list of which with extracts is given by Dr. Foote.

Mr. Blain was a good teacher, and as an "all-round man" adorned his position. He used in his classes a set of "Latin Exercises," prepared by himself, and regarded by the Board of Trustees as so valuable, that a resolution was passed after his death ordering them to be printed.

This admirable man was cut short by pneumonia at 41 years of age. He died March 19, 1814. Mr. S. S. Baxter tells us that his last illness was protracted, and that "during his sickness his duties were faithfully performed by Mr. Henry Ruffner, then a tutor, or assistant professor." Mr. Blain left a widow, five daughters and one son to endure a loss whose bitterness may be imagined, but cannot be described. Fortunately they were left with an estate which placed them above want. One of his daughters, in 1819, married Mr. John A. North, of Lewisburg, Greenbrier County, who was clerk first of the District Court, then of the Court of Appeals, also of the Circuit Court, and for a time of the County Court. One of Mr. North's daughters married Hon. Robert F. Dennis, a distinguished citizen of West Virginia, and an alumnus, and for years past, a trustee of Washington and Lee University. Another of Mr. North's daughters married Hon. Robert Johnston, of Rockbridge County, who was an alumnus, and held numerous important public positions.

Another daughter of Mr. Blain married Mr. John H. Myers, then a resident of Lewisburg, afterward a highly valued citizen of Lexington, and for years treasurer of Washington College. His descendants are well known among us. Two of his sons, namely, John D. Myers, M. D., and Mr. Henry H. Myers, were educated at Washington College, as were also George Holman Myers, son of John D., and Alexander Nelson Myers and Harry White Myers, sons of Henry H.

Mr. Blain's only son, Samuel W., was educated at Washington College, became a Presbyterian minister, married Miss Harrison, sister of Rev. Peyton Harrison, and after a useful and honored life died recently at a great age. The Rev. Samuel Blain sent two sons

to College, namely, Daniel, now Rev. Daniel Blain, of Albemarle county, and Randolph Harrison Blain, now a lawyer of Louisville, Ky. The Rev. Daniel Blain has sent two sons, namely, John M. and Hugh M. Blain.

Thus the sweet-spirited professor still lives in many valued descendants.

MR. BLAIN'S SUCCESSOR.

The death of Mr. Blain was the beginning of trouble with the language department. Extensive correspondence and advertising were resorted to, the determination of the Board being to get the very best man within its reach. An usher was appointed temporarily. In July of the same year, Rev. Matthew Lyle, then of Prince Edward County, was elected to fill the chair. Mr. Lyle had not been an applicant; indeed there seems to have been no candidating for professorships in those days. Mr. Lyle was originally a Rockbridge man, and was an alumnus of Washington College. Some account of him is given in the "Lyle Chapter" in the Historical Papers, No. 3. Honoring as was the appointment under the circumstances, Mr. Lyle declined to leave the field where he was highly valued, and eminently useful.

Again the Board went vigorously to work to find a suitable incumbent for the chair, but could not agree upon a man for over two years after Mr. Lyle had declined. But in November, 1816, Rev. Andrew Heron was chosen. Mr. Heron had been acting for a short time before his election, by which he thought he had learned how much time would be required for the discharge of the duties of the position. He was a minister in the Seceder Church, and at that time was actively engaged in clerical work. Wishing to continue his ministerial duties he asked for an assistant in his professorial work, as a condition of acceptance. The Board agreed to this, and appointed an assistant teacher of languages, who was to receive fifty dollars from the permanent fund and twenty shillings from each student. The person appointed was no doubt Lewis Ruffner, as heretofore intimated, whose name is not mentioned in this connection, but who was then a student, and also assistant teacher. Prof. Heron soon found that in spite of the assistance he was receiving, the duties of his chair demanded more time than he

could properly take from his clerical work, and hence in December, 1817, he gave notice that he would resign at the end of the current session. The Trustees were loth to give him up, and asked him to postpone his departure in view of the difficulty of filling the chair. A direct appeal was also made by the Board to Dr. Heron's Presbytery; but it had the effect of only delaying his resignation until the autumn of 1818. Dr. Heron was a strong character and an able professor. He remained connected with the College for thirteen years longer, in the capacity of trustee. His career was upon the whole a remarkable one, as will be seen in the following sketch:

REV. ANDREW HERON, D. D.

Dr. Heron was a Scotchman, born in Glasserton, November 13, 1788; was taught the ancient languages and mathematics in the High School of Whithorn; came to the United States in 1807; taught school in Florida, and afterward in Cambridge, New York, at which latter place he prosecuted his studies with Dr. Alexander Bullions, who subsequently gave a testimonial in favor of Mr. Heron at the request of Rev. Samuel B. Wilson; which testimonial probably occasioned his appointment as teacher in Washington College. This Dr. Bullions was a clergyman in one of the Seceder Churches, and brother of the well known Dr. Peter Bullions, who was also a clergyman in the same church, and who was distinguished as the author of a series of Latin and other grammars, which were long, and are still, widely used.

Dr. Heron belonged to that branch of the Secession Church which was known in Scotland as the Associate Presbyterian Church, which title was changed in America after a union of this branch with another called The Reformed Presbyterian, or The Covenanter Church, in 1782; the united body taking the name of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church. This new organization did not long remain united, but was divided and subdivided on various questions. They all, however, adhered to the doctrine that the Psalms of David constituted the only psalmody proper to be used in public worship, and to this they adhered with wonderful tenacity. They had a stalwart faith and mode of thinking on all points of religious doctrine. Believing in the supremacy of

Jesus Christ over all earthly authority, they refused on this ground to yield one iota to the civil or military authority in matters ecclesiastical; and in some branches of this church, they demanded an acknowledgment of Christ's supremacy by all kings and parliaments, and in all civil constitutions and usages. Some of them now in the United States will not allow their members to be citizens, because the constitution does not formally acknowledge Jesus Christ to be the Supreme Potentate. Readers of history need not to be told that in these staunch old Presbyterians we find the remains of those iron-clad sects which were driven to extremes by the persecutions of the 17th century, when the English Government sent fire and sword over Scotland to compel the people to give up their religion, and adopt other forms. We may not accept all of their strong views, but we honor their heroic resistance to tyranny, and we easily discern in their cardinal doctrine the principle on which forever rests religious liberty.

In 1810 Mr. Heron entered the theological seminary at Service, Pa., under Dr. J. Anderson, and spent his summers at Jefferson College. He was licensed to preach Sept. 1, 1813, by the Chartiers Presbytery, and ordained April 1, 1815, by the Presbytery of the Carolinas. He then came to Rockbridge County, and took charge of the Ebenezer congregation, whose house of worship still stands on the Alum Springs road about five miles from Lexington, and also of the congregation on Timber Ridge which used the old Presbyterian building when not in use by the regular congregation. He was the immediate predecessor of Rev. Dr. Horatio Thompson, who was a trustee of Washington College for more than forty years, and who for a time taught elocution in the institution. Whilst Mr. Heron was serving these two congregations he accepted the professorship of languages in the College, but as heretofore stated, was compelled to resign in 1818 by the pressure of ecclesiastical duties. He continued to preach to the same congregations until 1832, when he removed to Ohio, where he took charge of the Caesar's Creek church in Greene county.

It is thought that Mr. Heron left Virginia on account of an act passed about this time by the Synod to which he belonged, excluding all slaveholders from the communion of the church. Had he remained, whether he were himself a slaveholder or not, he would

have been required to cast out his slaveholding members: so he evaded the issue by retiring to a free state.

Dr. Thompson, his successor, although a peaceful, courteous man, never shirked an issue, and never flinched in the hour of trial. He did not regard slaveholding as a sin, and he determined neither to obey the order of his Synod, nor to retreat to non-slaveholding territory. He stood his ground, and about 1845 he united with some like-minded brethren in separating from the Northern Church, forming a Presbytery in connection with the Southern Associate Reformed Synod.

Dr. Heron did not find peace even in a free state. His old friends, the Bullions, had rebelled against something, and had been excinded. The Doctor sympathized with them, and in 1843 he himself was suspended for "insubordination:" so he and his clerical friend, Rev. G. M. Hall, with their two congregations, went out in disgust, and formed a new denomination all by themselves, which they called "The Free Associate Presbytery of Miami." But this new denomination was soon broken up by the secession of Mr. Hall, leaving Dr. Heron alone. Whereupon the worthy Doctor shook the dust from his feet, and went off to Zenia, Ohio, where in 1845 he united with the Associate Reformed Church. In 1848 he changed again, by joining the New School Covenanters, and took charge of one of their churches in Indiana, to which he ministered until the infirmities of age, including deafness, and finally blindness, compelled him to give up active service. But he had not even yet found rest for his soul. His Synod would insist on going contrary to Dr. Heron's views, and he again went forth, and in 1859 joined the United Presbyterian Church, still keeping, however, within the circle of "psalm-singing and witness-bearing" churches. He finally removed to Cedarville, O., where he ceased his wanderings in 1873 at the age of 85.

Dr. Heron possessed strong mental powers as well as strong religious principles. He was also both scholarly and literary. His memory was wonderfully retentive. Toward the last, when blindness cut him off from his great resource of reading, he entertained those around him by pouring out from the stores of his memory an astonishing variety of knowledge. Besides facts and incidents he would repeat long poems with accuracy and freedom of utterance.

Shortly before his death he repeated the whole of the one hundred and fifty Psalms in the Scotch metrical version—Rouse's, no doubt. When 83 years of age he got a severe fall, which confined him to bed for some time, during which period he composed a sermon, which he called "The Angels at School," by which he was so inspired as to rise from his bed, and hobbling on crutches go from church to church preaching his new sermon, and conducting all the services with accuracy and propriety, although he could neither see nor hear. Thus ended the career of a strong, good man, of the brave old Cameronian type.

MORE TROUBLE IN FILLING THE CHAIR OF LANGUAGES.

When the time came for filling the vacancy caused by the resignation of Prof. Heron, the Board of Trustees found itself confronted by a number of adverse influences. Persons wishing to induce the Cincinnati Society to change the direction of its donation, had excited new prejudice against the College by the circulation of slanderous reports. Moreover, a general apprehension, not to say panic, existed among the friends of the Colleges, lest the new State University should prove to be a dragon which would devour them all. Hence, besides the usual difficulty of finding a well qualified man who would accept the place with its small emoluments, these extraordinary influences manifestly enhanced all the difficulties. The Board now felt that it could not afford to lose time and dignity by dealing in uncertainties, and hence determined to take three chances for filling the chair without delay. With this in view it took the following action October 13, 1818, namely, "*Resolved*, That Dr. George A. Baxter, Rev. A. B. Davidson, and Rev. Samuel Brown be a committee to engage at the usual salary either of the following gentlemen as professor of languages, in the College, namely, Col. Augustine C. Smith of Winchester, the Rev. Henry Ruffner of Kanawha, or Mr. Cushing of Hampden-Sidney College."

Col. Augustine C. Smith, the one first mentioned, was in the army in the war of 1812, where he became the Lieut.-Colonel of the 12th Regiment of Infantry. In 1815, he left the army, and although a lawyer by profession, opened a school in Winchester, which he conducted with great success; but just at the time he

received this nomination, he had given up teaching and returned to the law. Hence, although three years before he had applied for employment in Washington College, he was not now disposed to accept a professorial appointment.

Mr. Cushing was at this time president of Hampden-Sidney College. He was not applied to; the committee having taken the nominations in the order of the record. It is not known why it was supposed that Mr. Cushing might exchange the position he was then occupying for a professorship at Washington College.

The result of the effort to fill the chair is recorded in the minutes of the Board of February 16, 1819, and is in these words: "The President as a member of the committee appointed on the 3rd of October last, informed the Board that the said committee had applied to Col. Augustine Smith, who had declined accepting the professorship offered to him; that the committee had afterward applied to Rev. Henry Ruffner, who had accepted the appointment, whose letter containing his acceptance was presented to the Board, and ordered to be filed."

The next minute on the subject is somewhat startling. It is found in the proceedings of a meeting of the Board held March 12, 1819—that is, about thirty days after the Board had received notice of Mr. Ruffner's acceptance, and about sixty days before he was to enter upon the duties of his chair. The following is the record of this meeting. "The President informed the Board that he had called them together at the request of three members of the Board, namely, James McDowell, Andrew Moore and Andrew B. Davidson. Whereupon James McDowell informed the Board that the object of himself and those associated with him, was to take into consideration the appointment of Rev. Henry Ruffner as professor of languages in this College, because they believe the appointment is unpopular, that it was made by too small a Board, and the powers entrusted to the committee were improper." After debate, the character of which is not reported, the following action was taken: "Resolved, That whatever may be the opinion of the Board as to the qualifications of Mr. Ruffner to fill the office of professor of languages in Washington College, the Board is precluded from the expression of that opinion by an express contract with that gentleman."

As this affair was peculiar in its character, and yet instructive, it may be worth while to study it for a moment. Mr. Ruffner was at the time of his appointment well known in the College, and in the country around. He had graduated here in 1813, and had been an assistant teacher in the College during nearly all the time of his student-life. After his graduation he remained a year in Lexington studying divinity with Dr. Baxter, and during the long period of Mr. Blain's illness he had charge of the language department. He was licensed to preach by the Lexington Presbytery in 1815, and ordained in the town of Lexington in 1818. Moreover, he was about to marry in the county of Rockbridge. He also was a man of mature years, being at the time of his election 28 years old, and was then engaged in preaching, and in teaching a classical school in Charleston, Kanawha County. So that when the Board put his name on their list of nominations, they could not have been under any misapprehension as to the sort of man they were proposing to call.

Moreover the attack made on his appointment was made five months after his original nomination by the Board. Within this period were held four meetings of the Board, three of which were attended by Col. McDowell. We have no record, or even tradition, of any dissatisfaction having been expressed in public or in private in respect to the appointment of Mr. Ruffner. It is needless to remark that the fear of a want of capacity, scholarship, or character could not have been seriously entertained by any one concerned, the professor-elect having been distinguished on these points. The one reason given was that the appointment was "unpopular." No one who knew the men concerned could doubt the sincerity or high motive of Col. McDowell, who with his usual manliness made the statement before the Board. This gentleman and Gen. Andrew Moore, another model of honesty and courage, had certainly been persuaded by some means that the appointment was unpopular, and ought to be annulled. Those who knew Mr. Ruffner's standing in Kanawha and in Rockbridge counties, no doubt wondered where this alleged unpopularity had been hiding itself up to this critical moment; and at this late day it would not be "to edification" to suggest possible modes of accounting for the occurrence outside of the record. No man of retiring habits, absorbed in study and the

daily routine of College duties, can have much direct hold on popular regard, but Henry Ruffner was never unpopular. He never gave personal offence. His manner was gentle; and I heard Dr. Plumer say in a public address that Henry Ruffner was the most peaceable man he ever knew. I know not what objections were made, but their influence was certainly evanescent.

Mr. Ruffner, in fulfilment of an engagement of a different sort, arrived in Lexington a few days after the Board meeting of March 12th, and now heard for the first time the facts which have been mentioned concerning that meeting. Of course he was deeply mortified; but after considering the matter he determined to go forward, and let time decide whether or not the Board had acted wisely in inviting him to take the chair. It may here be mentioned out of chronological order, that two years after Mr. Ruffner became professor he proposed a scheme for revolutionizing the course of study, and making other changes. The scheme by permission of the faculty was submitted to the Board, and was promptly and unanimously adopted. This change will be particularly described hereafter, but it is mentioned in this connection to introduce a quotation from a private narrative which Dr. Ruffner left for the use of his family. In giving an account of the meeting of the Board, at which his scheme of studies was adopted, he remarks:—

“This occurred just two years after the attempt made in the Board to annul Professor Ruffner’s appointment; and the two members of the Board who now supported his measures most zealously, and gave him the most striking marks of their confidence, were Col. James McDowell and Gen. Andrew Moore, who on the prior occasion were the most influential, if not the most zealous leaders of the attempt to turn him out. They proved themselves by the atonement they made to have been actuated throughout by honorable motives.”

Before closing this account of the decade a few more items should be touched upon.

SALARIES.

In 1813 the salary of the president was made \$550, from the permanent funds, and \$10 from each student; and of each of the

professors \$450, and \$6.67 from each student. The tuition fee was fixed at the same time at \$15.00 per five-months session, in advance; the next year the deposit fee of \$3 was added. In 1817 salaries were again advanced. The president's salary was made \$700, and those of the professors \$550, the partition of the tuition fees remaining the same. And besides salaries, the president and professor of Natural Philosophy each received 25 pounds for extra services during vacancies.

STUDENTS.

The average number of students during the period 1809–1819 was 45, including the Grammar boys. The extremes were 27 and 57. The number of students in the regular College Course was perhaps a little under 30. They seem to have been more orderly than those in the previous decade, but there is no means of deciding as to their application to study. The professors were required to keep class-books from which the average standing might be calculated. An annual report was sent to each parent. Students who did not study the ancient languages were required to recite once a week in English Grammar. Examinations were held quarterly.

Near the last of the decade the influence of the University system was shown by an order of the Board looking to systematic lectures in Belles-Lettres, Moral Philosophy and Natural Philosophy. We have a right to suppose that, with the addition of a professor to the faculty, and with improved regulations, there was a corresponding improvement in the character of the instruction.

Looking over the catalogue of alumni, we again find a long list of worthy names of men who entered the learned professions, as well as the walks of public life, of merchandise and of agriculture; men who adorned their vocations, and were a credit to their Alma Mater. Some of them became distinguished, and the most, if not all, of them moved on a higher plane than they could have done if they had not enjoyed the benefit of college study and association. A few of the more noted of these will be mentioned in the sequel.

DEGREES.

In the first six years the degree of Bachelor of Arts was conferred on thirteen students, to wit : in 1810, on John D. Paxton, John P. Wilson, Joseph S. Brown and Richard Mosely ; in 1811, on Uel Wilson ; in 1812, on Joseph Lovell and Madison Caruthers ; in 1813, on Samuel H. Lewis, Fleming Bowyer Miller, Henry Ruffner and John R. Fitzhugh ; in 1814, on Samuel Lyle Graham, and in 1815 on John F. Caruthers. No record is found of any degrees after 1815.

BOOKS AND APPARATUS.

The library and apparatus continued to receive increments from time to time. Arrowsmith's Maps of the Globe were bought in 1812. The next year Prof. Graham was clothed with authority to buy books whenever the condition of the treasury would warrant the expenditure. In 1816 the College received as a present from the State "an instrument made at public expense for taking the fall of the James, Greenbrier and Kanawha rivers." Whether this was anything more than an ordinary engineer's level which the Legislature was generous enough to give with the hope that the College would help with the survey of the rivers—I know not. The same year the Board of Trustees appropriated \$400 for the purchase of mathematical and philosophical apparatus in Europe, and \$100 for books. In 1817, \$500 were expended for books and apparatus, and it was further ordered that \$500 should be expended annually for the same objects, and "to defray the necessary expenses of the institution"—not otherwise provided for, we may assume. In the same year the sum of \$20 was voted "for the collection and preservation of curiosities, antiquities, fossils and minerals" by the faculty. This was a small beginning, but a clear recognition of the importance of a museum and cabinet of minerals as a part of the educational apparatus of a literary institution—but no one in that day dreamed how grandly this feature would be evolved in coming times, and no one yet can draw the picture of what it will become. In 1819, \$50 were appropriated for chemical apparatus—another step forward. The library now for the first time was put under strict regulations.

THE LITERARY SOCIETIES.

The Society called in this day the Graham-Lee, is the older of the two. It was at first called simply The Graham Society, and afterward the Graham Philanthropic. It was founded in 1809. Fortunately the record of its organization is preserved. It is in these words:—

“WASHINGTON ACADEMY, *August 19, 1809.*

“At a convention held this day, John D. Paxton being called to the chair, and Joseph S. Brown, Secretary, on motion the following resolutions were adopted.

“Resolved, That the members of this convention do form themselves into a society, to be called the Graham Society of Washington Academy.

“Resolved, That each member shall contribute the sum of one dollar toward the formation of a fund for the benefit of the Society.

“Resolved, That Edward Carrington, John D. Paxton, Joseph S. Brown and John P. Wilson be appointed to prepare a draught of a constitution for the government of this Society, and that they report on Friday, September 8th, 1809.”

The constitution was duly reported, adopted, and signed by the following members: John D. Paxton, Chairman, Edward C. Carrington, James W. Paxton, Gustavus A. Jones, John P. Wilson, Randolph Ross, William C. Preston, Uel Wilson; Attest, Joseph S. Brown, Secretary.

Here we find among the founders of the Graham Society the distinguished William C. Preston and Gen. E. C. Carrington; and the whole nine, men of force. It is probable that the name of Powhatan Ellis was omitted from some accidental circumstance. I heard the Hon. William C. Preston say that Powhatan Ellis was among the founders of the Graham Society. The second president was Randolph Ross, and his name does not appear on the Catalogue of Alumni. The vice-president was William C. Preston.

About 30 years after this time William C. Preston, then in the Senate of the United States, and in the full strength of his powers

of oratory, visited Lexington, and was waited on by a committee of which I had the honor to be a member, inviting him to meet his old society. He was then visiting at Colalto, the residence of his brother-in-law, Hon. James McDowell, who was also, I believe, a "Grahamite," and who accompanied Mr. Preston to the reception meeting. The Graham Hall and ante-chamber were packed by a general assemblage. The distinguished visitor was received by a speech from our "crack" orator, J. Horace Lacy. After which Mr. Preston sent a quiet stream of magnetism through his audience for half an hour, which made some of us forget whether we were in the body or out of the body; and yet when I tried the next day to write down the substance of what he said I found it was chiefly good substantial advice to young men such as we had often heard before, but never so well said. His exordium, however, consisted of euphemistic though evidently sincere expressions of pleasure and good wishes in meeting his old society, and he proceeded to give an account of its origin, and of the clear and affectionate remembrance in which he had always held it. He said that not long before, he and Powhatan Ellis, minister to Mexico, sitting in the Senate Chamber, had talked of the time when they two "with eleven others" had organized the Graham Society.

Mr. Preston then spoke of the advantages of such a society, and advised the members to make the best possible use of these fleeting opportunities. Much often depended on the ability to think on one's legs, and sometimes in the midst of a dense and brawling assembly, and here was the place to learn it. He dwelt on the importance of hard work in order to success in anything. I wrote down these as his very words—"Were I again to go over my life, my first work would be to build a temple to Industry, and I would worship in it daily from morning to night." Mr. Preston's manner was not what some of us expected from so distinguished an orator; it was so natural, so colloquial, so affectionate, and yet so commanding in its effect! From that time the "start theatric" and sesquipedalian bombast was afraid to show itself in Graham Hall. We had received a lasting object lesson in regard to that much misunderstood product called Eloquence!

The constitution adopted by the Graham Society is well drawn and appropriate, but in respect to persons who might become

members there was a provision which ultimately made trouble. It is found in article first, which reads thus—

Article 1st.

Section 1st. The members of this society shall be divided into two classes, namely, ordinary and corresponding members.

2nd. The ordinary members shall consist of students of this seminary.

3rd. The corresponding members shall consist of those who are not students of this seminary.

4th. A meeting of the ordinary members shall be held every Friday in the month during the session except the fourth, at which meetings the officers to be chosen in the manner to be hereinafter specified, shall preside.

5th. A joint meeting of the ordinary and corresponding members shall be held on the fourth Friday in every month during the session, at which the Principal [Rector] of this seminary shall preside.

Under the provision admitting members not students a number of Lexington gentlemen of mature age, including trustees, merchants and other citizens, became members of the Society; one of whom, Mr. John Leyburn, one of the best citizens of the town, and father of a number of students who became noted men, was made the treasurer of the Society. The combined monthly meetings were held regularly for some time, and whilst the corresponding members consisted of such men as have been mentioned everything was satisfactory. But three years later all distinctions were abrogated in respect to members and meetings; the only difference being that whilst students might be received as members on a mere majority vote, persons not students must receive two-thirds in order to admission. Under this modified form of the constitution the young men of the town came in, and as the meetings were at night, and often continued to a late hour, evils arose which will be described in a future chapter.

The Washington Society is somewhat younger than the Graham, but unfortunately no records could be found containing the history

of its organization and earliest meetings, and I have not been able to obtain the facts from any source ; which I much regret. My impression is that the two societies resembled each other closely in respect to design, organization, and early, as well as later history. In my College days the Graham Society seemed to attract the more sedate students, and the Washington the gayer class ; but this was half a century ago. There was always much rivalry especially in canvassing for members.

Both these societies have always been dignified and useful associations. I have belonged to many deliberative bodies, but never in any other have I seen parliamentary rules so strictly enforced as in the College society to which I belonged. Indeed all rules were enforced with rare strictness and impartiality. The usual penalty for unexcused absence, disorder, failure in the discharge of duties assigned, and violation of the library rules, was a fine varying from six and a quarter cents to dollars. These fines together with the annual contributions after defraying the necessary contingent expenses, all went to the purchase of books.

During the earlier years the sole object of the society was to debate questions, and books were wanted chiefly for reference. The topics for discussion were civil, literary, educational and religious. The society discussed whether Herod was justifiable in beheading John the Baptist ; Queen Elizabeth and Mary, Queen of Scots, were brought to the dissecting table frequently, though always with a large majority for Mary. The Right of Secession was discussed twice, and voted down both times. Slavery was discussed, and condemned. The Louisiana Purchase was pronounced inexpedient ; the forced sale of a man's property for debt was condemned. The majority of members liked Mr. Jefferson's administration better than that of John Adams. They discussed marriage, but did not consider it a failure. Psychological questions, free trade, forms of government, and many other familiar questions were discussed, often with as much zeal as if they were new and of the greatest practical importance.

But in spite of these stimulating topics, it was often difficult to induce a large percentage of the members to take part in the debates ; but an established principle of the society was that "if a bird can sing and wont sing, he must be made to sing ;" so by the

help of twelve-and-a-half cent fines they usually succeeded in overcoming the diffidence or *vis inertiae* of the delinquents. The longest debate I ever knew was as to the credibility of Maria Monk, an escaped nun. It was continued for many weeks. Patterson Fletcher was Maria's champion, and Jack Grigsby her assailant. Many other members spoke, but these were two of our finest speakers, and they imparted a thrilling interest to the debate, which was largely attended. This, however, belongs to a later period.

The Graham Society in 1810 addressed a communication to the Board of Trustees, asking sympathy and aid. From all that appears they did not get much of either. Money was scarce, and room in the buildings could not be spared for a society hall. Where the societies met, or where they kept their books, does not appear from any documents in my possession. Probably the meetings were in the College Hall. It was not until 1817 that the Board first favored the Graham Society so far as to allow it the use of some empty bookcases standing in the Chapel, or Hall. But when the centre building was completed in 1824, the two societies were granted the accommodations in the third-story, which they have still in use.

Both societies have been useful to their members, and to the College. Whatever discontent a student may feel towards the faculty, he rarely has anything to say against his society. He feels that it belongs to the "boys." He loves it, and takes pride in it. He is more at home in its hall than anywhere else. He enjoys its proceedings. He labors for its prosperity. He wants to do his full duty as a member. And he carries from its associations pleasant memories that abide with him through life. In all this zeal for his society he is getting a sort of education which he could get from nothing else, and which is of the greatest value as a preparation for active life.

This very fascination, however, carries with it a danger that has in many cases defeated the main purpose of coming to college. Comparatively few have the judgment and will-power necessary to use their college privileges in due proportion; still fewer are able to give up the thing they love best, say their society, for the thing which has the highest claims upon them, namely, their studies. And yet I have known this to be deliberately done by students

who saw that it was necessary to sacrifice the one or the other ; and these were always first-class men. But the fact should be distinctly recognized that almost always among students there are some men who will never be serious students, but who may be shining lights in their societies ; and by means of the advantages they enjoy there, may be launched on a career of distinction in literature or oratory. Dr. McGuffey ascribed to a little country debating society the impulse which projected him on his distinguished career. He said he had been brought up in the hard old way which led children to think that they had no sense, and were simply in everybody's way, but when he got into this debating society, he found he could speak, and he could hold his own in a debate with the best of them ; in fact, it began to be said among the boys that the side that had Billy McGuffey on it was sure to win. He said that this was the first compliment he ever had, and it did him more good than all the whippings he had ever received. Every teacher knows that there are some minds which seem to be in a hypnotic condition, and after long resisting all efforts to interest them in their studies, are at last aroused in some unexpected way as by a disenchanting wand, and thenceforward pursue their studies with avidity. The college society has an awakening effect. I could name cases to illustrate this statement. There are many reasons which go to show that a literary society fills a place in an educational course which cannot be supplied by any other instrumentality.

CHAPTER III.

THIRD DECADE OF DR. BAXTER'S ADMINISTRATION.

1820-1829.

In this the third and last decade of Dr. Baxter's administration, four vacancies in the Board were filled by the appointment of Hon. Allen Taylor and Rev. James Morrison in 1820, and Hon. (afterwards Governor) James McDowell and Dr. Thomas Massie in 1826. Numerous meetings were held, and a great variety of subjects were considered.

STOCK OF THE JAMES RIVER COMPANY.

Early in the decade negotiations were commenced which ended in securing to the College a regular fixed income, instead of the irregular returns of the past. For a few years preceding this change the stock of the James River Company had yielded handsomely, and was expected to continue to do so permanently. The income received by the College was \$3,200 in 1817; \$2,800 in 1818; \$1,200 in 1819; \$1,200 in 1820; dividends which represented a percentage of from 6 per cent. to over 18 per cent. on the investment; and looking at the subject from the stand-point of that day, there was every reason to cherish the highest expectations in regard to the permanent and increasing value of the stock.

The Legislature had passed an act looking to a great enlargement of the plan for the improvement of the James river, in which the State should have a controlling interest; and, as the result of the negotiations for the surrender of the old stock in order to clear the way for a new company, the State guaranteed to Washington College 12 per cent. on the face value of its stock for 12 years, and 15 per cent. afterward for all time. This secured an income of \$2,400 until 1832, and \$3,000 forever afterward; to which contract the State has, of course, adhered faithfully. It was arranged by act of the Legislature in 1860, that the Washington donation to the College should be represented by the sum of \$50,000 bearing 6 per cent. interest, instead of \$20,000 bearing 15 per cent. interest; a change which seemed to swell the endowment, but which in fact adds no current cost to the State and no income to the College.

The James River Valley, and its projected line of improvement, have played so important a part in the history of the College, as well as of the Commonwealth, and entered so largely into the personal thought and action of our great benefactor, Gen. Washington, that it seems appropriate to sketch the history of this great enterprise, which has not been belittled, but on the main point magnified, by the recent adoption of a preferred method of transportation of subsequent invention. Washington's grand conception was to pass the traffic of the West to Hampton Roads by two great water and portage lines, which with ancillary lines would offer the easiest route to the markets of the East for the vast productions of the

Ohio Valley and the upper Mississippi country. He was familiar with the natural resources of that valley from personal observation. He knew that Virginia had command of the two most practicable of all the crossings of the Alleghenies. The original plan developed into an unbroken water line, and was endorsed by some of the ablest engineers of the world as feasible. The poverty of the State alone prevented the carrying through of the work of building the central line before the railroad influence could have stopped it. In comparison with this, the building of the New York and Erie Canal was a trifle. It is not certain that the line will not yet be built, but it is certain that at the time it was projected the original plan was the best possible scheme for developing the resources of Virginia, and for gaining control of the traffic of the West. At that time there was not a railroad in the world, and for half a century after railroads had been introduced into the State, the idea of the Canal was still adhered to, and there was a probability that the Federal Government would take it in hand almost up to the time when the proposition was made by the Richmond and Allegheny Company.

The conception of this improvement came into Washington's mind during his expeditions—when a young man—to the Ohio River. Soon after his return from the West, in 1753, he suggested the scheme to the Governor and Council of Virginia. Between this date and the opening of the Revolution he voluntarily made three tours of inspection in order to inform himself fully of all facts which might help to produce conviction with the authorities as to the feasibility and importance of the scheme. Soon after the close of the Revolutionary War he resumed the subject. In 1784 he called Mr. Jefferson's attention to the matter; and also urged it upon Gov. Harrison, who was induced to address a message on the subject to the Legislature; whereupon Gen. Washington visited Richmond in person in order to confer with the members of the Legislature, and urge immediate action. On the 15th of December, 1784, James Madison, chairman of a committee appointed specially to consider the subject, reported a bill for the improvement of the James and Potomac Rivers, which became a law January 5, 1785. This, of course, did not include the scheme in all its fullness, but it inaugurated the work. Under this was organized the James

River Company, whose stock was taken partly by the State and partly by individuals. Soon after the Company was organized the Legislature ordered the State Treasurer to subscribe on State account for 100 shares of the James River Stock, and 50 shares of the Potomac Stock. These extra shares were offered as a gift to Gen. Washington, who accepted them only on condition that he could use them for public purposes. As is well known, he honored and blessed Liberty Hall Academy by donating to it the one hundred shares of the James River Company.

The first work of the James River Company was to build a canal seven miles long extending from Richmond to Westham in order to pass boats around the rapids, and land them in a basin in the city. The river from Westham to Buchanan was improved by establishing sluices in the current at the shoals by means of which the long, narrow bateaux under skillful management of trained boatmen might be shot downward, and laboriously poled upward. But it was a hazardous style of navigation, particularly in low water, and there were certain extra-hazardous rapids, of which a noted example was Balcony Falls, known among the old boatmen as "the Belcōny," the *o* being sounded long with a heavy accent on it. Here the water "runs so wild" that it was extremely difficult to keep the boat off the rocks. Here many a heavily laden boat was wrecked, and many a brave fellow lost his life.

The first ten years of the company's existence was spent in making these improvements, during which period no dividends were paid. Owing to this state of affairs Washington withheld the stock until 1796. And after receiving the benefaction the College had to wait five years longer before receiving any income from it. But the stock then became so productive that the State was encouraged to undertake the large work of opening the water line to the Ohio River by a combined canal and lock and dam and sluice and wing dam system; and to this end bought in all the stock of the old Company that it did not already own on the terms above stated. The work was continued until 1835 by the State, but in that year the James River and Kanawha Company, which had been chartered in 1832, went into operation as the successor of the James River Company. In this new company, three-fifths of the stock was retained by the State, and the rest sold to individuals and

corporations. Washington College subscribed for \$10,000 of this stock, which proved to be a total loss. The amount, however, was replaced from the income. Railroads came in about the time the new company was formed, and the State herself went also into railroad and turnpike building, and thus piled up the debt which has hung as a millstone about her neck. Many causes conspired to break down the canal, and to cause it to be turned over to the Richmond and Alleghany Railroad Company. But Washington's perspicacity and foresight have as usual been fully vindicated on the main point, namely, that the James River and Potomac River valleys offered the true lines of connection between Virginia tide-water and the Ohio valley, and the interest of the State demanded that she should promptly get control of these lines, and enter upon their improvement as highways. This was the vital point in Washington's mind, and the changes made have been only changes of method. The Chesapeake and Ohio and Baltimore and Ohio Railroads, by adopting respectively these two routes, and developing them into mighty thoroughfares, have borne the highest possible testimony to the engineering skill and prophetic vision of him who was as wise in practice as he was noble in thought.

THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI.

Inasmuch as the fund donated by the Virginia branch of the Society was during this decade covered into the State treasury for the benefit of Washington College, it may be proper to add something to what is said by Dr. Henry Ruffner in regard to the Society; whose good opinion added to that of Washington constitutes a cotemporaneous testimonial to the worth of Washington College as it stood at that period, which should forever protect it against flip-pant criticism. The example of the great chieftain in placing his stamp of approval upon the school, of course, had a strong influence on the Cincinnati in determining what disposition should be made of their funds; but the Society acted in the matter with uncommon deliberation. The question was distinctly before the body for five years, and their decision was reëffirmed at the end of ten years more, when a dishonorable effort was made to induce

the Society to reconsider their action in the interest of another institution.

At first blush it may seem unnecessary to insert any extended notice of this noted Society, whose career though short attracted the attention of the civilized world, and has been not only described in the histories of the country, but has been portrayed and vindicated in numerous public addresses at this institution. But it cannot be said that the institution has done its full duty to the Society until somewhere in its public documents may be found a connected history of the organization, embodying a vindication of the motives of its distinguished members.

In the spring of 1783, after peace had been proclaimed, but before the patriot army had been disbanded, a feeling of sadness among the soldiers mingled with their joy as they remained together inactive awaiting the hour of separation. Our soldiers who lately served for four years together, felt themselves to be united by very strong ties; but had the time been doubled in which they toiled and fought and suffered, the strength of these personal ties would have been more than doubled! No one can fail to appreciate the fraternal feeling which would lead the old Revolutionary soldiers to consider whether there might not be some means by which their personal and social ties might be preserved, and by which they might still help one another, and keep watch over the liberties of their country. The first to shape this feeling into a plan was Gen. Knox, who "was ever noted for generous impulses." At the encampment on the Hudson river, he proposed the formation of a general society, with a branch in each State, to be composed of the officers of the American army; the society to meet periodically. The suggestion was favorably received by all, and evoked "the hearty approbation of Washington." On the 13th of May, 1783, an organization was effected in the old Verplanck House, then the headquarters of Baron Steuben, near Fishkill. It was intended to be permanent.

It is not stated who proposed the name, or why it was selected. But this name was adopted at the time of the organization, and its appropriateness is obvious. The typical character to be represented was the patriotic farmer-soldier. Cities in that day were few and small. The American army, from Washington down, was made

up almost exclusively of men who had been called from their farms to join in the defence of their country, and now that the dangerous crisis had been successfully passed, they were as anxious as was Cincinnatus after the expulsion of the Æqui to return to the plough. The parallel goes farther. Much as they loved their homes and their rural pursuits, their first duty in the future, as in the past, was to their country. All this is implied in the name. It meant in a word self-abnegation, love of home, and supreme patriotism!

The objects as set forth in their constitution were not simply harmless; they were noble and patriotic in the highest degree. The society was intended to provide for social reunions; to protect the families of each other from want; "to preserve inviolate the rights and liberties for which they had contended; to promote and cherish national honor, and the union of the States." Each officer was to contribute one month's pay for the creation of a fund, the interest of which was to be used for the relief of the suffering. The plan contemplated a general society, State societies and district societies. The general society was to meet annually on the first Monday in May, the State societies on the 4th of July, and the district societies as often as should be determined by the State society.

The society badge was to be the bald eagle in gold suspended by a deep blue ribbon two inches wide edged with white, emblematic of the union between France and America. On the breast of the eagle Cincinnatus is represented as receiving the military ensigns from three Senators; the implements of husbandry are seen in the background; and around the whole is inscribed *Omnia reliquit servare rempublicam*. On the reverse Fame is crowning Cincinnatus with a wreath having the legend *Virtutis præmium*, with other emblems; and encircling the whole, *Societas Cincinnatorum, instituta A. D. 1783*.

A provision was incorporated which made membership of the society hereditary along the male lines of the founders; or in default of male heirs in the direct line, the nearest collateral male line should inherit. Provision was made also for the election of honorary members for life: distinguished American patriots and French officers of high rank who had served in the American

cause. To these might also be voted the insignia of the order ; but the proportion of honorary members should never be greater than one to four.

Washington was unanimously chosen president of the society, and presided at the first general annual meeting in 1784. But alas ! this monument to friendship and patriotism at once excited the fears of a host of outside patriots ; men equally patriotic, but men chiefly who had served their country in other spheres of action, and no doubt in some cases private soldiers who could not become members. The hereditary feature was promptly attacked by Dr. Franklin, who contended that it would create and perpetuate an aristocratic class, which would be out of harmony with the spirit of the republic. Many others took the same view. It attracted attention in Europe also, where unfavorable comments were made, and motives and designs were ascribed to the founders of which they were wholly innocent. Judge Burke, of South Carolina, published a pamphlet in which he denounced the organization as the creation of a military caste, which would not only lead to the establishment of an order of nobility, but would threaten the safety of the civil government. The Legislatures of Massachusetts and Connecticut warned the country against the new order, and the alarm was spread from State to State. The Father of his Country was so much disturbed by the unpopularity of the Society, and possibly somewhat moved by the arguments against it, which in the purity of his motives had not occurred to him, that by the time the first annual meeting came around he was ready to urge the abandonment of the whole scheme ; but owing to opposition among members, and complications arising from foreign membership, the Society was continued, and certain changes made, as will be related.

In December, 1794, Mr. Jefferson wrote a letter to Mr. Madison attacking the Society, which, some believed, was intended to injure Gen. Washington in revenge for his open opposition to the Democratic societies, which he believed to be formed in sympathy with the Jacobins of France, but which Jefferson favored. As Mr. Jefferson in this letter states in his forcible way the objection to the Society, it seems proper to quote the following passage :—"It is wonderful that the President should have permitted himself to be an organ of such an attack upon the freedom of discussion. . . .

In must be a matter of rare curiosity . . . to see what line their ingenuity would draw between democratical societies whose avowed object is the nourishment of the republican principles of our constitution, and the Society of the Cincinnati, a *self-created one*, carving out for itself hereditary distinctions, lowering over our constitution eternally, meeting together in all parts of the Union, periodically, with closed doors, accumulating a capital in their separate treasury, corresponding secretly and regularly, and of which Society the very persons denouncing the democrats are themselves the fathers, founders, and high officers."

This skillfully worded indictment is followed by a denunciation of the excise law against which the whiskey men of Western Pennsylvania rebelled, and by ridicule of the President's efforts to suppress the rebellion as he did by the hand of Gen. Henry Lee. This was probably provoked by Washington's declaration that the Whiskey Insurrection was a first fruit of the democratic societies. The immediate dissolution of the democratic societies on the fall of Robespierre, considered in connection with the influence which the revolutionary French minister Genet had exerted in promoting their organization, revealed their true Jacobin character; and showed that Washington read their designs correctly from the beginning. And in regard to Mr. Jefferson's attack upon the Cincinnati Society, the best answer to it is the history of the Society which Mr. Jefferson himself prepared for a French encyclopedia in 1786. It is a perfect vindication of Washington and of the Society of the Cincinnati, against the charges which Mr. Jefferson subsequently made in his letter to Madison. For this reason and because it is a good historical sketch of the origin and career of the Society, I will now quote a large part of the article in the encyclopedia :

Thomas Jefferson's Account of the Society of the Cincinnati.

"When on the close of that war which established the independence of America, its army was about to be disbanded, the officers who during the course of it had gone through the most trying scenes together, who, by mutual aids and good offices, had become dear to one another, felt with great apprehension of mind the

approach of that moment which was to separate them, never perhaps to meet again. They were from distant States, and from distant parts of the same State. Hazard alone could give them but rare and partial occasions of seeing each other. They were of course to abandon all hope of seeing each other, or to devise some occasion which might bring them together. And why not come together on purpose at stated times? Would not the trouble of such a journey be greatly overpaid by the pleasure of seeing each other again, by the sweetest of all consolations, the talking over the scenes of difficulty and endearment they had gone through? This, too, would enable them to know who of them should succeed in the world, who should be unsuccessful, and to open the purses to every laboring brother. This idea was too soothing not to be cherished in conversation. It was improved into a regular association, with an organized administration, with periodical meetings, general and particular, fixed contributions for those who should be in distress, and a badge by which not only those who had not had occasion to become personally known, should be able to recognize each other, but which should be worn by their descendants, to perpetuate among them the friendship which had bound their ancestors together.

“Gen. Washington was at that moment oppressed with the operation of disbanding an army which had not been paid, and the difficulty of this operation was increased by some two or three States having expressed sentiments which did not indicate a sufficient attention to their payment. He was sometimes present when his officers were fashioning in their conversations their newly proposed society. He saw the innocence of its origin, and foresaw no effects less innocent. He was at the time writing his valedictory letter to the States, which has been so deservedly applauded by the world. Far from thinking it a moment to multiply causes of irritation, by thwarting a proposition which had absolutely no other basis but that of benevolence and friendship, he was rather satisfied to find himself aided in his difficulties by this new incident, which occupied and at the same time soothed the minds of his officers. He thought, too, that this institution would be one instrument the more for strengthening the Federal bond, and promoting Federal ideas. The institution was formed. They incorporated into it the officers

of the French army and navy, by whose sides they had fought, and with whose aid they had finally prevailed."

After stating that Washington accepted the office of president of the Society, and mentioning the opposition which its supposed tendency to divide the community into distinct orders soon excited, Mr. Jefferson proceeds :—

"The uneasiness excited by this institution had very early caught the notice of Gen. Washington. Still recollecting all the purity of the motives which gave it birth, he became sensible that it might produce political evils which the warmth of those motives had masked. Add to this that it was disapproved by the mass of the citizens of the Union. This alone was reason strong enough in a country, where the will of the majority is the law, and ought to be the law. He said that the objects of the institution were too light to be opposed to considerations as serious as these ; and that it was become necessary to annihilate it absolutely. On this, therefore, he was decided. The first annual meeting at Philadelphia was now at hand ; he went to this determined to exert all his influence for its suppression. He proposed it to his fellow officers, and urged it with all his powers. It met with an opposition which was observed to cloud his face with an anxiety that the most distressful scenes of the war had scarcely ever produced. It was canvassed for several days, and at length it was no more a doubt what would be its ultimate fate. The order was on the point of receiving its annihilation, by the vote of a great majority of its members. In this moment their envoy arrived from France, charged with letters from the French officers, accepting with cordiality the proposed badges of the order, with solicitations from others to be received into the order, and with notice that their respectable sovereign had been pleased to recognize it, and to permit its officers to wear its badges. The prospect was now changed. The question assumed a new form. After the offer made by them, and accepted by their friends, in what words could they clothe a proposition to retract it, which would not cover themselves with the reproaches of levity and ingratitude ? which would not appear an insult to those they loved ? Federal principles, popular discontent were considerations whose weight was known and felt by themselves. But would foreigners know and feel them equally ? would they so far acknowledge their

cogeny as to permit without indignation the eagle and ribbon to be torn from their breasts, by the very hands which had placed them there? The idea revolted the whole Society. They found it necessary then to preserve so much of their institution as might continue to support this foreign branch, while they should prune off every other which would give offence to their fellow-citizens; thus sacrificing on each hand, to their friends, and to their country.

The Society was to retain its existence, its name, its meetings, and its charitable funds; but these last were deposited with their respective Legislatures. The order was to be no longer hereditary. The eagle and ribbon were indeed retained, because they were worn, and they wished them to be worn, by their friends in a country where they would not be objects of offence; but themselves never wore them. They laid them in their bureaus, with the medals of American Independence, with those of the trophies they had taken, and the battles they had won. But all through the United States, no officer is seen to offend the public eye with a display of this badge."

This narrative Mr. Jefferson calls "a short and true history of the order of the Cincinnati;" and no doubt it is; and it furnishes a perfect answer to Jefferson's own criticisms.

It is proper to state here parenthetically that the quotations made above are from a book written in 1831 by Major Henry Lee, a half-brother of Gen. Robert E. Lee, and an alumnus of Washington College. His name appears in the Catalogue in the class of 1806-7 with those of Judge James Ewell Brown—who married a Stuart, and for whom Gen. J. E. B. Stuart was named—Judge Edward B. Bailey, Col. Daniel Bryan, Gen. John Pope Duvall, Dr. Thomas Fearn, Rev. John Blair Hoge, Dr. Thomas Nelson—who was the uncle of Professor A. L. Nelson—and other men of note. Major Lee's father—"Light Horse Harry"—first married Matilda, daughter of Col. Philip Ludwell Lee. His fourth child was Henry, who was born at Stratford, in Westmoreland county, in 1787, and who died in Paris, France, January 30, 1837. He was Major in the U. S. Army, and served during the war of 1812; was afterward Consul General to the Barbary States, and occupied other important public positions. He was an able and well-informed man, and wrote with great vigor. He published a number of books,

to wit, "The Campaign of 1781," "Observations on the Writings of Thomas Jefferson"—quoted from above—"Life of Napoleon," and some others whose titles I have not been able to ascertain. My quotations from his book on the writings of Jefferson are from the second edition, which was published in 1839, and was edited with introduction and notes by his half-brother, the accomplished Charles Carter Lee.

Major Lee married Miss Anne McCarty, who belonged to an ancient family, first mentioned, as Bishop Meade says, in 1710. They were connected by marriage with the Masons of Northern Virginia, and with other families in that region. His wife was with him when he died. They left no children.

The object of Major Lee's book on Jefferson is to defend the memory of his father, Gen. Henry Lee, from certain aspersions cast by Thomas Jefferson, which are shown to be wholly unjust. Mr. Jefferson disliked the intimacy which existed between Gen. Washington and Gen. Lee, and endeavored to weaken Washington's confidence by means which are described in this book. Vain attempt! Washington's confidence in Lee was impregnable. Lee was the son of the lady who first touched the heart of young George. She was the one, as Irving tells us, about whom he wrote rhymes at Mt. Vernon and Greenway Court—his "lowland beauty." Of course Washington would love her son by the very law of his faithful nature. But Lee in himself was just the sort of man that would penetrate the armor of reserve which kept most people at a distance. His dashing soldierly qualities combined with skill and prudence evoked the frequent commendation of the Commander-in-Chief during the war, and carried his confidence unabated to the end of it; and afterwards caused the President to give him charge of the expedition against the whiskey insurgents. Washington knew Henry Lee far better than Jefferson knew or could know him, and he continued to love and trust him to the day of his death. Had he looked beyond his decease, he would have felt sure that Lee would be true to his memory; but he could not have anticipated that Lee would utter a sentence about him that would be immortal.

Returning to our narrative, the general Society of the Cincinnati, shorn of the features which had been objected to, was continued, though not prominently, until the beginning of the present century.

Some of the State societies which had been formed were promptly disbanded under the fire which had been opened upon them. Others were continued, and among them the Virginia Society. This Society, however, early in the present century provided for its own dissolution, and it went out of existence in the decade of which we are now writing.

It became known to the authorities of Washington Academy, in 1802, that the Virginia Society in anticipation of its dissolution intended to bestow its fund of about \$15,000 on some public institution ; and it is reported by Sidney S. Baxter, Esq., that Gen. Daniel Morgan, a member of the Society, suggested that Washington Academy should apply for the fund. Whereupon at a meeting held November 3, 1802, the Board of Trustees appointed a committee to present the claims of this school. In December, a meeting of the Society was held in Richmond, and was attended by Andrew Alexander and Gen. Blackburn, who had been appointed a committee to act in behalf of Washington Academy. The meeting was not full enough for final action, and Hampden-Sidney proved to be a formidable competitor ; but a majority of those present passed the following resolutions, which Mr. Alexander presented to the Board at a meeting held February 28, 1803. The resolutions were subject to ratification by a future meeting at which a majority of the whole number of members should be present.

At a meeting of the Society of Cincinnati of Virginia, at the Capitol, in the City of Richmond, on Monday, the 13th of December, 1802.

On motion it was

1st. *Resolved*, That a Committee be appointed, of thirteen, to make an appropriation of the funds of the Society to such object as may be agreed upon by the present meeting—subject, however, to confirmation by a majority of the whole number composing the Society at the next general meeting, in person or by proxy appointed in writing or by letter to the President, and of which due notice shall be given in the public papers and by letter from the President.

2nd. *Resolved*, That the object of appropriation of the funds of this Society be the Seminary of learning in the county of Rockbridge, denominated the Washington Academy (to which the shares

of James's river company heretofore vested in our late illustrious Leader and Hero General Washington, have by him been appropriated) subject to such charges of a charitable nature as have been or may be adopted by the Society.

3rd. *Resolved*, That the mode of appropriation of the funds of this Society by the Committee appointed for that purpose, if confirmed as provided by the first resolution, shall be by the purchase of shares in the James River Company and lands within the State of Virginia, as may in their opinion be most beneficial, and the conveyance thereof to the Trustees of the Washington Academy, to be held unalienable for the use of the said academy, provided, however, that the said committee shall retain a control over the product of the property purchased so long, and to such amount, as may be sufficient to meet the objects of Charity referred to in the second resolution.

4th. *Resolved*, That the next General meeting shall be on the second Monday in December next at the Capitol in the City of Richmond.

Committee appointed in pursuance of the first resolution, viz :—

| | |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| James Wood, | Churchill Jones, |
| Edward Carrington, | William Mosely, |
| William Heth, | Robert Porterfield, |
| Samuel Coleman, | Robert Gamble, |
| Larkin Smith, | Marks Vandevale, |
| William Bentley, | Jno. Pryor, |
| | Jno. White. |

Copy from the minutes.

Attest,

SAM. COLEMAN,

Secretary to the Society.

Copied from a paper filed with the archives of Washington and Lee University.

The vote upon this occasion between Washington Academy and Hampden-Sidney College, was extremely close, as is shown by the following list, which is found among the archives of Washington and Lee University.

*Members of the Cincinnati who voted in favor of
Washington Academy.*

1. Gen. James Wood, *Prest. pro tem*, - Frederick.
2. Col. Wm. Heth, - - - - - Henrico.
3. Col. Ed. Carrington, - - - - - Richmond.
4. Mayo Carrington, - - - - - Cumberland.
5. Jno. Woods, - - - - - Bedford.
6. Churchwell Jones, - - - - - Orange.
7. Robert Gamble, - - - - - Richmond.
8. John White, - - - - - Richmond.
9. John Pryor, - - - - - Richmond.
10. Gen. James Williams, - - - - - Orange.
11. Gen. Blackwell, - - - - - Fauquier.
12. Col. Jno. Jamison, - - - - - Culpeper.
13. Collin Cook, - - - - - Prince George.
14. Jno. Stith, - - - - - Brunswick.
15. Gen. Robert Porterfield, - - - - - Augusta.
16. Dr. Middleton, - - - - - Surry.
17. Henry Bowyer, - - - - - Botetourt.
18. One other whose name I cannot recollect.

Votes for Hampden-Sidney.

1. William Bentley, - - - - - Powhatan.
2. William Moseley, - - - - - Richmond.
3. Marks Vandewall, - - - - - Richmond.
4. Geo. Carrington, - - - - - Halifax.
5. Clem't Carrington, - - - - - Charlotte.
6. John Scott, - - - - - Halifax.
7. Charles Scott, - - - - - Kentucky.
8. John Harris, - - - - - Powhatan.
9. Jordan Harris, - - - - - Powhatan.
10. Willis Wilson, - - - - - Cumberland.
11. John Crute, - - - - - Prince Edward.
12. Matt Clay, - - - - - Pittsylvania.
13. Wm. B. Wallace, - - - - - Stafford.
14. Larkin Smith, - - - - - King and Queen.

15. Samuel Coleman, - - - - - Richmond.
16. ——— Tribue, - - - - - Chesterfield.

On being informed of the vote, the College Trustees addressed an appropriate circular to each member of the Cincinnati Society, which is still preserved.

In 1807 a general meeting of the Virginia Society was held, at which the action of the meeting of 1802 was ratified and confirmed, as shown in the resolutions given by Dr. Henry Ruffner on page 102 of his history. The Legislature passed the act in 1814 as requested in the resolutions, authorizing the treasurer to receive the money, and hold it in trust for the benefit of the school; but as the funds could not be turned over whilst the Society remained in active existence, there still remained a period in which rival interests might seek to induce the members to change the direction of its benefaction. Such an effort was made by the friends of the proposed State University at a meeting of the Society held in 1818. Notice was given at a preceding meeting that this proposition would be made. In the interval injurious reports concerning Washington Academy were privately circulated among the members of the Cincinnati Society in order to influence their action at the coming meeting. Information of this sapping and mining movement was communicated to Dr. Baxter by the Rev. William Hill, of Winchester, in a letter dated November 12, 1818. Almost simultaneously the same information came from other quarters. The Board of Trustees was promptly summoned, and on the 20th of the same month met and appointed a committee to prepare a circular in defence of the institution. This committee reported to the Board on the 30th instant a form of circular, which was ordered to be condensed and forwarded to the members of the Society. The effect was satisfactory; for when the meeting was held in Richmond in the middle of December, the sentiment was strong in favor of allowing the former action to stand; and this in the face of a letter from Thomas Jefferson read to the meeting, and urging the transference of the fund to Central College, which was soon to become the University of Virginia. Col. Henry Bowyer, a trustee of Washington College, was present as a member at the meeting of the Cincinnati, and, perceiving what was the sentiment of the body, introduced

strong resolutions reëffirming the former action of the Society, and deprecating any future agitation of the question. These resolutions were passed unanimously by the twelve members and eight proxies who were present. Thus ended all trouble in this direction.

In 1822 Judge Brooke wrote announcing that the Society was so near to its dissolution that the College Board might with propriety apply for the fund ; but advised the Board first to provide for teaching military science, and for the delivery of an oration in explanation of the character of the Society, and in vindication of the motives of its members. The Trustees promptly passed resolutions declaring the purpose of the Board, as soon as the funds should become available, to establish a professorship to be called by the name of the Society, in which should be taught the sciences of Fortification and Gunnery ; and also to provide for the oration.

In 1824 the fund was deposited in the State treasury, subject to certain pensions. Soon after came the defalcation and suicide of the State Treasurer, law-suits, and finally the receipt of the fund, principal and interest, in 1848. When the fund was first deposited it amounted to about \$15,000, which was yielding \$900 interest ; \$700 of which was absorbed by pensions to seven old persons. When finally received the fund had swelled to \$25,000. In 1838 President Ruffner delivered an oration in honor of the Cincinnati Society. Previous to this time the chair of Mathematics had been called by the name of the Society. An annual address by a student to be called the Cincinnati Oration was established as one of the honors, and was to be given to the best scholar in the class of graduates. Military instruction was provided for. For 45 years this fund has been doing good service in the cause of education, and the Society which made the donation will be remembered and honored for all time.

JOHN ROBINSON AND HIS BENEFACTIONS.

It will be recollected by the reader that when Lexington was bidding for the removal of the Academy in 1803, John Robinson subscribed a lot of ground owned by him on the edge of the town, or if preferred, the value of the lot (£40 in money) and 100 bushels of corn in addition. If, as I believe, the lot was the area heretofore

mentioned as lying on the east front of the same hill, south of where now stand the University buildings, and extending on both sides of Jackson Avenue, and including the lot of Mr. H. H. Myers, stopping at the cross street beyond, Mr. Robinson probably thought that this would be a good site for the Academy; and we may suspect that the 100 bushels of corn was a part of the product of the lot.

Robinson's next offer was one of the noblest in the records of benevolence. I refer to the offer he made in 1817 of his entire estate as an inducement to the State to adopt Washington College as the State University, or to locate it within four miles of Lexington. It is not often that men of means donate even by will their entire estates to a literary institution, but here is a man who offered to give his whole estate whilst he was yet living; though the donation was not to take effect until his death, which could not be long, and which occurred seven years later. The deed of conveyance was made conditionally to the State Board of the Literary Fund, and may now be seen on record in the Clerk's office of the Rockbridge County Court. It is witnessed by John McC. Taylor, of Montgomery County, Hon. N. H. Claiborne, of Franklin County, and Gen. James Breckenridge, of Botetourt County.

During the decade under consideration, when a new building was contemplated for the better accommodation of the College, Mr. Robinson subscribed \$2,000, as will be again mentioned.

He died in 1826, leaving his whole estate to the College.

John Robinson was a rare character, and so worthy and interesting that, apart from duty to his memory, he should not be forgotten. He was born in County Armagh in the North of Ireland in 1753, and came to Rockbridge in 1770. The only account we have of his boyhood and youth is contained in an article contributed to *The Princeton Magazine* in 1850 by Dr. Archibald Alexander; in which it is stated, that "when a child he lost his father, and by an uncle was bound to a weaver to learn the trade. After a few years he became dissatisfied, and determined to emigrate to America. How he was released from his indentures, or how he got the means of paying his passage, is not known. As I first knew him he was an itinerant weaver, going from house to house, where looms were kept.

He was probably about sixteen or seventeen years of age; a good natured, jovial lad."

It is stated in Mr. Robinson's will that he participated in the Revolutionary struggle "in various situations." He was about 23 years of age when the war commenced, having worked about six years at his trade in Rockbridge before he went into service. We have no facts in regard to his military life beyond the simple statement already quoted. Dr. Alexander, after speaking of Robinson's youth, says that after some time he found a permanent home at the house of Gen. John Bowyer. Gen. Bowyer lived near Lexington on the Thornhill farm, which then was much larger than it now is. What follows in Dr. Alexander's sketch indicates that after the war Robinson resumed his occupation as weaver. Dr. Alexander's narrative continues—"His good temper and good behaviour, with a spice of Irish wit, recommended him to the gentlemen of the neighborhood. After following his trade for a year or two, Robinson saved money enough to buy a poor horse; he had a strong admiration for those of fine form, good gait and high spirit. By careful feeding and training, the animal was improved beyond expectation, and, being allowed a free use of hay and other provender at the General's, soon came into good condition. Robinson now determined to ride to town on court day, and make a trial of his skill in trading horses. His success was encouraging; for by an exchange of his sleek, well looking horse, he obtained one much larger and younger, though poor in flesh, with a considerable sum to boot. He pursued the same plan as before, and in a month his new acquisition was so improved by capital treatment, that he was worth in market twice the price he paid. The shuttle was henceforth thrown away, and Robinson became a regular horse-jockey. His skill in judging of their points was not surpassed. Meanwhile he maintained a good character for honesty; he practiced none of those deceptions which are common among men of this profession. By pursuing this business for some years Robinson accumulated a considerable sum of money; for his expenses were small. He now began to think what he should do with his money, which was increasing every month. In the Valley of Virginia there were many returned soldiers of the Revolution who were very necessitous, but who were in possession of government certificates entitling

them to receive pay for their services. The Federal Government had not gone into operation, and the prevalent opinion was that these certificates would never be redeemed, at least at their par value. But some more sagacious persons judged that the time would come when they would be valuable. Robinson adopted this opinion; and commenced a speculation in soldiers' certificates; of which he found an abundance offered for a trifle. The average price was perhaps not more than two and sixpence to the pound. The speculation did not in the least interfere with his regular business of trading in horses; indeed the two aided each other. He acquired certificates to the value of several thousand dollars; still laying out all the money he could gain by horse-trading in this kind of paper. In these transactions he was chargeable with nothing fraudulent. He bought at the usual price. The owners were very needy, and very willing to take what he offered, and he ran the risk of losing all that he had paid for them.

"When the Federal Government went into operation, one of the first endeavors of Congress was the payment of the public debt, and the question arose whether there should be discrimination between the original holders of these certificates who had actually performed the service, and those who had purchased them for a trifling sum. It was earnestly contended by many that the speculator who had bought up the soldier's rights for one-tenth of their nominal value, ought not to take an equal share with the veteran who had exposed his life and shed his blood in defence of the country. But, on the other hand, it was alleged that if the soldier had bartered his rights for a small sum, the fault was his own; that those who had purchased had run great risks, had confided in the uprightness and solidity of the government, and were fairly entitled to the full value of securities thus obtained. After a long and animated debate it was determined that no discrimination could, or ought to be made. While this matter was under discussion in Congress, Robinson was much agitated. His fortune was suspended on the decision; and until this time, I believe, no one ever saw him in the least perturbed; for he was not only pleasant in temper, but sober, cautious, and prudent. The result, however, was in his favor, and from that time he felt that he was a rich man—rich, I mean, in comparison with the people among whom he lived. As

the public debt was funded, and yielded a regular interest, he had nothing to do but to sit down and enjoy from year to year a handsome income. But it is hard for man to be satisfied with earthly possessions. Robinson had no family and did not like to be altogether idle. He cast about in his mind for something to do; and was struck with the notion of superintending a farm. Without experience in this kind of life, and viewing only the bright side of the picture, he entirely overlooked the perplexities, difficulties and disappointments, which from various causes must occur to the most skillful farmer. General Bowyer owned at that time a beautiful tract of land, called Hart's Bottom. There is scarcely a more fertile or attractive property in the State. On this Robinson fixed his mind, and though the price was reckoned high, he cheerfully gave what was asked by his old patron; and sold out as much stock in the government funds as was necessary for the purpose. The difficulties of managing the property soon thickened around him. He must buy slaves to work the land; and those in market are commonly of the worst sort; addicted to running away, or pilfering, or some other evil habit. At any rate such were the kind of laborers he happened to procure, and they were a continual vexation to him. He was totally unacquainted with the proper method of governing slaves. The seasons were unpropitious, and various unforeseen disasters destroyed his crops. To crown his troubles Robinson lost his health. Having no family or relations, and thus in a great measure cut off from society, he, who when a poor lad was always merry, was now, as a rich old man, completely miserable."

Mr. Robinson received the deed for Hart's Bottom in 1799. It then consisted of 400 acres. This beautiful plain, on which stands a large part of Buena Vista, received its name from its first owner, Silas Hart, who in 1746 acquired it by patent from King George II. by the hand of Gov. Gooch, who had a few years before made the large grant to Borden. Mr. Robinson after going to Hart's Bottom added another branch to his business, namely, the manufacture of whiskey; in which he succeeded better than at farming. This was one of the standard occupations of the country a century ago, whiskey being one of the very few articles that would bear transportation to market. Mr. Robinson not only manufactured honestly,

but his product gained such a reputation that when after his death his stock was advertised for sale, the advertisement stated that the gentlemen of the country now had a rare opportunity of supplying themselves with the very best quality of whiskey. The stone distillery in which this famous spirit was manufactured was afterward converted into a chopping mill, and enlarged, but the original building can still be discerned standing near the water tank of the railroad. His one-story stone residence may also be seen standing in the midst of springs of water, and beside a remarkable lake or small basin of deep, clear water—all of which present an interesting phenomenon, being the outflow of mountain water which percolated through the diluvium of the plain until a clay barrier compelled it to rise, and escape through numerous outlets. The deep basin may originally have been a pothole drilled by gravel revolving in a surface current.

Mr. Robinson bought a number of other tracts in the neighborhood of Hart's Bottom, increasing his acreage in that locality to about 800 acres. He bought land also on Buffalo Creek and on Cow Pasture River; so that altogether he acquired upwards of 3,200 acres. His slaves numbered about 60, and were over indulged. The old and feeble were practically free though comfortably supported by their master. Some of them wandered about the country, both before and after their master's death. One of them spread the report of silver in the mountain behind Hart's Bottom. People are still hunting for that silver. Old Barney, another of the slaves, peregrinated extensively in the neighborhood. I remember visits of his to Lexington after his old master's death. As he then belonged to the College he considered himself the natural heir of all the old clothes of the students; and he would come with bags to gather his income. After loading himself with old shoes, etc., he would sometimes increase his stock in trade by passing on to the Arsenal (the predecessor of the Military Institute), where the old soldiers would dress him up in a cast-off suit of regimentals, including the tall cap and pompon. Barney would now come marching through town proud and happy, boasting of the advantages of belonging to a literary institution. After the death of the master one of the negroes presented a claim of \$20 against the estate for services as foreman, which, having been duly

considered by the Board of Trustees, was allowed and ordered to be paid.

Mr. Robinson lived a solitary and cheerless life at Hart's Bottom ; his health became poor, and "needing something to give him an appetite," he used a moderate amount of whiskey ; but was not regarded by his friends as intemperate. His one indulgence was in riding his quiet gray horse frequently to Lexington, distant nine miles. Whether he had business or not he would, perhaps thrice a week, make an early start, and jog along in a meditative way until he would reach the town, and dismount ; returning the same evening. He would, when in town, first go to the postoffice, and then would talk miscellaneously with acquaintances, sometimes occupying a chair on the sidewalk for most of the day. I suppose he found the benches too hard, that for social convenience used to be ranged along the sidewalks, and on both sides of the street, so that the talkers could cross over from the sun to the shade, or *vice versa*, according to the season and the time of day. A bench in front of each tavern was almost a necessity. When as a boy I was occasionally sent at an early hour to the butcher's stand in front of the Court House for a basket of marketing, I would often see the long bench in front of the central hotel well filled with citizens waiting until the polite landlord would open the door, and say, "Walk in, gentlemen."

No doubt Mr. Robinson was often entertained with the wit and humor of Ben Darst, Sam Pettigrew, Archy Beard, Jimmy Gold, and other jovial citizens, who kept the street in a good humor. Aleck Sloan, too, the prince of humorists, was coming in about that time. But Mr. Robinson was now a serious man ; and his thoughts took a benevolent turn in more cases than that of the College. He saved Ann Smith Academy from sheriff's sale in 1820, when the builders had obtained judgment for 3,000 dollars, and had advertised the property for sale. Robinson took up the claims, and presented them to the Trustees. This should not be forgotten by the friends of Ann Smith Academy.

In 1819, Mr. Robinson was made Trustee of the College, and attended a few meetings ; but probably he did not find that the management of college affairs accorded with his previous experience ; highly as he esteemed the cause of education. On the 26th day

of April, 1825, he executed his last will and testament, being still in his usual health, and in full possession of his mental faculties. Considering his noble offer in 1819, we may fairly infer that he did not require persuasion, but had long before voluntarily settled upon this institution as the inheritor of his estate. His will had been drawn first by one of the ablest lawyers in Virginia, the Hon. J. Howe Peyton, who no doubt expressed the wishes of the testator in clear, exact legal phrase. Shortly after the document had been received, Col. James McDowell called at Hart's Bottom, and found that Mr. Robinson was not satisfied with the unadorned, business style in which the will was written; and the Colonel saw that the old gentleman would have preferred that there should be some statement of the motives which induced him to dispose of his property as he proposed to do; whereupon, thinking of his son James who had just entered the legal profession, and was already distinguished for rhetoric and sentiment, he proposed to Mr. Robinson to send James to him with a view to the production of a new version, which proposition was cheerfully acceded to. The next day was Saturday and young James visited Hart's Bottom, and became imbued with the wishes of the testator. He returned home, and impressed with the importance of the trust and the need of haste, he with good conscience spent the Sabbath day in putting the document in shape; and the next morning returned to Hart's Bottom and made the final copy in the presence of Mr. Robinson, who was now highly pleased with the handsome manner in which his wishes were expressed. And we who come after see how proper and how important it was to incorporate the historical and explanatory statements which we find in connection with this great bequest. Plain and uneducated as was this man, and unattractive in many respects as was his course of life, he was possessed of true sentiment and was broad and liberal in his views.

EXTRACTS FROM THE WILL OF JOHN ROBINSON.

"Having migrated to America just in time to participate in the Revolutionary struggle (which I did in various situations), and having since that period by a long, peaceful, and prosperous intercourse with my fellow-citizens, amassed a considerable estate which

I am desirous of rendering back to them upon terms most likely to conduce to their essential and permanent interests, I do therefore will and ordain, &c."

* * * * *

"4th. That the money thus devised and received, or as much thereof as shall be appropriated, as soon as practicable, by the trustees of the College aforesaid, to the purchase of stock upon national security, or other safe and lucrative stock, that thereby a permanent fund may be provided upon which it is my will and desire to have erected a professorship of Geology and Agriculture in said institution, or a professorship bearing an appropriate title, which the trustees will bestow, and from which is to be taught the application of the principles of science to the ordinary arts of life."

* * * * *

"6th. With the hope and belief that by connecting young men's attainments with subjects of appropriate and manly competition, a tendency is thereby created in favor of practical and available learning, I do therefore desire that fifteen hundred dollars, from the first clear proceeds of Hart's Bottom, the interest whereof shall be applied to the purchase of two or more prize medals, to be awarded to such young gentlemen of the College upon every Commencement Day thereof, as shall be adjudged by the Faculty and attending Trustees, to have acquitted themselves the best upon the subjects set forth for competition—reserving to them the right of determining whether the performance of the successful competitor is meritorious enough to have conferred upon it so distinguished a token of approbation."

* * * * *

"Having forborne to gratify the partialities of friendship in the bestowment of personal favors, I look for my reward to the diffusive and abiding benefits which must follow the judicious application of the legacy which I leave to the public. By adding to the means of public instruction I hope that some facilities have been given to the march of improvement, and some contribution made to the welfare of society, in having its members inspired at an early age with the salutary and conservative lessons of knowledge and virtue. And though a foreigner by birth, and without a child to provide for, I rejoice in the trust that I have done something to protect the

sons of others from ignorance and vice, and something to confirm the political institutions of the country by enlightening the public will upon which they rest. For these ends I cheerfully give up the earnings of my life, and entreat as my latest wish that they be so husbanded as to carry forward the beneficent results which I contemplate."

As to the disposition of the property, he ordered that everything should be sold, and the proceeds invested in interest-bearing securities, except Hart's Bottom and the neighboring lands, and the negroes, who were to be employed on the farm so far as needed, and the residue hired out; but at the end of fifty years the restriction with regard to the slaves was to expire. Hart's Bottom was to be held permanently by the College. But with regard to these and other special provisions, no one should be at liberty to call in question any act of the College authorities. Whatever might be done Washington College was to be the sole heir of all his property.

Mr. Robinson died June 26, 1826, aged 73 years, and was buried on the 27th with every mark of respect by the whole community, and especially by the College authorities. His body was attended from his home on Hart's Bottom by his near neighbors and a retinue of his slaves, and was met on the way by a deputation of the Faculty and Board of Trustees. On entering the town the company was joined by a procession composed of officials, the College Societies, the Franklin Society, ladies and citizens. The interment took place on College Hill, on the ground now occupied by the residence of Prof. Harrison. For many years the place was marked by only a small enclosure of palings, without a tombstone. In 1832 the President (Dr. Marshall) was instructed by the Board to report a plan for a monument. Subsequently as many as three committees were appointed for the same purpose, but there is no evidence that these committees accomplished anything. In 1843 the Board ordered—"That a grey limestone, 15 feet high, of one piece, be placed on a proper and substantial base, without polish except the parts on which the inscription is to be made, and that Prof. Armstrong and the Rector be a committee to carry this order into effect."

This stone was erected, but after a few years was thrown down somewhat mysteriously. It would appear that the design was

unsatisfactory, and this means was taken to secure a handsomer monument. In 1850 new designs in marble were obtained from Philadelphia through George Junkin, Esq.; for which \$500 were appropriated. The condition of the treasury again produced delay, and it was not until July 4, 1855, that the monument was dedicated. The remains of Mr. Robinson had been removed from their original place of burial, and buried in the middle of the concrete base of the monument. In the box containing the remains was placed a sealed bottle containing a brief Latin legend; also a number of College documents, newspapers, an extract from Robinson's will, and the title-page of a Holy Bible.

The monument is made of Italian marble, and is beautiful and appropriate. It was cut by John Baird, of Philadelphia; made under the superintendence of George Junkin, Esq., son of the President, and Rev. John Leyburn. It was erected on the spot by Francis Jenks. It is believed that the inscription was prepared by President Junkin, and is in the following words:—

Honor to whom honor.

Sacred to the Memory of John Robinson,
a native of Ireland,
a soldier of
Washington,
and a munificent benefactor of
Washington College.
Born A. D. 1754,
Died A. D. 1826.

[On the base]

Erected 1855.

The total cost of the monument was about \$700; the railing was added soon after.

The result of this tedious affair is certainly all that could properly be desired, and no doubt is better than if the first orders of the Board had been obeyed; but tardy justice is essentially unsatisfactory. There is no telling how much in many ways the institution may have lost by its seeming indifference to the memory of a benefactor who deserved to be promptly and conspicuously

honored. I have been told that a certain college lost a large donation by its seeming neglect on just such a point as this. And I have heard something similar in regard to the careless treatment by officials of gifts of books and works of art, which indisposed the donor from making a handsome donation which he was meditating. Whatever criticism, however, might justly be made in regard to the past, no such charge can properly be brought against the authorities of Washington and Lee University at present. There seems in this generation to be a waking up to the full significance and importance of gifts to an institution of learning, and to the gratitude which is due from the public to every man or woman who plants a benefaction where it is to bear fruit for all time. Such donors not only deserve to be, but will be held in everlasting remembrance. Had Mr. Robinson bestowed his wealth upon individuals they might or might not have been benefited by it; but at best how insignificant would have been the result compared with what this estate has been doing, and will continue to do, in all the future! And what a difference between the oblivion into which narrow souls hasten, and the honor and distinction which keep alive the memory of even plain and humble men who achieve success, and pour the results thereof into the treasury kept for the uplifting of the people!

By an almost prophetic forethought, Mr. Robinson singled out Geology and Scientific Agriculture as belonging to the class of subjects that he would be pleased to promote the study of. His name is attached to the chair of Geology and Biology; and two medals are given annually, as provided for in his will.

SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF THE ROBINSON ESTATE.

In the management of the estate, the College Board endeavored to respect the wishes of the donor in all things. It was determined at once in accordance with the will not to sell Hart's Bottom, nor any of the slaves; but to assign them as laborers on the North river lands, and to hire out such as were not needed for this purpose. Some exchanging of slaves was done in order to unite families. The other lands were disposed of, and all the personal property was sold, except what was needed to carry on Hart's

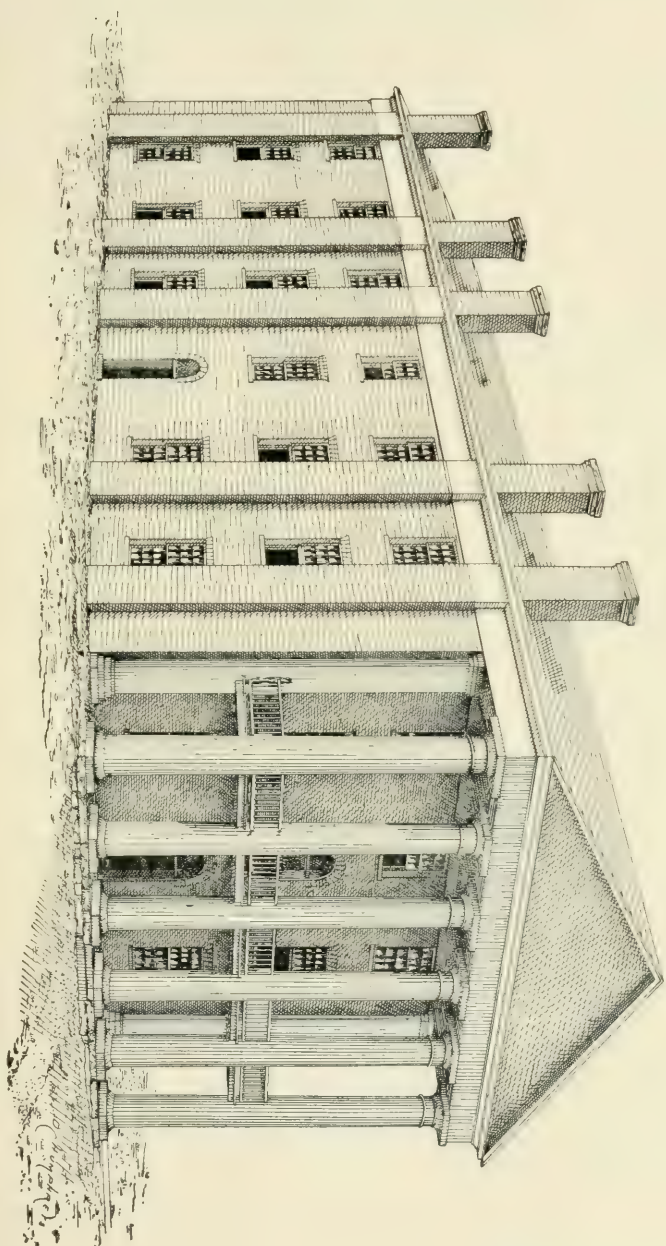
Bottom. But the management of slaves and of farming land was found to be inconvenient, annoying and unprofitable for a college. Therefore, after taking the best legal advice, the Trustees ordered the sale of the slaves, the most of whom were thus disposed of in 1835. In 1836 Hart's Bottom was leased for five years, but in accordance with a decided legal opinion, given in writing by Chapman Johnson, this fine property was sold to William A. Read in 1840, and the title deed executed by Henry Ruffner, President, in 1843. Considerable trouble in making collections followed the sales of personal property, but the estate was finally "made available as an endowment for \$46,500."

THE CENTRE BUILDING.

Having thought it best to finish the history of the Robinson donation, I will now return to the early part of the third decade of Dr. Baxter's administration. At this point the accommodations for instruction and lodging consisted of the two buildings heretofore mentioned, which were insufficient, and were beginning to decay. A new building was a necessity; and in 1821 the Board initiated the movement which ended in the erection of the building which still stands as the centre of the group. When the subject was first considered, the available means in sight were the 17 shares of bank stock, which at the market value of \$75 was worth \$1,275, the subscription of \$2,000 in individual bonds promised by John Robinson, and a surplus of \$400 to \$500 a year of income, which in 1832 would perhaps be doubled. On this prospect a committee went to planning and figuring; and the next year reported the plan which was adopted. Some small changes were made before completion, and some were made in the interior arrangements after the building was received, and greater changes after additional buildings were erected. The lowest bid for the erection of the building was that of John Jordan; and the sum was \$9,000, or more than double the apparent resources applicable to this purpose. But the Cincinnati Fund now seemed near at hand, the State had guaranteed an increase of income from the James River Stock, and they had John Robinson in the Board; so with that nerve and faith which have always characterized the Trustees they accepted

Col. Jordan's bid, October 16th, 1822. The unbroken walls and firm floors which have now stood for seventy years attest the good fortune which assigned the erection of the building to Col. Jordan, whose time-defying structures ought everywhere to be inscribed with his name. But the financial abilities of the Board were now strained to the utmost. The first shift it made was to borrow \$4,000 from the Literary Fund of the State, which carried the work to completion. Provision was made to sell off lots from the College ground as a final resort; but most fortunately they were not driven to this.

The bricks for all the College buildings, except the latest professor's house, have been made on the ground; which accounts for the flattening of the surface, and the terracing of certain spaces. Samuel Darst was in partnership with Col. Jordan in the erection of the centre building. He was a worthy partner in respect to both skill and personal respectability. He bore a striking resemblance to Dr. Henry Ruffner. When dressed in black broadcloth and a tall silk hat, as was usually the case when he came to town from his fine farm on North River, Mr. Darst in his later years was not unfrequently mistaken for the College President; in fact upon one occasion Dr. Ruffner's eldest daughter stopped him in the street, and after explaining her wants, asked him for money. Dr. Ruffner had another duplicate in his brother, Gen. Lewis Ruffner, which likeness, however, diminished with age. The corner stone of the new building was laid in the Spring of 1824; and the occasion was celebrated by a remarkable ceremony, devised and carried through by friend Robinson, who was usually called, from his earlier vocation, "Jockey Robinson." Mr. Robinson was the only man who would have been indulged in a Bacchanalian libation to Pallas; nor would even he have been allowed, could it have been foreseen that the offering was to be converted into a Circean potation. The offering was a barrel of fifteen-year old whiskey, "fruited and ropy," which was unloaded from a cart on the campus in front of the new foundation, and after being set up on end the head was removed, and the sun shone upon 40 gallons of the finest rye whiskey ever seen in Rockbridge. In order to blunt the edge of criticism, so far as inspired by more modern habits, I will preface the narrative by the remark that neither the drinking nor



MAIN BUILDING,

the making of whiskey or brandy, was in the earlier times in this Valley any more discredit to a man than the making and drinking of cider—though, of course, intemperance was discountenanced, and there were always some total abstinence men. The Rev. James Morrison, who was long the pastor of New Providence Church, and as good a man as ever sat on the Trustee Board of this institution, told me that when he took charge of the church some thirty years before, seven out of the eight elders were distillers; whilst at the time he was speaking it would have been difficult for a distiller to gain admittance as a private member.

Notice having been given of the public treat a large company assembled from town and country. Mr. Robinson inaugurated the ceremony by escorting two of the leading officials of the College to the barrel, and these three took the first taste of the sparkling liquid. Then came a succession of dignitaries who in like manner honored the occasion. For a time some courtesy in the order of approach was observed, but the thirsty multitude soon broke through all restraint, and armed with tin cups, pitchers, basins, buckets, and a variety of dippers, some of them more handy than nice, rushed for the barrel, and soon gave a glorious exhibition of what free whiskey can do for the noble creature made in the image of God.

It has been declared that every man on the ground became intoxicated. This is not true. There were men present who did not taste the whiskey, and there was a respectable body of gentlemen who out of civility partook sparingly of the entertainment provided in all kindness by the liberal friend of the College, and who yet remained as sober as Ulysses whilst his companions were rolling on the ground like swine. Two of these, namely, Isaac Caruthers and a gentleman whose name I cannot recall, stopped the drinking by upsetting the barrel while yet a considerable quantity of its contents remained unconsumed.

During the remainder of the day College Hill looked like a battle-field after a hard fight. How times have changed in 70 years! Whiskey retains much of its old reputation as a medicine; and as a beverage it still has friends not a few; but it now has a powerful class of enemies which in that day scarcely existed at all.

So diverse are the sentiments and the effects, that one might imagine that Jove's two barrels mentioned by Achilles in his talk with Priam, both contained whiskey—one representing the beverage, and the other the medicine.

“Beside Jove's threshold stand
Two casks of gifts for man. One cask contains
The evil, one the good, and he to whom
The Thunderer gives them mingled sometimes falls
Into misfortune, and is sometimes crowned
With blessings. But the man to whom he gives
The evil only, stands a mark exposed
To wrong, and chased by calamity,
Wanders the teeming earth, alike unloved
By gods and men.”¹

The building was completed and occupied in the autumn of 1824. Its dimensions are 50x100 feet, and three stories high. The pillars in front according to the plan were intended to be square and very large, but they were changed to round, and very much reduced in size. There was at first a second story porch in front; but it was taken down after a few years on account of noise; the door from the Hall remaining, and offering a desperate exit for a sorely pressed mischief-maker. The Hall, or Chapel, as it was called by the professors, occupied the entire front of the building on the second floor as far back as the stairways; and in height included the third story. Across the northeast end of the room extended an ample stage, and at the opposite end was a gallery, which was entered from the third story. Until another building was erected the recitation rooms were all on the lower floor. Physical Science

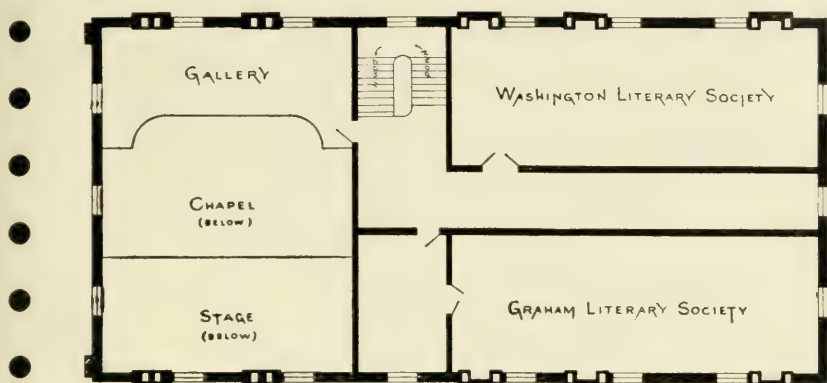
¹ It occurs to me that to vindicate truth, it should appear that Robinson, who plumed himself on the fine quality of his whiskey, fruited as it was with rich India fruits, took pride in dispensing it to gentlemen. He expected that gentlemen whose notice he desired to win would be present in great numbers and would praise it as genuine nectar as they partook. He had not supposed the rabble, but only such as were invited to drink would march up to the fountain opened by him. But he expressed himself mortified, humiliated and abused that the unlimited *hoi polloi* should have rushed in and perverted what was intended by him for the taste and enjoyment of gentlemen into a horrid riot of the rabble.

I have heard from my Father, his near neighbor, that Robinson had expressed his feelings to that effect to him.

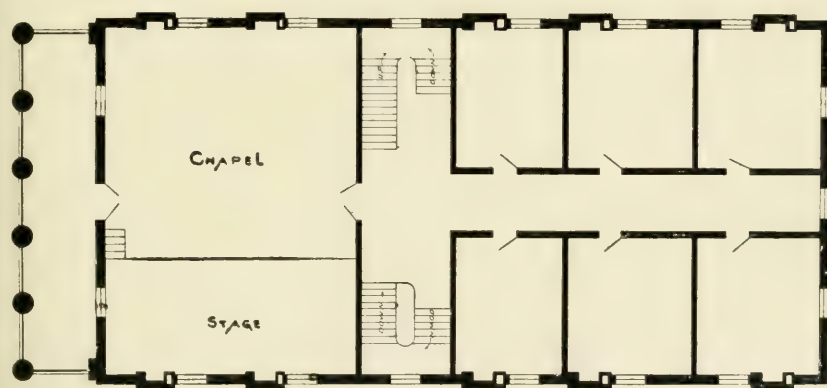
W. A. G.

MAIN BUILDING,

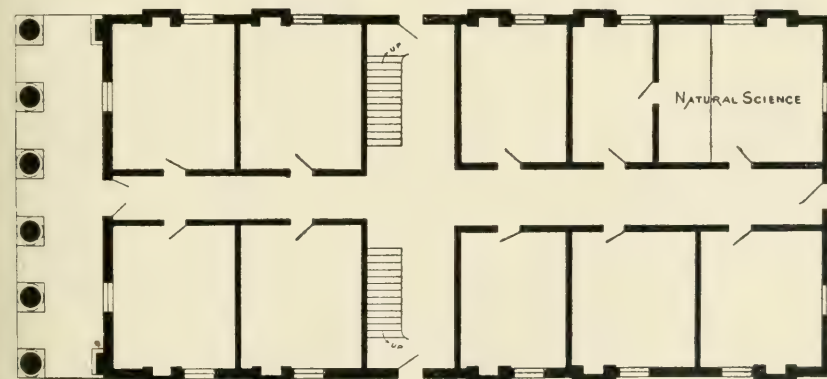
Erected 1824.



3D FLOOR.



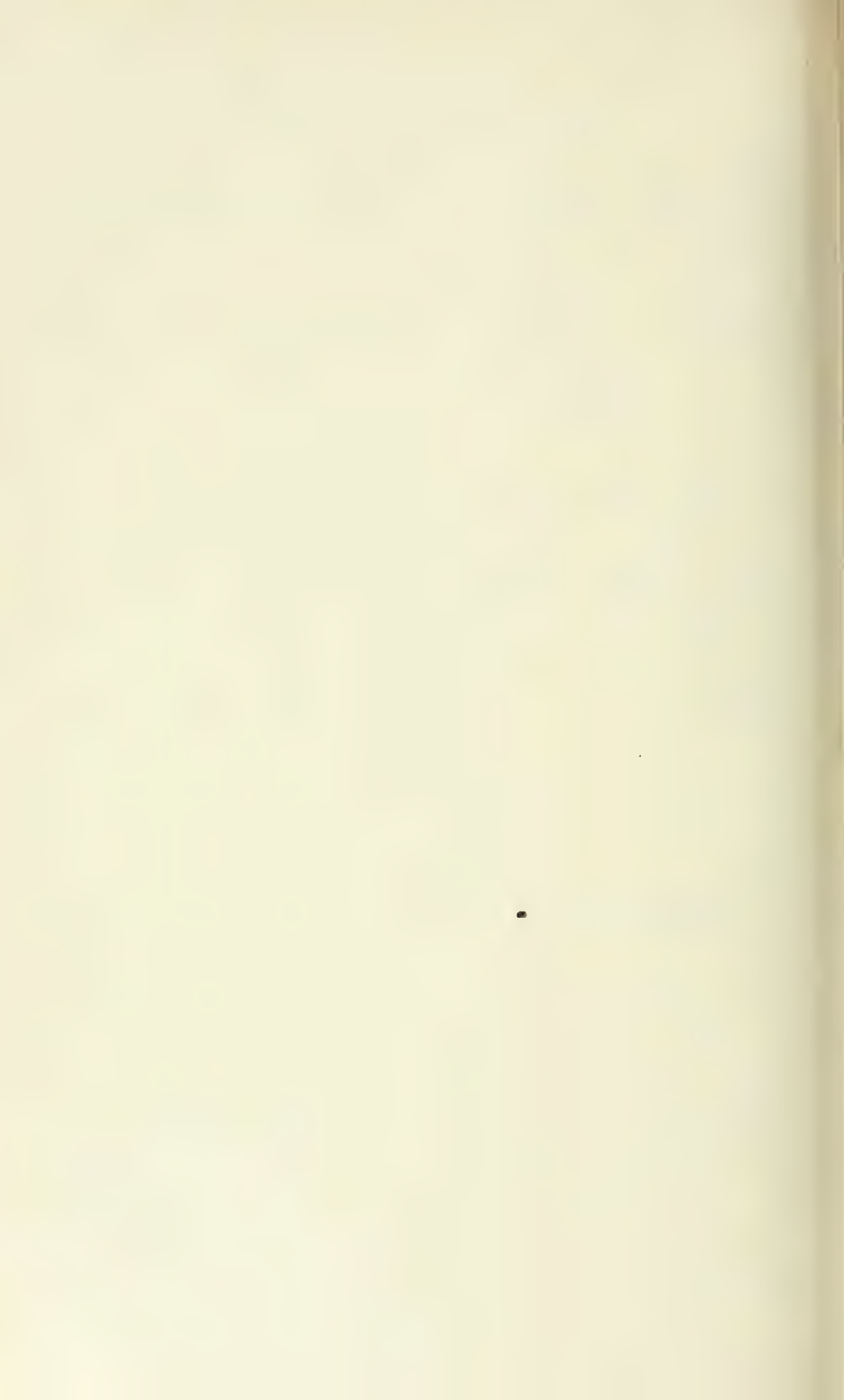
2D FLOOR.



1ST FLOOR.

Scale of Feet
0 10 20 30 40

Drawn by D. C. Humphreys.



had the west corner, and was allowed the space of two rooms. The exception was in the use of the Chapel by the President for office and class room. The two debating societies were assigned to their present quarters on the first opening of the building. The statue on the top is more recent; also the raising of the eaves to the present angle, and the metaling of the roof. The building erected was a handsome, well proportioned structure; a *Maison Quarrée*, like the State Capitol, but without a high basement.

THE FACULTY IN 1819-1829.

The teachers in this period were Dr. Baxter, Edward Graham, and Henry Ruffner; and in the Grammar School, Nathan Miller, appointed in 1824; William G. Campbell, in 1825; Alexander Rives (who applied, was elected, accepted, and changed his mind before coming), and Nicholas B. Seabrook, who took the place of Rives in 1829. The first two professors held over from the former decade. All three of the professors continued to the end of the decade, when they all resigned. Nathan Miller was a Rockbridge man, concerning whom I have no knowledge, except that he was an alumnus of the College, and served one year as tutor. William G. Campbell, who served for four years as tutor, was a man of fine character and sound scholarship, and had a long and useful career as a minister in the Presbyterian Church, and a teacher of his own schools. He was a son of Alexander Campbell, trustee, and was mentioned in the sketch of this large family given in the *Historical Papers*, No. 3, in the Lyle Chapter, by the present writer. Mr. Campbell married Miss Susan Goosley, who had for some years been teacher and principal of Ann Smith Academy, and was noted for her bright talents and teaching abilities, as well as for many other interesting and excellent qualities. Mr. Campbell spent the latter years of his life as an independent farmer in Augusta county, but finally built a residence in the town of Harrisonburg, where he died in 1881 at the age of 82. The Grammar School, having by formal resolution been set off under the title of Preparatory Department, Nicholas B. Seabrook was appointed the first principal in the autumn of 1829.

STUDIES.

The course of study adopted in 1804 continued in force at the beginning of this decade, though it was not strictly adhered to. It was, as heretofore mentioned, substantially the same that was followed at Princeton, and in other colleges of note in the year 1800. But it was undeniably a meagre and ill-arranged curriculum. I will give a sketch of this course substantially as I find it in the private memoranda of Dr. Henry Ruffner :

Students were to continue in the Grammar School until they could pass an examination on Virgil and the Greek Testament, or rather on John's Gospel, which was usually all of the New Testament that was read. Then they gave their entire Freshman year to Latin and Greek without any admixture of other studies. In the first term of five months they read in Horace and Cicero's Orations ; and in the second they read Lucian, Xenophon and Homer. The Latin and Greek antiquities, which were named in the course, ceased to be attended to after the first few years.

The second, or Sophomore year, was to be spent wholly in the study of Mathematics. In that time the class studied Arithmetic in the common way, Algebra in an English text-book that explained no principles, Euclid's Geometry (six books, sometimes only four), and Gibson's Surveying (the worst text-book on the subject). Trigonometry was named, but studied only in Gibson, where nothing was explained ; Spherical Trigonometry being wholly omitted. Navigation was named, and sometimes a few problems unprofitably gone over. Conic Sections were also named, and in earlier times partially studied in Simpson, but finally dropped altogether.

The third, or Junior year, was to be employed—the first five months in Geography, studied in the common school way ; and the second in Natural Philosophy and Astronomy.

The fourth, or Senior year, was to finish the course for a degree with Blair's Lectures and Logic, the latter imperfectly run over, for the first term ; and in the second, Burlemaque's Natural Law, with parts of Locke, Reid and Stewart on the Mind ; the latter always omitted toward the end of the period now under consideration.

Such was the four years' course for a degree, except that instead of a five months' session of Greek the student might substitute an equal study of French, and still get his degree. In practice diligent students usually carried on the studies of two years at once, so as to finish the course in half the allotted time.¹ Inasmuch as this doubling of studies was practiced by the best students, the faculty gradually relaxed the requirements of the course for the accommodation of this class; so that it became in fact a two years' course, prefaced by an insufficient course of preparation in the Grammar School.

Dr. Ruffner in his *Early History* states his objections to the structure of this course, and to the relaxing of its requirements so that a diligent student could master it in two years, whilst an idle student was kept four years doing or professing to do what was in fact only the work of two. Prof. Ruffner after taking the chair of Languages in the Spring of 1819, perceived a retrogression instead of progress in the demands on the student as compared with the condition of things five years before. A number of minor studies had been dropped out of the course. In the language department no attention was now paid to Prosody, Antiquities, or Ancient Geography. The small portions of Xenophon's *Cyropædia* and Homer's *Iliad* were still read with translations on the opposite page, to save study, and as if to make the student superficial in his acquirements. Since this curriculum had been adopted other colleges had been enlarging theirs conformably with the progressive demand for more extensive acquirement and more thorough teaching. The existing faculty was not ignorant of the true condition of affairs, but seemed to fear the consequences of any decided movement toward elevating the standard as respects either the number of studies or the grade of class work.

The professor of languages, however, ventured to draw up a paper stating what he conceived to be the defects of the existing mode of classification and of the contents of the curriculum itself, and went on to propose additions and alterations. Fortunately his colleagues were men of good judgment and amiable temper,

¹ Dr. Henry Ruffner when a student traversed the entire course, and was graduated in eighteen months, besides acting as tutor.

who although for a moment surprised at what seemed to be undue freedom on the part of the young professor, soon were convinced that his criticisms were just, and his suggestions wise. In fact there was something in these suggestions which inspired them with hope, and they perceived that the professor proposed much greater changes in his own department than in those of his colleagues, and would increase his own labor greatly. Certain individual trustees understanding the movement encouraged it. As there were differences of opinion as to how far the changes should be carried, two schemes were drawn up by Prof. Ruffner, and submitted to the faculty. No objection was made, and the schemes were submitted to the Board. The one preferred by Prof. Ruffner was promptly and unanimously adopted. It was upon this occasion that Col. James McDowell and Gen. Andrew Moore came forward so generously, and with special emphasis supported the views of the professor whom two years before they had thought it their duty to oppose.

So far as the program of studies was concerned the College was now brought up to the level of the best colleges in the land. The quantity of studies was upon the whole nearly doubled; in the language department it was more than doubled, and the labors of the professor were much increased. The preparatory studies in the Grammar School were greatly increased, especially in Greek. Formerly St. John's Gospel was about all that was required as a preparation for entering the Freshman class. Besides this Prof. Heron, instead of using Lucian, had required the students to read some dialogues of Lucian, and other extracts from the *Græca Minora*. In the new course the whole of the *Græca Minora* was added to the New Testament as a preparation for entering the College classes. The whole *Græca Majora* in addition to Xenophon now constituted the Greek course in College, making about 1,000 pages octavo. In Latin, besides additions in the Grammar School, Livy and Tacitus were added to the College course. And all these were not nominal or paper studies, but they were required rigidly by the professor. The Latin and Greek Prosody and Antiquities with Ancient Geography—all formerly neglected—were now regularly studied by the classes. Instead of the irregularity which had grown up under the old system, some students having only one

daily recitation, and other students at their option two or three, each class had now two daily recitations on different subjects.

A long step in advance was thus made, but more unmanageable evils remained ; and in the effort to overcome these the junior professor was not successful, except to a very moderate extent. Besides the unfortunate lack of control over the habits of the students, two whole days of the week, Saturday and Sunday, were lost to every good purpose of education ; they were days of college vacation ; generally days of idleness, often of mischief. Friday nights were occupied with meetings of the literary societies, which were attended with some evils. The lessons of Monday forenoon were seldom well prepared. In general, the students as soon as they had recited their last lessons on Friday, whether this happened in the afternoon or the forenoon, threw away their books, and studied no more until business was resumed on Monday.

To correct this evil as far as possible, and to meet the yet existing public demand for positive religious instruction as a part of education, a provision was introduced into the new schedule, that study and recitation should be continued on Saturday forenoons ; that on Sundays, instead of on Monday mornings as previously, the lower classes should recite lessons in the Bible ; such as could do so, in the Greek Testament ; and as an additional branch, the Evidences of Christianity should be studied and recited on by the Senior class. These additions were not cordially received. The Saturday lessons were attended to for a time, but they gradually yielded to the pressure, and were discontinued. The language professor undertook the Sunday classes in Scripture study, and continued them regularly. It does not appear whether or not the study of the Evidences was continued for any considerable length of time.

In those days to depend largely on such motives as now go a great way toward the government of students, would have been to license idleness and disorder. Government must be adapted to the governed. Good students require no government, and Washington College had then only a moderate percentage of these, whilst the anarchical element was large, and had for some years been becoming more defiant. The governmental system was fast losing its grip, and a crisis was evidently at hand. Students in study hours contrary to the rules were often loitering on the streets of the town, or

ranging over the neighboring farms. At night they frequently treated the citizens to a *chivirari*, or some other form of what they called "fun." Probably the condition of affairs was at this time aggravated by the results of some of Mr. Jefferson's views in respect to college discipline which were seen elsewhere in disorders worse than those which have been described. Occasional efforts would be made by the faculty of the College to arrest this tide of evil, but success in such a case could be achieved only by vigilance and the bold assertion of legal authority, combined with tact and common sense—endowments which are much rarer than intellectual strength, amiability and eloquence. For some reason the College was not governed, and hence the prosecution of reforms in the academic features was like the return from Avernus.

The erection of the new building in 1824 was made the occasion of special efforts to advertise the College. The eloquent Gen. Blackburn delivered an oration on the occasion of its completion, which Dr. Ruffner speaks of, not as if it were a failure, but as if it produced a powerful impression. As the result of these efforts the number of students was brought up from 45 to 63—the number in 1827. But as no reformation in discipline had taken place, increase of numbers brought increase of disorder, and hastened the crisis which prostrated the College. Such scenes of riot as occurred in 1827 had rarely, perhaps never occurred before. The sort of exertions put forth to stop them only aggravated the evil. A sentence of dismissal pronounced upon a few who had been detected, offended their associates, who upon one occasion to the number of 18 came in a body, and declaring themselves equally guilty, demanded to share their companions' fate, that is, to obtain their restoration, or be themselves dismissed. All went off in a body. By the end of the session the number of students had been decreased from 63 to 22. The College now languished for two years with an average number of 24 students.

Near the end of the decade, namely, in March, 1829, the Board of Trustees passed the following resolution: "Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed by ballot, whose duty it shall be diligently to inquire into and make report to this Board, the causes, if any, which exist in the management of Washington College to prevent its support by the public; what measures are

necessary to place the institution in a better and more prosperous state; and that all the Trustees be notified in writing that the causes of decline and means of restoration will be subjects of consideration."

There could be no mistake as to the meaning of this resolution, and in consequence thereof, the President and the two professors gave notice of resignation at the end of the Summer session. One of the professors was informed privately by members of the Board that his resignation was not desired, but he preferred to act with his colleagues, for whom he had great regard as well as sympathy. The members of the Board shared fully in this kindly feeling toward the excellent gentlemen composing the faculty, and appointed them all on the committee to act with members of the Board in finding successors for themselves!

The evidence in hand gives no reason to suspect that in connection with this trying movement there were any of those heart-burnings and censorious criticisms such as are apt to accompany serious changes of this sort. All concerned had entire respect for each other as men who had tried faithfully to do their duty, and who now were chiefly concerned to know and do what was best for the College. It was evident to all that the time had come for reorganizing the faculty, and those who were going out accepted the situation without a murmur.

According to appointment the Board of Trustees met June 5th of the same year for filling the vacancies. Whereupon Dr. Philip Lindsey of Tennessee was elected President, and Henry Ruffner re-elected professor of languages. No other election was made at this time. At a meeting held the following October, a communication was read from Dr. Lindsey declining the presidency; whereupon it was resolved by the Board that "the management of the College for the ensuing session be devolved upon Prof. Ruffner with an assistant; and that Col. Reid and Prof. Ruffner be a committee to appoint this assistant."

Inasmuch as the subsequent proceedings on this line belong to the next administration, I will close the history of this decade by mentioning certain miscellaneous matters that should not be omitted.

DEGREES.

In the Catalogue of Alumni I find the degree of A. B. attached to the following names belonging to this decade, namely :—Sidney S. Baxter, William Richardson, Alexander Templeton, Henry Miller Bowyer, John C. Bowyer, Charles Fenelon Campbell, Archibald Graham, James G. Lyle, Nathan Miller, William Dandridge Alexander, Samuel Wilson Blain, Samuel R. Campbell, William G. Campbell, William M. Campbell, David Gardner Houston, John Paris Hudson, William Swan Plumer, Samuel Wallace Ruff, John J. Craig, Matthew Hale Houston, Joseph A. Cowan, George R. Gibson, Robert S. Means, James Paine, James Robinson, David A. Street, William E. Walkup, Arthur H. Watts, Francis T. Anderson, Benjamin Franklin Caruthers, James D. Davidson, David H. Finley, Edward Graham, Peter H. Golladay, John M. Johnston, William Lyle Keys, Socrates Maupin, John T. L. Preston, J. Aylette Alexander, Robert M. Hudson, Henry H. Paine, and Jacob M. Ruff—42 names.

In this decade we have the first record of the bestowment of the degree of Master of Arts. In November, 1824, James G. Lyle, son of Capt. William Lyle, and Sidney S. Baxter, son of the president, made formal application for this degree; the application was laid on the table for consideration. In the following April the case was taken up, and acted on as follows:—"It appearing to the satisfaction of the Board that the applicants continue to be of good moral character, and have been diligent in prosecuting their literary improvement, it is ordered that said degree be awarded to them respectively." In 1829 the same degree was conferred upon John P. Hudson and Archibald H. Paxton.

This degree certainly had a literary significance in the beginning, and I believe that it continued to have.

SALARIES.

When Dr. Lindsey was elected president, he was offered a salary of \$1,000, a house, and one-third of the tuition fees. Mr. Ruffner's salary was \$800, and one-third of the tuition fees, and when the general care of the College was devolved upon him, the remain-

ing third of the tuition fees was added to his remuneration. The salary of the teacher of the Preparatory Department was fixed at \$200, and all the fees of his pupils. The assistant to be appointed by Col. Reid and Mr. Ruffner was promised \$250 per session of five months.

STUDENTS.

The number of students in 1819, 1820, and 1821 averaged 44 ; but in 1822 it was only 26. The numbers subsequently have been given heretofore. The ages of the students in the College proper ran from 16 to 21. The tuition fee continued to be \$15 for five months.

BOARDING.

In 1821 an effort was made to revive the Steward's House under the old regulations. Wm. Davidson was appointed Steward with a prescribed bill of fare, and the privilege of charging \$8.00 a month. In 1822 a petition numerously signed by the students was addressed to the Board, praying for the privilege of again boarding in the families of the town ; the petition was denied. Mr. Davidson was again appointed, but the system drew its last breath in 1823. The building was rented out in 1824, and was continued as a private boarding-house for some years ; and in the next decade it was used to accommodate the Preparatory Department.

ROOMS AND SERVANTS.

In 1825 students were charged \$2.00 a session for rent of lodging-room, in addition to a deposit fee of \$3.00. These fees were for the support of a servant, and repairs to the buildings. But it was not until March, 1829, that a servant was employed for the whole of his time. It was then ordered that "a freeman should be appointed," and his duties were laid down and put on record at great length. They included the care of the public rooms and passages, and attention to the students' rooms ; which services comprised sweeping, kindling fires, making beds, bringing water, and blacking shoes, but for some of these there was an extra fee to the servant. The tax for his support was now reduced to one

dollar from each student. John Limas, a very black free negro, was appointed with a salary of \$130. He served for many years—indeed, until he was so old and feeble that he had to bring his oldest son to assist him, and finally to have a regular assistant. Many a time have I seen John toiling slowly with many pauses up the hill in front, walking in the centre of a hogshead hoop with a bucket of spring-water on each side. John was a typical negro in physique, but he had the best virtues of the superior race. There was so much modest dignity in his manner and speech, so much good sense, such faithfulness, so much fatherly concern for the moral welfare of the boys, that he was treated with a sort of filial respect even by the wildest fellows. John Limas in his early manhood was a distinguished fiddler, and was in great request at dances. This led him into habits of drunkenness, and, as he said of himself, he became a very wicked man. But at a Methodist meeting he became converted, and at once changed his life as completely as did Saul of Tarsus. In those days the Methodists were averse to the use of ardent spirits, to fashionable dressing, to slavery, to worldly amusements, and especially to dancing and fiddling. John loved his fiddle with a sort of idolatry—by the way, he always spoke of it in a respectful tone as his violin—and he was attacked by the Church on all his favorite practices; but he did not hesitate to abandon all forever. I, who knew him in his old age, can testify that he remained faithful to his vows. He said to me, however, that he had never been fully persuaded that the Church was right in forbidding all use of the violin. He was clear in respect to whiskey, but he could not see how, under proper circumstances, the “sweet music of the violin” could hurt anybody; but he had vowed to obey the rules of the Church, and he had never drawn a bow or tasted a drop in the forty years of his membership. John had a large family whom he kept respectable as long as he lived. His home was a poor cabin on the lot on which now stands the residence of Dr. Graham; but who would not respect the memory of John Limas! There were a number of excellent families of free negroes in Lexington at this time. John Henry, the head of one of these, became the assistant and successor of John Limas. He will be mentioned again.

APPARATUS, BOOKS AND MUSEUM.

The building of the large house left no surplus means, but some small appropriations were made for books and apparatus, including the importing of an object glass and tube for the telescope. Chemistry received more attention this decade than previously. An annual appropriation of \$20.00 had been made in 1817 for the collection and preservation of minerals, curiosities, etc., and in March, 1828, a definite provision was made for the accommodation of the Museum, as shown in the following resolution:—"Ordered, That a suitable room be set apart as a Museum for the reception of minerals and curiosities; and should any person or persons hereafter make a donation of minerals or curiosities, such collections, if agreeable to the donor, shall be kept in a separate case, and distinguished by the name of the donor; and that the said room with its contents shall be under the special care of the Professor of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry."

Thus it is seen that the Museum is now about 75 years old.

MISCELLANIES.

In 1821 it was ordered that the pews in the Presbyterian Church which had been bought for the use of students, should be sold or rented out, and all arrearages be paid. It long continued to be one of the regulations of the College that students should attend divine service at least once on Sunday, but they were not required to attend any particular church; and I do not know that they were ever called to account for failing to obey. For many years the only church in Lexington was the Presbyterian; then came the Methodist; then the Baptist; next the Episcopal; and finally the Catholic.

Parchment diplomas and seal seem first to have been ordered in 1824, and a diploma fee of five dollars was charged to each graduate. This charge was complained of by some of the best students, and it was reduced to three dollars.

Public exhibitions began to be held a little before this time at the conclusion of the spring term. This included the exercises of the graduating class with its Salutatory, partly in Latin, and a

sentimental Valedictory, with a speech between from each graduate, or perhaps instead of a speech a dialogue—often humorous, and sometimes spoken in costume. The music was given on violins and flutes by an extempore corps; but a little later the brass band of the town gave its services. Intermediate exhibitions were often given in the College Chapel, at which there were songs, humorous speeches, and somewhat elaborate acting in costume. I remember when a boy seeing a young man appear on the stage in a soiled dress, with the neck of a quart bottle sticking out of a back pocket, and sing a bacchanalian song; but he sang so finely as to throw the whole audience off their propriety. Before the completion of the new building, the Commencement exercises were held in the old Presbyterian Church, and after trying the College Chapel for a time, the old Church was again resorted to, owing to the crowds of country people that attended in those days. The Chapel, however, continued to be used for intermediate occasions. Those days were more musical and more jovial than the present; also more really appreciative of the College exercises.

In 1829 a wheelbarrow was added to the apparatus. There is no doubt of this fact, as it is formally spread upon the records! The cost is not given, but we may feel sure that the gentlemen of the Board saw to it that there was no extravagance in its make-up or price.

Of course, the buildings were kept insured, and doubtless will be and ought to be, in grateful remembrance of the payment by an insurance company, which, with the James River dividend, saved the Academy from practical bankruptcy in 1803.

SUMMARY OF DR. BAXTER'S ADMINISTRATION.

During the 30 years of Dr. Baxter's administration, the College history, like the course of human history generally, with all its troubles and weaknesses, made important advances, and scattered good at every step. Dr. Baxter began when the school was in a state of suspended animation. Utterly poor and apparently helpless, it had fainted under the shock of Wm. Graham's resignation. At this juncture but little seemed to be left but the grit of the Trustees. Almost simultaneously, however, with the resignation of

Mr. Graham, Gen. Washington gave notice of his intention to bestow the 100 shares of James River stock upon the Academy. This was like a resurrection call, but its practical value could not at once be told; and when Dr. Baxter came in 1799, no actual relief had come from any quarter. There was but a handful of boys to teach, and for a time he had no help. The school was in the country, and there was not a house in which he could shelter his family. His pitiful salary was wholly contingent on the number of students, which at that time did not much exceed, perhaps did not amount to, a baker's dozen. The whole estate in hand of the Academy consisted of a few acres of ground on which stood the lately erected, but only partially paid for stone building, and some small houses; with the furniture, books and apparatus. But Dr. Baxter soon drew to his side Daniel Blain who had helped him to put life into New London Academy, and at once signs of revival began to manifest themselves. In three years another blow came in the destruction of the Academy buildings; but the good work went on. After a time the other great donations followed that of Washington. Changes were made by which ample space and new buildings were supplied. A goodly income drove away all apprehension of want. The educational facilities expanded in every direction, the corps of instructors was increased, the course of study enlarged, the number of students though not large was increased, and their ages greater. Many alumni went forth to testify that whatever imperfections might be justly alleged against the conduct of the College, it had done its full share, and more than its share in forming noble characters, and equipping them for eminent service to society.

On this latter point I will quote from the address delivered before the Society of Alumni, in 1878, on the fiftieth anniversary of his graduation by Col. John T. L. Preston. After some badinage and a little serious criticism concerning the College in his school days in the latter part of Dr. Baxter's administration,¹ he sums up the

¹Col. Preston was a student in the crisis of those difficulties which have been described as bringing about the temporary disorganization of the College. He had been sent to the country for his preparatory schooling, and he left College at 17 years of age. He tells us in his lecture what most interested him whilst he was at College; not the instructions of the professors, but the literary societies. He

effects of the training they got as follows: "If Washington College must bear some reproach for what she has failed to do for Science and Literature, she need not be ashamed of the part she bore in supplying men for the active pursuits of life. Time would fail me if I should attempt to commemorate the faithful ministers of the Gospel, not a few of them distinguished, who have proceeded from her walls—the same of the farmers, physicians, lawyers, merchants, and legislators, who have done true and noble work in their generation. . . . In fine I record it as my deliberate estimate of the Alumni of my day, that take them altogether, no equal number of men have better discharged the duties of life, and that it would be hard to find among so many, so few instances of failure. Therefore it may be concluded, that our system of training, though apparently very insufficient when compared with the present, was the system best suited to us and to our times."

I will add only the remark that whatever criticisms growing out of the progress of knowledge during the last fifty to sixty-five years, might be justly made on the instruction or the management of Washington College in Dr. Baxter's time, many sound classical scholars were certainly made then and there; a greater number who were not good students at College became students afterward in consequence of the impulse there received; and all who were there received impressions for good which made them wiser and better than they otherwise would have been. Who could come in contact

says—"We had the Graham and Washington Societies, and in them found great pleasure, and no little profit . . . all our enthusiasm was concentrated here." Under these circumstances, and speaking from memory fifty years afterward, it is not surprising that he should fail to mention or perhaps to have seen wherein consisted the real evils of the period, and that he should fall into errors in commenting on the system of instruction. The most of these are unimportant, but one or two of them are fundamental, and these only will I mention. He says—"Our curriculum, taken from that of Princeton, was a close one without any electives in it, and only the simple A. B. degree inscribed on its goal." It is true, as in Colleges generally, there was a course prescribed for the bachelor's degree, but it is not true that all the students were required to pursue the course, or that any one was required to go through it regularly. There was a special scientific course also. One of the evils then existing was the want of system and order in which the studies were carried on. The reader of these pages does not need to be informed that the course of study at the time referred to was not that of Princeton, which had been abolished six or seven years before, but a greatly enlarged course—one which

day after day with such men without receiving less or more of the highest sort of education !

CHAPTER IV.

FAMILY AND PERSONAL NOTICES.

DR. BAXTER'S FAMILY.

There is no need that I should add a biographical sketch of Dr. Baxter to the many already in print ; I will only mention what I have not seen stated, that Dr. Baxter's father, Col. George Baxter, after receiving his education in New Jersey and Philadelphia, and having made a special study of surveying, was made Surveyor for Northwest Virginia. While so engaged he, like George Washington, acquired extensive areas of valuable wild land, which made him a wealthy man, and enabled him to leave a handsome estate to each of his children.

As is well known, Dr. Baxter married the daughter of the noble Col. Wm. Fleming, of Botetourt, one of the College trustees, sketched in glowing terms by Mr. Grigsby. Concerning Mrs. Baxter, Dr. Foote says :—"Like the Elder Edwards, Dr. Baxter

was not surpassed in fullness by that of any college in the United States at that time.

Col. Preston speaks of the Greek course as having been "limited" in respect to the amount of reading, but in fact it consisted of about 1,000 pages octavo, which no doubt satisfied the craving of most of those that read it. The manner of teaching the Latin grammar is also objected to, and especially of teaching prosody; there not having been philosophy enough, and there having been too much memorizing of rules and exceptions. Perhaps more modern professors know how to do it better; but considering the times, probably the professor of languages then in charge was as well informed on the whole subject as ought to have been expected! As to his general competency we have the testimony of Col. Preston himself on a different occasion. In his semi-centennial address made before the Franklin Society, in 1866, he says concerning his former professor of languages—"Let it not be forgotten that one of the ripest scholars in Virginia, Rev. Dr. Rufner, never was a student of any other college. True, he made himself what he was by after-study, but he began his learned life here."

committed his household concerns to the management of his wife. To her prudence and discretion he trusted the expenditure of his salary, the moderate stipends from the College and Church, and the income of their private property, in the supervision and education of a numerous family of four sons and five daughters."

Eight children came to mature age, namely, three sons and five daughters. The sons are all named in the catalogue, but the youngest received most of his education at Hampden-Sidney, whither the family removed in 1831. They were all men of talent, and good speakers. The eldest of the three was George C., who was born at Liberty Hall in 1801. He passed through his college course with credit, studied law with Hon. William Taylor in Lexington, and was ready to practice in 1823 or '24. He at this time received the gift from his father of a valuable tract of land in Harrison county, West Virginia, which probably was one of the inducements to settle in Clarksburg, the county seat of that county. He there entered with industry on his vocation, and soon distinguished himself at the bar; but in three or four years, from imprudent exposure, he broke down in health, so that he was obliged to seek a warmer climate. Having friends in Alabama, he went to Huntsville, in that State, and began to practice his profession. The change did not restore him, and after gaining reputation as an eloquent lawyer, he felt compelled to give up his practice. He tried other places, and after a time found his health to be improving, so that he came to the family home, which was then in Prince Edward. Here he remained for some months, and in the summer of 1833 returned to Lexington, where he entered into partnership with his brother Sidney; but the next year Sidney removed to Richmond, and George continued to practice in Rockbridge and the adjoining counties. Botetourt County Court, which he attended, met on Monday, and was attended by him and other Lexington lawyers. They all went on horseback, and all, except Mr. Baxter, started on Sunday at noon, and rode as far as Buchanan that afternoon. I am able to fix the hour of their starting, because, when the church stood in the "grave yard" at the head of town, and the doors were open in summer, I could from our pew see everything that passed along the street, or road, as it then was. Many a line of covered wagons, and many a long drove of cattle,

often several hundred in number, did I watch as they passed, whilst our pastor, the father of temperance societies in Lexington, the Rev. James Douglas, was sweetly exhorting his flock to take heed to their ways. Mr. Douglas induced even small children to take the pledge, and taught us a little song which was to be our Ave Maria. He composed the lines himself. It had six or eight stanzas, but I can now recall only a single couplet—

“Do not put that sugar in,
For me to drink would be a sin.”

Once in every month at least I would see the squad of lawyers passing my field of vision wearing leggings and with saddle bags on their sleek horses. I was not brought up in the full Scotch-Irish doctrine respecting the proper mode of observing the Sabbath, my father inclining to the more liberal views of John Calvin on that subject. But the influence of public sentiment, and of the pulpit, was so very strong against travelling on Sunday, that I could not understand how such respectable gentlemen as the lawyers could start off on a journey on the sacred day. In regard to the road wagons, I had heard that my ancestor, Samuel Lyle, who was a magistrate living near the “big road,” would never allow a wagon to pass his place on Sunday; if it came it must stop and go into camp then and there, and the wagoner be thankful that he did not have a fine to pay; the wholesome effect of which was to make every wagoner time his start from base so that he would not pass Squire Lyle’s on Sunday! So in seeing these things passing the church door on the Sabbath day, my boyish conclusion was that all wagoners and cattle drovers, to say nothing of lawyers, were sons of Belial! But whilst these travellers were passing, George Baxter was sitting in church, and throughout the day attended to all his duties as scrupulously as Deacon Jackson (Stonewall) used to do. But his professional engagements required him to be in Fincastle, forty miles distant, by noon on Monday. He was in the habit of meeting his appointment by starting soon after midnight, regardless of weather or roads. This was grand, but it finally cost him his life. He started at 2 o’clock one Monday morning in November in a cold, drizzling rain, not knowing that he had been exposed to the infection of scarlet fever. When he

arrived at Fincastle he was ill, and in a short time the symptoms of malignant sore throat appeared. He received every possible attention, but died November 18, 1835, after an illness of nine days. The preamble of resolutions passed by the bar at Fincastle reads—"Whereas, our brother George C. Baxter has been taken from us in the prime of his life, and in the full vigor of that genius with which he was so highly endowed, etc." This was the estimate held concerning him. Dr. Plumer, who knew him well, spoke in high terms of George Baxter's eloquence and power as a speaker.

The Hon. Sidney S. Baxter, the second son, who was Attorney-General of the State and Trustee of the College, will receive a special notice from another hand.

The Rev. Joseph F. Baxter, the third son, was born in September, 1814, in Lexington. As before intimated, he received but a small part of his education at Washington College. He was at the Grammar School in the summer of 1829; after which time he remained at home for two years. In 1831 his father and family removed to Prince Edward county, where Joseph was put to school with Rev. E. Ballentine, and afterward to Rev. Philo Calhoun, who became professor in Washington College. By these teachers he was prepared for College, and was graduated at Hampden-Sidney in 1835. He continued his studies during the remainder of the summer, and entered the Theological Seminary in the autumn. He was licensed to preach by West Hanover Presbytery in 1838, and first took charge of the churches of South Plains and Bethel in Albemarle county, and continued with them until 1843. Whilst there he married Miss Susan Rogers, whose father had been a clergyman, and whose mother was a sister of the Hart brothers who have been mentioned before. I once visited at the home of Mrs. Rogers after she had become a widow, and found her managing her handsome and productive farm with all the skill of her brother James, whose farm was in sight, and both places quite near to the South Plains Church—all of which places can be seen from the cars five miles beyond Charlottesville. William A. Rogers (No. 1060 of our Catalogue of Alumni), and T. Oscar Rogers, the well known teacher (Catalogue No. 1281), were sons of this lady. Her daughter Adeline married Edward G. Caruthers, of Lexington, who was a brother of Dr. Wm. A. Caruthers,

and of John F. Caruthers—all three Alumni of the College; and, I may add, the brother of the first Mrs. Col. Preston, a lady who, in mind and character, was one of those superior women of whom even such a community as Lexington can rarely boast more than two or three in a generation. She will be mentioned again in another connection. These were all children of William Caruthers, an eminent merchant of Lexington, whose family should be commemorated in a monograph.

Mrs. Rogers' daughter Celia married Rev. James M. Wilson, a graduate of Washington College, son of the earlier alumnus and useful friend of the school, the Rev. Samuel B. Wilson, D. D., who has been mentioned a number of times in the College Papers. Mr. James M. Wilson was the father of Rev. Oscar Wilson now preaching at Millboro' and Windy Cove Churches. John M. Wilson, brother of James, married Phebe Caruthers, sister of Mrs. Preston, and mother of Dr. Frank Wilson, a distinguished physician, residing in Louisville, Ky.

The Rev. Joseph F. Baxter remained in Albemarle until 1843, when he took charge of two churches in Amherst, in fact took charge of the whole county as a missionary field. But Mr. Baxter had a delicate constitution, and habitually overworked himself with study and preaching; and he was now suffering with a wasting disease which terminated his labors in March, 1845. He was a fluent, lively and interesting preacher, and very much devoted to his work. He, like all the children of Dr. and Mrs. George A. Baxter, except Sidney, had the spare habit of the mother, and most of them had her ruddy complexion.

Dr. Baxter's daughters were all ladies of superior intellect and education. One of them married Jacob Warwick See, our alumnus 483, of Tygart's Valley, Randolph County, West Virginia, and became the mother of Rev. Charles S. M. See, an alumnus of Washington College. George See, No. 482, was probably of the same family. The other four daughters of Dr. Baxter all became teachers. The Doctor was so much interested in the education and personal independence of women that I wonder he did not suggest the admission of women into the College. The strong views of the Doctor on the general subject of women supporting themselves, no doubt influenced the course of his daughters. After the

father's death first one and then another entered upon the profession for which they all had both natural and acquired fitness. Miss Elizabeth preferred to act separately, and filled a number of appointments as principal of academies. Misses Nancy, Lavinia and Louisa all returned to Lexington, and were all at different times usefully employed in carrying on a school from 1848 to 1879; which with their father's long service made a line of teaching in Lexington of 61 years by his family. These ladies not only kept up their studies, but constantly went forward in their attainments. Miss Nancy's attainments in mathematics were equal to those of the College graduates. Of this large family only Miss Louisa remains among the living. She at least has the satisfaction of knowing that no other one family ever had so much share as hers in the training of the young people of Lexington.

Joseph A. Baxter, a successful physician of Indiana, and George B. Tate, a merchant of Augusta county, names on our Catalogue, were both nephews of Dr. Baxter.

THE BRECKINRIDGES.

There are ten Breckinridges on the Catalogue of Alumni, four of whom were here during Dr. Baxter's administration; others before and since. They and all others of the name so far as known to me belong to the same gifted family, who came to Augusta County among the early settlers. Mr. Waddell in his *Annals of Augusta County* gives an account of the older generations. They are of the same Scotch-Irish stock with the Lewises, Prestons, McDowells, Stuarts, and other well known families who originated in this region. In the early form of the name Breckinridge the vowel in the second syllable was e instead of i, as at present. The founder of the family in America was Alexander Breckinridge, who came in 1728, and after stopping for a few years in Pennsylvania came on to Virginia. He was one of the five "trusty and well beloved friends," who were appointed in 1741, by the congregation of Tinkling Spring Church, to attend to the purchase of a lot, the erection of a church building, and other temporal affairs. He had a son Robert who became prominent in the Indian wars, and was one of the original corporators of the town of Staunton.

Robert transferred his residence to Botetourt County, where he acted as justice of the peace and colonel of militia. By his first marriage Col. Breckinridge had two sons, Robert and Alexander. These were amongst the earliest recorded pupils of Augusta or Liberty Hall Academy, and are numbered 5 and 2 on the Catalogue. Both of these were officers in the Revolutionary army. The older son, Gen. Robert Breckinridge, was a lieutenant in the Continental army, and was made general of militia after the war. He represented Botetourt County in the Virginia Legislature. Subsequently he removed to Kentucky, was a member of the Convention of 1788 that ratified the Federal Constitution, and there also was a member of the Legislature, and of the State Convention. He was the first speaker of the Kentucky House of Delegates. He accumulated a large estate, and died at a great age in Louisville after 1830.

The brother, Major Alexander Breckinridge, was a captain in the Continental army. After the war he removed to Kentucky also, and was a member of the State Convention of 1787. He died comparatively young.

His son, Hon. James D. Breckinridge, was a student at Washington Academy in 1800–1803. He, too, became a distinguished man. He was a lawyer by profession, a member of the Kentucky House of Representatives, and a member of Congress in 1821–23. He died in 1832.

These were the descendants of Col. Robert Breckinridge in the line of his first marriage. His second wife was Lettice—or Letitia—Preston, daughter of John Preston, of Augusta County, Va., the founder of the eloquent family of Prestons, some account of whom will be given in the next article. When a Breckinridge and a Preston unite the public might justly indulge high expectations in respect to their posterity; and, in this case at least, the highest expectations would not have been disappointed. The immediate family of Robert and Lettice consisted of four sons and one daughter.

One of the sons was Gen. James Breckinridge, of Botetourt county, who is No. 3 of the College Catalogue. He spent his life in Virginia, and became a very prominent and influential citizen; a lawyer, Commonwealth's Attorney, member of the Virginia Legislature, and member of Congress 1809–17. He died in 1837.

He had ten children. Letitia, his eldest daughter, married a son of Col. Robert Gamble, our alumnus No. 20, and was the mother of Dr. Carey B. Gamble and William C. Gamble, whose names are on the Catalogue, and were mentioned in the sketch of Dr. James Ramsey in Historical Papers, No. 3.

The second daughter, Elizabeth, married Gen. Edward Watts, a trustee of Washington College, and was the mother of the first wife of Thomas L. Preston. Mr. Preston is No. 733 of the Catalogue. Gen. Watts's son, William, married the daughter of a very distinguished alumnus of Washington College, namely, Judge J. J. Allen, late President of the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals.

Three of Gen. James Breckinridge's sons were students here—Nos. 541, 542 and 744—Carey Breckinridge, James Breckinridge, and John Breckinridge, all farmers.

Another son of Col. Robert Breckinridge and Letitia Preston was John Breckinridge, who was older than his brother James, and had a more varied career. He married Mary Hopkins Cabell, of Buckingham County, Va., from which union descended a line of eminent men. He was educated at Washington College, and is No. 4 of the Catalogue. He also entered into law and politics. When quite young he represented Botetourt county in the Legislature. After his marriage he lived for a time on James river, in Albemarle county, and then followed the example of the other members of the family, and removed to Kentucky. In his new home he advanced rapidly in influence and position. He became a member and speaker of the House of Representatives; the author of the Kentucky Resolutions of 1799; U. S. Senator 1801-5; and Attorney-General of the United States under Jefferson. He died in 1806, leaving five sons and two daughters.

One of his sons was Joseph Cabell Breckinridge, who occupied high positions in Kentucky. He was the father of the well-known Gen. John C. Breckinridge, who was great alike in civil and military affairs, whose wife was Miss Burch, and two of his sons were students here. One was the Hon. Clifton R. Breckinridge, now in Congress from Arkansas—who has had to face some rude political storms, which only served to show his strength. The other was John Witherspoon Owen Breckinridge, who was pursuing a successful career in California, as a lawyer and member of the State

Senate, when he was cut short in the prime of his manhood. He died at his home in Mercer, California, May 9, 1892. He is remembered in Lexington as a handsome, attractive youth of bright mind.

A daughter of Joseph C. Breckinridge married Rev. Dr. Bullock, of Kentucky, who occupied a number of important positions, including the chaplaincy to Congress for a considerable time. His son, John M. Bullock, now in Missouri, was a student here in 1866-67. Samuel M. Bullock is a near relative.

Another son of John Breckinridge was the Rev. John Breckinridge, D. D., a noted pulpit orator of the Presbyterian Church, whose first wife was a sister of our late townsman, the Rev. John Miller, D. D., now of Princeton, N. J.

And still another son was the able and eminent divine and publicist Rev. Robert J. Breckinridge, D. D., LL. D., who for a generation was a powerful combatant in affairs both ecclesiastical and civil. He first married his relative Sophonisba Preston, sister of Mrs. Gov. McDowell, etc. They had a large family; and among them Col. Robert J. Breckinridge of the Confederate army and Confederate Congress, and the Hon. W. C. P. Breckinridge, whose name suggests three strains of noted blood.

The Rev. Dr. Robert J. Breckinridge's second wife was the widow Shelby, whose daughter was the wife of our alumnus and countyman Col. Jack Grigsby, who will, I hope, receive a special notice in connection with others of the name.

The prepotency of the Breckinridge blood, like that of the Preston, entitles the family to a distinct record.

THE PRESTONS.

Among the Scotch-Irish—and the remark might be made more general—there is no family more noted than that which has descended from John Preston and Elizabeth Patton, his wife, of Augusta County, Virginia. And if to the direct family of John Preston be added the families which have become connected with it by marriage—such as the Breckinridge, McDowell, Lewis, Floyd, Peyton, Watts, Campbell of Southwest Virginia, Carrington, Hampton of South Carolina, Johnston of Kentucky, Marshall,

Randolph, and other families of note—it will be seen that here is a truly remarkable family connection. And it is a family that will bear close inspection, for it has been as marked for the personal virtues of its members as it has been for talent, culture, and high position.

A large number of the members of this connection have been students of this institution, the series beginning with Liberty Hall Academy, or perhaps earlier, and continuing until the present time. I have undertaken in this paper to select these students from the whole number, and group them according to their family relations without reference to the particular period of history which we have been considering. No doubt the work will contain errors and omissions, which I apologize for in advance, and which I promise to rectify, if information be given. I shall enter into the general history of the family only so far as may be necessary to indicate the relationships of the several alumni to each other, and to the original stem and main branches. In any descriptive sketches I may attempt, I, of course, shall aim to do not only absolute, but relative justice, and yet, owing to want of full information, I shall no doubt fail in many cases.

John Preston came with his wife from Ireland to Beverley Manor, and located near the present site of Staunton in 1740. He left four daughters and one son, namely, I. Letitia, who married Col. Robert Breckinridge; II. Margaret, who married Rev. John Brown; III. William, whose wife was Susanna Smith; IV. Ann, who married Col. Francis Smith; V. Mary, who married Benjamin Howard.

I. Letitia. Her marriage to Col. Breckinridge, and such of her descendants as were educated at this institution, have been mentioned above.

II. Margaret was the wife of Rev. John Brown, whose name stands out so prominently among the founders of Washington and Lee University. His five sons, John, William, James, Samuel and Preston were all students of the Augusta Academy and Liberty Hall Academy. Three of them became distinguished, and all of them were strong men. The whole family removed from Rockbridge county to Kentucky; the aged parents following sons who had gone before.

(1). John Brown, the eldest son, served in the Revolutionary army with Lafayette. He became a lawyer and politician. He represented the district of Kentucky in the Virginia Legislature, and in the old Congress 1787-88, and afterwards represented the State of Kentucky in Congress, and was the first United States Senator from that State, being three times elected, and serving from 1792 to 1805. He married Margaretta Mason, of New York, daughter of Rev. John Mason, and sister of Rev. John M. Mason, both eminent Presbyterian clergymen. Mr. Brown died August 28, 1837, at the age of 80. Two of his children arrived at maturity, both of whom became prominent men in Kentucky; and one of them, Mason Brown, was the father of Benjamin Gratz Brown, who was U. S. Senator from Missouri, and candidate for the Vice-Presidency on the Greeley ticket. Mason Brown was the father also of Col. J. M. Brown, who married his relative, Mary O. Preston.

(2). William Brown, second son of Rev. John Brown, practiced medicine in South Carolina, where he died in early life, unmarried.

(3). James Brown, like his brother John, was a distinguished lawyer and politician. He was the first Secretary of State of Kentucky. He changed his residence to Louisiana, and was the U. S. Senator for that State for many years—1812-17, and 1819-24. During part of this time he was chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations; and in 1824 he was sent as minister to the Court of France, where he remained until 1831. His wife was Ann Hart, sister of Mrs. Henry Clay, of Ashland. He had no children. His death occurred in Philadelphia in 1836.

(4). Samuel Brown, the fourth son, became distinguished as a medical practitioner, and as a professor of medicine in Transylvania University. He married Miss Percy, of Alabama, and left two children; one of whom became connected with the Polk family of Tennessee; and the other, namely, Susan P. Brown, married Charles Ingersoll, of Philadelphia. Her children and grandchildren are well known to some of our Lexington people.

(5). Preston W. Brown, the fifth son, was also a physician, and resided in Woodford County, Ky. He married Miss Elizabeth Watts, of Virginia. They have numerous descendants.

The Rev. John Brown's daughters both married well. Eliza, the elder, married Rev. Thomas B. Craighead, of Tennessee. Mary, the younger, married Dr. Alexander Humphreys, of Staunton, Va. He was a brother of David C. Humphreys, many of whose descendants have been students, and one of whom, bearing the name of his great-grandfather and his uncle, is now a professor in Washington and Lee University.

Among the descendants of Dr. Alexander Humphreys and Mary Brown are three brothers who were at this institution a few years ago, namely, Dr. Francis A. Scratchley, Henry P. Scratchley and George P. Scratchley. They are the sons of Mary M. Humphreys, the granddaughter of Dr. Alex. Humphreys, who married George Scratchley, an English physician, resident in New Orleans.

Dr. Humphreys died in Staunton, and his widow with her nine children removed to Kentucky. Her children all married, and left a numerous posterity.

III. William Preston, the only son of John Preston the first, was a historical character of great importance. He was both a student and a trustee of the Academy in its early days. He was born in Ireland, and brought to this country at eight years of age. He was a man of nerve and perspicacity, and of more literary attainment than was common in his day. Mr. Grigsby gives a sketch of him in his address. His wife was Susanna Smith, of Hanover County, Va. In his early manhood he was much engaged in surveying in Southwest Virginia at a time when but little of the land had been appropriated, and when the prices of land were small. Having a good eye for land, he acquired numerous large and very fine tracts, which ultimately made his whole family wealthy.

His first change of residence from Augusta county was to Botetourt in 1769, at which time that county was formed. He there settled on a good estate which was and is known as Greenfield. This property is, I believe, owned by his descendants to this day. It lies near the village of Amsterdam, five miles south of the town of Fincastle. In 1774 he changed his residence from Greenfield to a larger and finer body of land in what is now Montgomery county; a tract then called Draper's Meadows, from the name of the first owner. Col. Preston changed the name to Smithfield, probably in honor of his wife. The Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical

College now occupies a part of the land, which was known as Solitude, and was the home farm of Col. Robert T. Preston, a grandson of Col. William. This was near the northeast end of the Smithfield tract, which began on top of the watershed—misnamed the Allegheny Mountain—and, according to Dr. Hale, extended to New River, taking in the Horseshoe Bend, and of course those other fertile bottoms which at a later day helped to make up the fine estates belonging to the Kents and Cloyds. And if, as stated, the Smithfield tract extended to the mountain ridges on each side, it was about ten miles long and five miles wide. In agricultural value it is unsurpassed. It is well watered by Tom's and Strouble's Creeks. Its surface is undulating, with meadow vales; all natural bluegrass land based on Silurian limestone.

Col. William Preston died in 1783, aged 53, leaving eleven children—five daughters and six sons. His descendants are greater in number than were those of Abraham in the same length of time, and there is every prospect that in less than four hundred years they will be as numerous as the children of Israel when they started for the promised land—which will be no disadvantage to the Republic! I can only attempt to mention such members of the family as have borne relations to Washington and Lee University.

Col. Wm. Preston's granddaughter, Susanna Madison, married the Hon. John Howe Peyton, of Staunton, who was a great lawyer in an age of great lawyers. He was a trustee of Washington College, and will at the proper date receive a special notice. Mr. Peyton's second wife was also a descendant of Wm. Preston, as will be mentioned in connection with the Sweet Springs Lewises.

Wm. Preston's eldest son was John Preston, State Treasurer, whose daughter, Susan, married William M. Radford, the son of our alumnus Col. William Radford (No. 254). Col. Radford's son, Edwin Winston Radford, was a student here in my day. He was an erect, gentlemanly youth; but he was a game chicken, like most of the Tuckahoe boys. He fell at the first battle of Manassas, a lieutenant in the Second Virginia Cavalry. His home was in Bedford county.

Wm. M. Radford's daughter, Mary Ann, married Peter Cope-land, of Richmond, another of my college mates, and one of the

best men in the world. He was so at college, and continued so to the end of his long life. After his marriage he lived on part of the Greenfield estate. He had six daughters.

J. T. Radford of the Law School, who was killed in battle, was a son of Dr. John B. Radford, whose fine estate is seen near the New River bridge, and for whose family the town of Radford was named. Dr. Radford was a son of Col. Wm. Radford.

John Preston's daughter, Sarah, married Henry M. Bowyer, A. B., our alumnus of 1822-23, and now probably the oldest living alumnus of the institution.¹ He belongs to the well-known Bowyer family, many of whom have been connected with the College. He is the son of Capt. John Bowyer, of Thorn Hill, near Lexington. His own residence is in Botetourt county, where he has been one of its most respected citizens.

Another daughter of John Preston married Charles C. Johnston, who was a member of Congress from the Abingdon district in 1831-32, and was drowned in the Potomac. He was the father of Mrs. Judge Robert W. Hughes.

Francis Preston, the second son of Col. Wm. Preston, was a man of great reputation both military and civic; and equally notable in his affinity and his posterity. His wife was the daughter of Gen. Wm. Campbell, of King's Mountain fame, whose wife was a sister of Patrick Henry. Gen. Francis Preston was a lawyer, a member of the Senate of Virginia, a member of Congress, and a brigadier general in the war of 1812. He lived in Abingdon, Va., and either he or one of his sons erected the princely dwelling that is now Martha Washington College. His father's immense landed estate was divided by lot. The share of Francis was in Washington county. He also derived considerable property from Gen. Campbell's estate. A part of the famous salt property was owned by Gen. Francis Preston—the same now owned by Palmer and Stuart. He had ten children, all of whom became distinguished either personally or by marriage.

The eldest of his children was the eminent orator and statesman William C. Preston, who has been heretofore mentioned as a student of the College, and one of the founders of the Graham-Lee

¹Since the above was written, Mr. Bowyer died on the 22d of February, 1893.

Society. He is too well known in history to require farther notice in this connection.

The second child of Gen. Francis Preston was Mrs. Eliza Henry Carrington, a grand lady, who was as handsome as she was good and gifted. She was the wife of Gen. Edward C. Carrington, an alumnus of Washington College, and one of the founders of the Graham Society. He became an officer of distinction in the war of 1812, and was wounded at Sackett's Harbor. The most of his life he spent on his farm in Botetourt County. He died in 1855. Two of his sons were educated at Washington College. The elder, William Campbell Preston Carrington, became a lawyer, and settled in St. Louis shortly before the war. On the opening of hostilities he entered the Confederate Service, and became Captain and Adjutant in the first Missouri Regiment. He was several times brevetted for gallantry, and was finally killed at Baker's Creek in May, 1863. The other son, James McDowell Carrington, was Major in the artillery service of the Confederate States. He survived the war, and after living for a time in Charlottesville, removed to New York.

Susan S., the third child of Francis Preston, married her cousin (Gov.) James McDowell, who will be mentioned in another connection. She was a retiring, gentle, beautiful lady, of slender person and delicate constitution, thus differing from her sister Mrs. Carrington, and from the most of her brothers. She did not live to old age.

Sally, the fourth child of Gen. Francis Preston, married John B. Floyd. This lady was one of "the salt of the earth." Her grandmother, Mrs. Gen. Campbell—Patrick Henry's sister Elizabeth—was a woman of great piety, and the fortress of Methodism in Southwest Virginia in its early days. The Henry family naturally belonged to the Church of England; but Mr. Henry saw much to criticise in the old establishment, and his tilt with the parsons, and his defence of the persecuted Baptists, among other things, seemed to loosen his attachment for the church of his fathers, and to unsettle his family and near relatives; not in respect to the essence of Christianity, but as to church connections. Mrs. Gen. Campbell, afterward Mrs. Russell, when living at the Salt Works, not only made her house the home of the Methodist clergy,

but had a pulpit erected in her parlor so that she might at any moment convert it into a chapel. She herself took a leading part in exhortation and prayer, and her friends claimed that she was the equal of her brother Patrick in vigor of thought, "brilliancy of imagination and silver-tongued elocution." It is not surprising that her granddaughter Mrs. Floyd should have been an enthusiastic laborer in the great work done by the Methodist Church in that region. Gen. Floyd himself, a few weeks before his death in 1863, became a member of the same church; though many of his nearest kindred were Roman Catholics.

The fifth child of Gen. Preston, Sophonisba, married the Rev. Robert J. Breckinridge, as heretofore stated.

Maria, the sixth child, married John M. Preston of Smyth County, whose fine lands and large brick dwelling at Seven Mile Ford are now occupied by his son.

Gen. John S. Preston, of South Carolina, was the eighth child of Gen. Francis Preston. He was a grand looking man, and had much of the eloquence characteristic of the Prestons. He married a sister of Gen. Wade Hampton of the Confederate Army, and Gen. Hampton married Gen. Preston's sister Margaret, who was the tenth child of Gen. Francis Preston.

The ninth child of Gen. Francis Preston was the Hon. Thomas L. Preston, Rector of the University of Virginia. He is on our Catalogue of Alumni, No. 734. At one time he was the representative of Smyth County, in the Legislature. He inherited the Preston interest in the Salt Works, and at one time was classed among the wealthiest men in Virginia. But alas! he sold for money that could not be redeemed. As heretofore mentioned, he first married Miss Elizabeth Watts. His second wife was Miss Ann Saunders.

Returning again to the immediate family of Col. William Preston of Smithfield, we next come to his daughter Sarah, who was the wife of Col. James McDowell, the trustee already mentioned more than once, and the father of Gov. James McDowell. The admirable monograph concerning Col. McDowell by his granddaughter Mrs. Sally Preston Campbell Miller, which appeared in the Historical Papers, No. 3, renders it unnecessary to add anything concerning

the personal character of this leader of men and staunch friend of Washington College.

Col. McDowell was the last of the name to occupy any part of the lands which the family of Ephraim McDowell had taken possession of about a hundred years before. These lands lie ten to twelve miles northeast of Lexington on both sides of what was the main thoroughfare along the great Valley of Virginia by way of Fairfield and Staunton. Ten miles from Lexington, close to the road, is a small graveyard enclosed with a brick wall, where lie the remains of the early McDowells commemorated by a monument erected by their descendants. It is quite near to the place which for more than a century has been known as "Red House," which has sometimes been called the "Maryland Tavern." This tract was originally the home of the first John McDowell, and without knowing the subsequent history of it, I suspect that it fell into the hands of some man from Maryland, probably a German, who built on it a house of entertainment, which he painted red. A large brick house now occupies the old site of John McDowell's residence. One mile beyond this, and about the same distance short of Fairfield, stands the Cherry Grove mansion, the residence of Col. James McDowell. It is a large, two-story, white frame house, which in my early days stood in an ample lawn in which were some oak trees. My impression is that the place took its name from a large cherry orchard, which I never saw. The place is now owned by James Fultz. In the days of Col. McDowell everything was kept in good order, and whilst the young people were there it had the reputation of being one of those happy, refined, abundant country homes, such as belonged to a state of society now gone forever. The stately figure of Col. McDowell was so impressive that even a boy of ten years, as I was, might retain a clear recollection of him.

Col. McDowell had three children. The eldest, Susan S., married the Hon. Wm. Taylor, a trustee who will be suitably commemorated hereafter. The most courteous opponents I ever saw in hot political debate were Sandy Stuart and Wm. Taylor, who were opposing candidates for Congress. I heard Stuart say in a speech in the Court-House in Lexington—"It is a rare privilege and a real comfort in a struggle like this to have as my opponent a *perfect gentleman*; my only pain is that I shall be compelled to defeat

him!" That pain, however, was relieved on the day of election! But I never knew a man who deserved the title of gentleman more perfectly than did William Taylor. He lived in the house now owned by Hon. J. Randolph Tucker. Mrs. Taylor was a worthy companion of her husband. After the death of Mr. Taylor she retired to her Green Tree farm, one of the early headquarters of the strong Paxton family. It was given to her by her father, who also owned Colalto. It was a good farm, but Mr. Taylor used to say of it, as Chapman Johnson said of his Bear Wallow place, that it took a large part of his income as a lawyer to pay the expenses of the farm! A large part of Lexington's West End is built on the Green Tree farm. It came up to and included the narrow street in rear of the lots of Mr. Myers, Prof. Nelson, etc. Where now stand all those beautiful residences beyond, there stood a grove of oaks in my boyhood. This was "Taylor's Grove;" and I have seen the village schoolmaster, "Old Tidd," shoot squirrels and pigeons in it. The farm house, altered and its front reversed to suit the change of the road, is now occupied by Mr. Wm. A. Ruff.

The children of Wm. Taylor and Susan McDowell were six in number; four sons and two daughters. Three of their sons are on the Catalogue, and it is possible that one name has been accidentally omitted. The eldest child was Dr. James McDowell Taylor, who spent his life in Lexington, and died in 1888, unmarried. There was not a more virtuous life or more benevolent heart in the town than his. He was the friend and daily benefactor of the poor; and was beloved and lamented by all of every class. He represented the county twice in the Legislature. And he was the only man within my knowledge who ever showed a benevolent interest in the County Poor House, and tried to reform it; and yet there is no object from Lexington to Corea more worthy than this of the efforts of the philanthropic. Some young men have been teaching a Sunday School there of late.

The second son was Rev. Robert J. Taylor. The boys used to say that Robert carried a hair brush in one pocket and a clothes brush in another—in allusion to the extreme neatness of his person. Aaron Burr was the pink of neatness too; but Robert Taylor was not concerned chiefly about the outer man; he prayed and lived the prayer of Socrates—"Oh, God, make me beautiful

within!" If ever a man lived an unblemished life, it was Robert Taylor. He tried the law, but was drawn into the Christian ministry. His first charge was in Portsmouth, Va. During the war he was chaplain in the army, and died April 8, 1873, in middle life, whilst pastor of Bethesda Church, near the Rockbridge Baths. Robert and James were quite different in some respects, yet they were alike in their piety and purity of life, and in their sweetness of spirit. Robert married Miss Eliza McNaught, and left three children.

The third child of William Taylor was Susan, who was one of the choice young ladies of the town in my young days. She became the second wife of the Hon. John B. Weller, Senator from California; originally from Ohio. They had two children, the second of whom, John B. Weller, Jr., was a student of Washington College. He studied law, and settled in San Francisco.

The fourth child was Edmonia, who married Mr. Levy, of Portsmouth, Va.

The fifth was William, who went to California, and was there living a bachelor life in 1870.

The sixth was Thomas Benton Taylor, who attended College, and also the Law School. He married the daughter of the noted Presbyterian divine, Rev. Nathan L. Rice, D. D. His first settlement was in Chicago. After the war he returned to Lexington, and was Commonwealth's Attorney for a short time; but after a few years he removed to Missouri, where he lived successively in Lexington, St. Louis, and Fulton. During part of the time he was editor of a newspaper.

The second child of Susan Preston and Col. James McDowell, was Eliza, who married the Hon. Thos. H. Benton, who was for thirty years a prominent figure in the United States Senate, and who probably influenced the course of legislation as much as any of his peers. Col. and Mrs. Benton had six children. Mrs. Benton was a ready and incisive talker. The daughters, naturally gifted, were brought up chiefly in Washington, where they had the most developing educational advantages both in schools and in society. The acquisition of the modern languages had a living meaning to them, for any day they might be at the dinner table with the ministers from France, from Germany, from Italy, from Spain,

and from Russia—a sort of pentecostal gathering, in which every man would hear the Misses Benton addressing him in his own tongue. Mrs. General Fremont (Miss Jessie Benton) is well known as an authoress, and as the courageous wife of her adventurous husband.

GOVERNOR JAMES McDOWELL.

The youngest of three children of Col. McDowell was our alumnus and trustee, our Governor and Congressman, James McDowell. He has taken his place in the history of the country, and the formal sketch of him, appropriate to these pages, is in the hands of the one who of all persons is most competent to prepare it. And yet I find myself unable to withstand the temptation to add my impressions of the man whom I was taught in my childhood to honor, and whom I learned in my manhood to admire and love.

The marriage of James McDowell to Susan, the daughter of Gen. Francis Preston, has already been mentioned. His home through life was in Rockbridge county. Here in Lexington he lies buried. On yon beautiful eminence stands his large and commodious residence, which for a generation was the home of refinement, cultivation and wealth; and the visiting place of a long list of distinguished men and elegant women. From the grounds one looks out on perhaps the most picturesque single view of all the striking scenes about Lexington.

Without reference to party issues, I always regarded Governor McDowell as unusually right-minded on all subjects. This is not always the case, by any means, with men of distinguished ability. I have known many strong men whose manner of looking at subjects both public and personal was unsound; and specially so on questions involving ethical principles. But McDowell was level-headed, and where an ethical principle was involved his judgment was as true as the needle to the magnetic pole. And what is, if possible, still more rare, he was consistent with himself through life. He did not, like the fool, always utter his whole mind; but he never jumped the fence because the dogs were after him. He held on to his opinions, and staid with old friends, rather than go after new ones. He was ahead of his day in

Virginia on some important points, but he was strong enough to preserve his independence without giving offence. He was strong enough also to be as proud and aristocratic as naturally belonged to him; and he was known to be so much above the plane of the demagogue that if he had resorted to the tricks so often employed in electioneering he would have lowered his standing with even the commonest people. He was more inclined to satire than he was to flattery. He did not profess to have any exalted admiration for the *genus homo*; and he allowed nobody to be impudent to him. Hypocritical meanness he scourged with a lash of scorpions. In fact, it was not difficult to rouse in him the fire of an old Macdougall.

But these things did not show the deeper nature of James McDowell. He was really a friendly, unostentatious man; sound in his affections, and faithful to every tie and every old association; and he was a firm, sincere Christian. Brought up in Timber Ridge congregation, he is said never to have passed the old church without removing his hat, and remaining uncovered until beyond the grounds; not unfrequently showing by tears the depth of his feeling. McDowell's talents and grace excited the admiration and pride of the people, but it was the pure, faithful, tender soul within him that made the people love him.

Gov. McDowell early in life, as did Gov. Letcher and Gov. Kemper, took ground in favor of a public free school system in Virginia, and he never wavered in his advocacy of it. In my youth I attended a meeting of citizens, held in the lecture-room of the Presbyterian Church, in support of a movement then in progress in this direction. James McDowell was elected chairman, and on taking the chair he made some very emphatic remarks in favor of the much needed system. I have often tried to quote one of his sentences uttered upon that occasion, which of course cannot be done with strict verbal accuracy, but it was substantially this—"I know not who was the originator of the school system of Massachusetts, but I would rather have been that man than wear the proudest diadem of Europe!" Subsequently, when in the governor's office, he officially gave his whole influence in favor of a powerful movement then in operation which nearly resulted in the establishment of a full-fledged free school system.

He was also an emancipationist as long as he saw any hope of accomplishing the result. The Southampton insurrection in 1832 offered to the friends of emancipation what seemed to be a good opportunity to press the subject. Resolutions looking to a gradual removal of slavery were introduced into the Virginia Legislature; and for a time the movement seemed likely to succeed. McDowell was there, and, along with Faulkner and others, gave his best efforts to achieve the object.

McDowell, by precept and example, was always and under all circumstances against the drinking usages of society. My impression is, that when giving dinners in both Richmond and Washington, he allowed neither wine nor strong drink at the feast on even the greatest occasions. Nor would he countenance any form of social indulgence or amusement that he disapproved on religious or moral grounds. He did not mind being called a puritan so long as he remained faithful to the principles which he professed.

Taking all these opinions and characteristics that have been mentioned, many of which were certainly calculated to render him unpopular, we might wonder how it was that he was in public office nearly all his life. In my opinion the explanation is that McDowell was so manifestly a patriotic, good, safe man in addition to his intellectual and oratorical abilities, that the people loved him and believed in him. He might be satirical and puritanical, and he might hold opinions on some points that were not in accordance with prevailing doctrines, but there was no danger of McDowell doing anything that would hurt the country, or being treacherous to his friends; so all parties felt satisfied when public affairs were in his hands.

James McDowell by nature was an orator. His speech always took the form of oratory—in private as much as in public. In this he resembled the late Gov. Wm. Smith, who unconsciously talked all the time as if he were delivering a prepared speech—and a graceful, elegant speech. But McDowell would have been stronger as a stumper if he had spent more time on the streets. A stump orator he was not. He was too much of a literary man for that. Yet if he were put on his metal before a crowd he showed to great advantage because of his mental force and quickness, and those stores of knowledge and thought which he had

accumulated in his retirement. My impression is that McDowell's first speech was apt to be disappointing to a popular audience. It was composed of elevated thought clothed in elegant rhetoric, prepared in his library; but let his adversary try to corner and pound him, and he would find that he had just gotten down to the true man. His extempore rejoinders bristled with sharp points, and abounded in wit, satire and effective anecdotes. The first was McDowell of Colalto; the second was McDowell of the Grampian Hills!

The Governor was a thorough Democrat in politics, but so far as I could judge his mind dwelt less on party questions than upon those subjects which touched the vitals of the country. Like Webster, Everett, Clay, and other great statesmen, he scented the great battle from afar, and the thought of a "ruptured brotherhood and a ruined, ruined country" roused mind and heart to their utmost tension. His greatest bursts of eloquence broke forth when he was speaking on this subject; as, for example, when he enthused the great audience at Princeton Commencement, and when upon one occasion he drew the whole body of the House of Representatives around him; who cried out with one voice when his hour had expired—"Go on! Go on!!"

Gov. McDowell had ten children, three of whom were sons. The eldest, who was James McDowell of the fourth generation, was a student here, and became a physician; but being a delicate man, and wealthy, he did not long devote himself to the practice. He settled first in St. Louis; and not long after he went as surgeon on one of the Rocky Mountain expeditions conducted by Col. Fremont, his connection. He married in St. Louis a Miss Brant, a great-niece of Col. Benton. They had four children. The precarious health of his wife led him to prefer the climate of the South of Europe. For a time he was Consul General to Constantinople. But much of his time he spent in France, making a home of an old monastery in Tours, and going thence from time to time to Mentone and Cannes, the famous winter resorts of invalids, on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea. At intervals he returned to St. Louis, where he resided in elegance, and dispensed a liberal hospitality; never neglecting his old Rockbridge friends. Late in his life he spent a winter with his widowed sister Mrs. Ross in Rich-

mond, Va. At that time his chief pleasure seemed to be in meeting with relatives and old friends.

Dr. McDowell was remarkably interesting, and true hearted. He was a fine talker, though not the least inclined to declamation, or sarcasm. He never made one feel that he had the floor, but although he always had plenty to say, he was as ready to receive as to give—and thus he made himself truly social and agreeable. He was a remarkably handsome man, and in early manhood he excelled in athletic sports. In our old game of bandy, which was, if possible, worse than the modern game of football for peeling shins, and inflicting wounds and bruises generally, James McDowell was *facile princeps*. It was an inspiring sight to see him start for base with the ball, and carry it triumphantly away from all pursuers, and through fierce detachments of the enemy, until he sent it home like a cannon shot. But alas! his strength was not equal to his activity, and when the strain of life's serious work came upon him, his delicate constitution gradually gave way under the pressure, and consigned him to the tomb at 59 years of age.

The second child of Gov. McDowell was Sally Campbell Preston, now Mrs. John Miller, who needs no introduction to the readers of these papers.

The third child was Mary B., who married the Rev. Dr. Ross, of Bladensburg, Md. Her late peculiarly agreeable bequest to Washington and Lee University was a fit expression of that faithful and loving spirit which belonged to her nature. Mrs. Ross was the most gentle and unobtrusive of women; with a sweet voice and winning manner; "but under this gentle guise and quiet manner was a spirit of rare courage and fortitude which even in the midst of her life-long struggle with delicate health often supplied strength and hope to the sufferers about her. And while her hands, until death folded them to rest, were untiring in pious labors and loving ministries for the good of others, far and near, her home and heart, having no children of her own to fill them, spread their warm shelter and sympathy, not only over the stricken ones of her own family, but over others battling with the cares and tottering under the sorrows and troubles of life."

Her old friends knowing of this benevolent, devoted spirit were not surprised, yet none the less gratified, that Mary McDowell in

the last days of her life should in thinking lovingly of the home of her childhood and youth, where are graves of her ancestors for many generations, should have thought in the same connection of the institution so intimately associated with her nearest relatives, and that too in great numbers, on the side of both father and mother; and as the expression of this loving thought should have determined to plant a vine on College Hill, which should bear rich fruit in all the generations to come. What could have been more appropriate, or more benevolent! ¹

Frances, the fourth child of Gov. McDowell, died in early life unmarried.

Gov. McDowell's fifth child was Sophonisba, the amiable and beloved wife of Col. James W. Massie. The news of her sudden death was brought to me by Gen. Robert E. Lee, who wept freely as he talked of her sad departure. Col. Massie was a member of the Law Class in 1850-51, along with John Goode, William McLaughlin, Baker P. Lee, C. S. M. See, and John D. Sterrett. Col. Massie was a man of bright talents, and fine social qualities. He became professor of Mathematics in the Virginia Military Institute. He educated his only son at Washington College. The son, James McDowell Massie, became a physician, and went west.

Gov. McDowell's sixth child was Louis Marshall, who died in childhood.

Susan P. McDowell, another daughter, married Col. Charles S. Carrington, long President of the James River and Kanawha Company—a noble gentleman, now deceased. Their only daughter married Prof. William S. Currell, who as a student of Washington and Lee University covered himself with honors, and for a time acted as assistant professor. He left here to accept a professorship in Hampden-Sidney; now he is professor in Davidson College, N. C.

Margaret Cantey McDowell married Col. Charles S. Venable, of the University of Virginia, but is no longer living.

Thomas P. McDowell, the second son of Governor McDowell, was a student of Washington College, 1852-53. He married Miss Constance Warwick, and went to farming in Texas. When the

¹Mrs. Ross gave \$5,000 to the University to endow the "James McDowell Scholarship."

war occurred he joined the Rockbridge 2d artillery, and died in service in 1862.

The youngest child was Eliza Preston, who married Major Bernard Wolf, who had been on the staff of Gen. Wm. N. Pendleton, of the Confederate artillery, and who died in a few years after his marriage.

Again returning to the list of Col. Wm. Preston's children, we will notice his son, Wm. Preston, who was a captain in Gen. Wayne's army, and who married Miss Caroline Hancock, of Virginia. He resided in Louisville, Ky. His daughter became the wife of no less a personage than Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, and the mother of our late professor, Col. William Preston Johnston, and, I may add, the grandmother of the wife of our representative in Congress, an alumnus in both academic and law departments, and trustee, Henry St. George Tucker.

Albert Sidney Johnston, son of Col. William Preston Johnston, who is now the able president of Tulane University, was a student at Washington and Lee University for a time; but preferring to enter at once on a business life, he became connected with a Pennsylvania iron furnace, where "he gave entire satisfaction, and received steady promotion." Had his natural bias been indulged he would have become a naturalist, specially in the line of ornithology. He spontaneously acquired a surprising amount of knowledge on the subject, chiefly by his independent observation. He passed from the domestic fowls to hawks and owls, which he reared from the egg. "All native birds he knew familiarly, and their nests, eggs, plumage and habits, with an accuracy that must have instructed a scientific ornithologist." Thus we have another example of what was remarked upon in a preceding chapter, namely, that indifference to the studies set before a young student is no proof of lethargy of mind or body, or of indifference to knowledge; it may only mean that the right key has not been applied to his mind. I have in my mind a youth who had only moderate, and I might say, blind success at College until he reached the physical sciences, when his eyes suddenly opened wide to all other as well as to this special branch. A man who is allowed to follow a strong natural bias is soon made to feel the need of other studies; and will end by pursuing a liberal course.

This young A. S. Johnston would probably have become an eminent ornithologist, had circumstances been favorable ; and along with this study he would, after a time, have taken up other studies. Unfortunately, there is no special provision in our systems of education for cases of this kind, and, consequently, if an undergraduate will not eat what is set before him, he is expected to go away. In some school systems there is a class of children who have failed in taking hold of the regular course, and are grouped for special individual treatment. This is a good idea, but usually its defect is that the teacher is not expected to do anything but help the children along in the regular course ; whereas we want schools where the teacher is allowed discretion as to both method and subject in conducting the education of children who may have an uncontrollable bias in certain directions. Only the best teachers, however, should be trusted with this responsibility. Young men often need the same sort of tutelage.

Personally young Johnston had everything to make him agreeable to his friends, and precious to his parents. But his career was terminated by fever in Harrisburg in 1885, at the age of 24.

Capt. William Preston had a son William, who was a distinguished citizen of Kentucky, and who married the daughter of Robert Wickliffe, the eminent lawyer and politician of that State. They sent a son to Washington College, namely, Robert Wickliffe Preston ; who became a resident of Washington city.

The second wife of the Rev. Robert J. Breckinridge, as well as the first, as before intimated, was of Preston stock. She married first Alfred Shelby, and her daughter, Susan Shelby, was the wife of our alumnus J. Warren Grigsby—but we always called him *Jack*—"because we loved him"—who went from Rockbridge county, and belonged to a large family connection now much reduced in number. Jack Grigsby was one of the brightest and most elegant gentlemen that Rockbridge ever produced. He was a Brigadier-General in the Confederate army, and was a member of the Kentucky Legislature. He was Consul to Bordeaux before the war. His profession was that of law. Danville was his home in Kentucky. He died in 1877.

Gov. James P. Preston was a son of Col. Wm. Preston, and father of Wm. Ballard Preston, whose daughter married a Coles

belonging to the family who have had a number of representatives at this institution.

Dr. James L. Woodville, of Sweet Springs, Monroe County, West Va., is a descendant of Col. Wm. Preston through his daughter Mary, who married John Lewis of the Sweet Springs. He was a student here in 1833. He was a surgeon in the Confederate Army.

Another descendant of Mary Preston and John Lewis was Letitia Floyd. She became the wife of our alumnus, Thos. L. P. Cocke, who will be mentioned in another connection.

The second wife of the Hon. J. Howe Peyton was a daughter of Mary Preston and John Lewis of the Sweet Springs. By this marriage Mr. Peyton had ten children. The eldest son was Col. John Lewis Peyton, of Staunton, who has lately given to Washington and Lee University a fine portrait of his father.

Mr. Peyton's daughter, Lucy, married Judge John N. Hendren, of Staunton, the son of Rev. John Hendren, D. D., who was mentioned by Dr. Henry Ruffner as an alumnus of great merit and usefulness. Another son of Rev. Dr. Hendren was Dr. Samuel R. Hendren, a physician, who was at Washington College in 1846-47, and who died in Philadelphia in 1869. A son of Judge John Hendren, Samuel R. Hendren, distinguished himself as a student at Washington and Lee University in the sessions of 1890-91 and 1891-92. He returned the present session, but was compelled to withdraw on account of failing health.

Mr. Peyton's daughter, Mary Preston Peyton, married Robert A. Gray, of Rockingham county. Two of their sons are on the Catalogue of Alumni, namely, Howe Peyton Gray and Preston Lewis Gray, both lawyers by profession. Peyton Gray is at present connected with the revenue department of the Government, and Preston is actively engaged in the practice of law in Bristol, Tenn.

Col. Wm. Preston's tenth child and fifth son was Thomas Lewis Preston (an alumnus), whose wife was Edmonia Randolph, daughter of the eminent patriot and high public functionary, Edmund Randolph. I remember Mrs. Edmonia Preston as one of the loveliest and most saintly of women—a beautiful old lady, with a sweet voice and cordial manners; but as strong in character as she was abundant in good works.

Capt. Thomas L. Preston was a captain in the war of 1812—during the progress of which he died. Capt. Preston practiced law, and at one time represented Rockbridge county in the Legislature, during which time he composed the resolutions sustaining President Madison's war policy. He is said to have been a man of decided ability. His name appears among the ten who founded the Franklin Society in 1800. Capt. Preston is said to have worn his hair plaited in a queue, which was a fashion in his day, and which held over with a few old men in my boyhood. The only one I remember to have seen in Lexington was worn by the grandfather of our townsman Wm. G. McDowell. But the gentlemen of the olden time who wore the queue were as careful of it as a Chinaman. Tradition says that when Capt. Preston was preparing for an appearance in the Court House he would dress his hair with great particularity, and sometimes walked from Colalto to the Court House carrying his hat in his hand! No doubt he was a nice gentleman, whose forensic displays were of equal elegance with his exterior appearance.

His only two children were Elizabeth R. Preston—Mrs. Cocke—and our late townsman Col. John Thomas Lewis Preston. They were both born in Lexington, and both lived to a great age.

Mrs. Cocke had her full share of the intellect and eloquence of her race on both sides, and had fine executive ability. Her husband, Mr. Wm. A. Cocke, was a large planter in the old County of Cumberland, the home of Randolphs and Harrisons. Their children were four sons, all of whom were educated at Washington College.

The eldest son, Wm. F. Cocke, A. B., fell in the bloody battle of Gettysburg. He was a first lieutenant in the 18th Virginia Regiment, C. S. A.

The second son, Thomas L. P. Cocke, was in the artillery service, but survived the war. His marriage to his cousin, Letitia P. Lewis, has been mentioned.

The third son, Edmund Randolph Cocke, was captain in the 18th Virginia Regiment. After the war he married his cousin, Phebe Preston, daughter of Col. J. T. L. Preston. She died in a few years, leaving one child.

The fourth son was J. Preston Cocke, who, like his brothers, was a Confederate soldier. He belonged to the cavalry, and had the good fortune also to pass safely through the deadly conflict. Preston took to the law, and settled in Richmond, where he married the daughter of Judge Meredith. His two brothers, in good old Virginia style, adhered to plantation life.

COLONEL J. T. L. PRESTON.

The other child of Capt. Thomas L. Preston was our late leading citizen, Col. J. T. L. Preston. He spent his long life here where he was born, and where rest his remains. His mind was too full of resources, and his home too happy for him to have any craving for travel. He looked at the Tower of London, and at Mont Blanc once or twice, but in general he would rather go with Huck and the hounds for a week's hunt in the mountains, than visit objects far away. I once found him sitting on his shady front porch in his summer vacation, and asked him if he were not going to take a trip somewhere. "Why should I take a trip?" he replied. "There is not another place in the world as pleasant to me as just where I am sitting." And as for sport and invigorating exercise there was nothing better for him than shooting on the wing, or chasing with hounds, or swimming, or making a hand in the old-fashioned harvest field. He was very strong, and full of energy, and gloried in physical achievement as much as he did in intellectual.

Col. Preston, like Addison Alexander, Henry Ruffner, and others I could name, was generally unsocial, but spasmodically social. Commonly he seemed to care but little for anybody but his family—and John Lyle; so that his friends would be hurt at his apparent indifference; but now and then his heart would suddenly open, and reveal surprising fulness of regard. In his own house he was always a model of civility, and he seemed to enjoy the society of his friends to a greater degree than common. For many years his hospitality abounded.

But Preston's great social nature showed itself fully in all public affairs. If ever a man was in full sympathy with whatever concerned the community in which he lived, it was this model citizen.

Whenever anything of a public nature was to be considered he was on hand ready to confer, to debate, to vote, to act, and to give. For forty years he might have been called the Town Speaker. Whether in sudden emergencies, or on set occasions, whether in civil matters or church matters, he was usually the man first thought of; and he rarely disappointed expectation. He was not always on the popular side, and he sometimes spoke his mind too plainly for the comfort of others. Whilst uniformly courteous in manner, he was more apt to criticise than to flatter. He was the steady, reliable debater in the Franklin Society for a generation. He also contributed to the newspapers and magazines.

Col. Preston was originally a lawyer, but his fancy led him away from his profession into the walks of literature. He tells us in his Semi-Centenary address in the University Chapel, that when at College he was not interested in his studies, but did enjoy the debating society. Thus we have another example of what has been already remarked on so often in these pages, namely, that the intellectual awakening of a student may not occur until after he leaves college, and yet be the result of college influences. In this case the awakening is traceable to his college society. Soon after leaving college, Col. Preston seems to have devoted himself to books in a way that led him into not only extensive and systematic reading, but into systematic study of the languages, ancient and modern; thus unconsciously fitting himself for his useful career in after life.

Somewhere in the decade 1830-40 the thought was suggested that the old arsenal be converted into a school. Exactly whose mind gave birth to the thought, is not fully settled, but it is certain that Col. Preston was among its earliest and most zealous promoters. He became a member of the first Board of Visitors, and of the first faculty of the new Military Institute; and he continued with it, a successful and valued professor, for forty-three years. His chair was that of Languages and Literature. I believe that the only intermission in his work was during the first year of the war, when the school was disbanded. Then he took the field as Lieut.-Colonel of the 9th Virginia Regiment, and as member of Gen. Jackson's staff; after which he was recalled to his professorial duties. During the session of 1884-5, he acted as

professor of Belles Lettres *ad interim* in Washington and Lee University.

Col. Preston's experience on the Slavery question was peculiar. He had always refused to own slaves until he read "Uncle Tom's Cabin"; which led him to think better of the institution than he had ever done before. He afterward bought a few slaves, in time to lose them in a body. Agriculture was a favorite subject with him, and he managed his farm so that it yielded him a fair return. He was wary in a business transaction, but liberal in his gifts. Indeed I have never known a more liberal giver in proportion to his income; and never a more cheerful giver. He helped many young men to get an education; and Ann Smith Academy owes him for much service as trustee, and many substantial tokens of his generosity. His contributions to Church objects were large and unceasing.

But the leading fact in regard to Col. Preston was his religious nature, which controlled him in everything. His was a case of thorough conversion from a scepticism that did not stop at theism. In his early manhood he refused to accept any feature of even natural religion; but his mind became troubled. In this state he went alone to the Peaks of Otter, and whilst upon the pinnacle he knelt in great darkness of spirit, and rose a believer in God. This was the beginning of a long, consistent Christian life. He was a complete Christian; that is, there was no yielding anywhere to the world, the flesh, or the devil. Such a man as this—with such a spirit, such talents, such rich accomplishments, such high position—could not fail to be a man of distinguished usefulness in the whole circle of moral and religious affairs. He was as free from cant and severity as he was brave. An ideal Church Elder, a zealous teacher of Sunday Schools, both white and colored, the chief layman at a prayer meeting, a congregational meeting, or a meeting of Presbytery, or Synod, he was none the less pronounced in his religious character, in his daily associations, and all his public appearances on secular subjects; and to this I will add, as his crowning virtue, that he was a perfect *pater familias*! When a man uses his religion to make his family both happy and good, he has reached the acme of religious character. He rose from his dying bed, with his family around him, once more to read to them

God's word, and to invoke God's blessing upon them. Born, 1811. Died, 1890.

Col. Preston was married twice, and was exceedingly fortunate in both connections. His first wife was Sally Lyle Caruthers, who has been heretofore mentioned. She was named for Sally Lyle, who married Dr. Henry Ruffner, and, after the death of her parents, lived for a time in the family of Dr. Ruffner. No wife was ever more highly valued, or more deservedly so, than Mrs. Preston. Her husband leaned upon her as his best counsellor, as well as his best friend. He often said that he never departed from her advice without regretting it. To this sound judgment, showing itself in every direction, was added that sort of full affection for her family and her friends, that flowed steadily without either ebbing or gushing; also a brave spirit that left no moment for despondency, and a contentment and happiness of her own which knew no fluctuations—all showing itself in cordial, cheery tones, that made her a perennial fountain of happiness to others. She became the mother of eight children.

Col. Preston's second wife was Margaret Junkin, whose name is well known in the literary world. She was liberally educated under the eye of her father, Rev. Dr. Junkin, the President of Washington College. She still survives, the mother of two sons, with whom she now lives in Baltimore. Her genius for poetry and literature was exercised in full harmony with her domestic relations, and with all the calls of friendship and social life. In the great personal afflictions under which she is now suffering, she has the sympathy and warm regard of the whole community.

Col. Preston sent all of his seven sons to Washington College. When the war occurred two of the younger were sent to the Military Institute for a time, as a preparation for the army.

The eldest son is the Rev. Thomas Lewis Preston, A. B., D. D., the well-known pastor of the Lexington Presbyterian Church. He is a graduate of Washington College, and for a year had charge *ad interim* of the department of Latin and Modern Languages. His theological studies were unusually liberal. During the war he was Chaplain in the army, and has been pastor of a number of important churches. He came to his present pastorate from the First Presbyterian Church of Richmond. Mrs. Preston is a descendant

of the noted "Blind Preacher," who was one of the early trustees of this institution, and whose descendants constitute an important element on the roll of alumni. Dr. Preston's eldest son, William Caruthers Preston, A. B., B. L., of Richmond, was educated here, and is now an associate trustee of the University. He bears the name of his accomplished uncle, and of his worthy and successful grandfather. Dr. Preston's youngest son John is now at the University.

Col. John T. L. Preston's eldest daughter, Edmonia, died in early life. His second daughter, Phebe, has been mentioned as the first wife of Capt. Edmund R. Cocke. There was much in her look and in her characteristics which resembled her mother, at the same age.

Col. Preston had three sons of great promise, whom he lost in rapid succession, and whose fate in each case was connected directly or indirectly with the great Civil War. These sons were Franklin, William Caruthers and Edmund Randolph. The following graceful sketches were drawn by their sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Allan.

"Franklin Preston, born Sept. 1st, 1841, a graduate of Washington College; graduated low in his class, having spent his college term in boyish fun, rather in that indefatigable pursuit of learning that afterward distinguished him. During the winter of 1860-61, he taught in Mr. Wm. Frazier's family, at the Rockbridge Alum Springs; so endearing himself to those kind hearts, that for the rest of his brief life he had two homes instead of one. At the call to arms in the spring of '61 he returned to Lexington, and entered the Rockbridge Artillery, in which company he was serving when he was desperately wounded at Winchester, May 25th, 1862. It being necessary to amputate his arm (left), the young soldier was forced to leave the army. He was appointed assistant professor in the Virginia Military Institute, and held that position until the close of the war; leading a Cadet company in the battle of New Market, spending the winter of '64-5 in Richmond with the corps, and finally retreating with them at the evacuation of the city. During those years as assistant professor, Frank Preston had bent all the energies of his mind to the study of languages—English, Greek, Latin, and German; and in the fall of '65 he entered the University of Virginia, winning an extraordinary number of full

diplomas in one year. The following session he spent as the assistant Professor of Greek in Washington and Lee University, and the winter of '67-8 studying at the Berlin University. He came back to his post at Washington and Lee University, as assistant in Greek, in the fall of '68, but with health seriously impaired. During the summer of '69 he received the appointment of Professor of Greek in William and Mary College, and was on duty at that post when he died, of consumption of the lungs, November 19, 1869.

"He was, according to the testimony of those who knew, the best linguistic scholar of his age in the State, and gave promise of great eminence in his profession. Handsome in person, winning in manner, witty and interesting in social conversation, he was the object of tender love and wide-spread admiration. In his dying hours, laying his hand on his little Greek Testament, he looked into his father's face, with the radiant expression peculiar to him, and said, "I die in full faith in Jesus Christ, and the hope of resurrection with his redeemed."

"William Caruthers Preston, born October 26, 1843, a student of Washington College in '60-'61. Eager as he was to go into his country's service with his comrades, in the College Company, he submitted to his father's wish, to wait until he was of age, and at the instance of his friend, T. J. Jackson, who wrote to him from camp on the subject, he entered the Virginia Military Institute in June, 1861, to prepare himself for service. In the late summer of '62, he entered the army, with what was left of the heroic College Company, and after a brief but glorious service of two weeks, in which he at one time rallied a whole broken regiment, and led it back into action, he was mortally wounded at the 2d battle of Manassas. The pathetic incident belonging to his last hours; that he had a hardly snatched interview with his captain, Hugh A. White, between the hours of fighting, delivering to him the last messages, sacred and tender for his dear ones; that noble young leader fell, in the next day's fight, with the messages undelivered! Young Preston's was a character of rare beauty and sweetness, joined to great firmness and loftiness of purpose. Less highly gifted than his brother Frank, intellectually, he was the stronger character of the two; his religious life was singularly pure and

ardent for one so young ; while the stories of his courage and pluck while at college and institute, show how fine was the temper of the blade.

“Loved with passionate devotion by his friends on earth, he was one whom we can surely know that the Friend in Heaven, ‘beholding the young man, loved him.’”

“Edmund Randolph Preston, born November 9, 1845, a student of Washington College 1861–62. This young life was too brief for deeds ; but there was folded within it a promise of extraordinary ability ; so much so that, in view of his quickness of acquisition, his clearness of perception, his conscientious faithfulness to duty, his unconquerable perseverance, his father esteemed him the most promising of his seven fine sons. Randolph entered the Virginia Military Institute in the fall of ’62, as a preparation for the army ; but died of typhoid-pneumonia December 18, 1862, in childlike faith in the Redeemer of the world.”

The youngest son of Col. Preston’s first marriage was the Rev. John Alexander Preston, A. B., who was graduated in 1874. He began his ministry in Pendleton County, West Va., whence he came to old Tinkling Spring Church, Augusta County, Va., and from there went to Florence, Ala., and has declined a number of calls to other churches. He married Courtlandt Van Rennselaer Smith, daughter of Rev. B. M. Smith, D. D., the oldest member of the Board of Trustees of Washington and Lee University.

The youngest daughter of Col. Preston and Sally Lyle Caruthers was Elizabeth, who became the wife of Col. William Allan, LL. D. Col. Allan, after distinguishing himself as a student and a soldier, became the first Professor of Applied Mathematics in this Institution, and afterwards the first Principal of the McDonogh School, which he soon built up into a school of extraordinary usefulness. After his resignation as professor in Washington and Lee University, he was elected trustee, and so continued to serve until the distressing occurrence of his death September 17, 1889. Col. Allan’s fine character and abilities, and his successful career in everything he undertook, including authorship, will be the subject of a special memoir in a future number of the Historical Papers.

Mrs. Allan with her five children is now living in Lexington. She is a successful authoress.

The children of Col. Preston and Margaret Junkin were two sons. The elder George Junkin Preston bears the name of his honored grandfather, the Rev. George Junkin, D. D. George is on the catalogue for 1879; he studied medicine, selected Baltimore for a residence, travelled in Europe, married an accomplished German lady, and is now successfully practicing his profession; he is also a writer on medical subjects and a professor in the College of Physicians and Surgeons.

The younger son, Herbert Rush Preston, A. B., B. L., is also practicing his profession, the law, in Baltimore. His office is in the building of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad.

Thus it is evident that the blood and the talents of the Preston race are, and are likely to continue to be maintained on this line.

It only remains to be added that the wife of Dr. Louis Marshall, who succeeded Dr. Baxter as president of Washington College, was descended from the first John Preston through his daughter Ann, who married Francis Smith of Virginia. Mrs. Marshall was Agatha Smith, a granddaughter of John Preston. This family will, of course, be mentioned in the next volume of the Historical Papers.

There are three other Prestons on the Catalogue of Alumni, namely, Samuel D. Preston, of Lynchburg, who was clerk of the Circuit Court, and who died in 1888; Henry S. Preston, a lawyer in Abingdon, who married a daughter of Rev. S. D. Stuart; and John A. Preston, son of a clergyman, and the commonwealth attorney of Greenbrier county, West Virginia. I have not been able to get information as to the relationship of these gentlemen to others of the name.

JOHN ALEXANDER.

The biographical sketch of Major Alexander is in other hands, but I must say something of the man who excited in me that hero-worshipping spirit which seems to belong to all boys. He was the only one of his family, so far as I know, who had the soldierly bearing and taste. He had the look and movement of the soldier, with also the tenderness of the bravest. As he walked the street, his robust frame, bluff, honest countenance, bold step and military carriage excited my boyish admiration; and this admiration be-

came enthusiasm, when on general muster day with the regiment in line on Main street, stretching from the court-house nearly to the head of town and fronting west, Major Alexander, mounted on his magnificent charger, Pompey, would ride in front of the line with red sash and drawn sword. The Major was no mere holiday soldier; he had acquired his title in the army of 1812. At the time I speak of he was inspector of the Brigade, which took him into a number of counties, whither he travelled with a mounted drummer and fifer, to be used in drilling the officers in each county, for three days before the general muster. His visit was the great event of the year. He was himself so grand, and like Cadmus he seemed to call up from the unknown a host of armed men.

But the Major had social and pastoral qualities equal to his military. He would hail even the small boy on the road with a loud cheery salutation and he kissed the old ladies whom he loved when they were all young, and passed lightly, though not slightly, over their more beautiful daughters. He was honestly affectionate with his friends, and was genial with all. Good sense, courage and cheerfulness were his daily characteristics. He, of course, was a church member—who ever saw an Alexander of this family, who was not a church member? And he was an elder—almost of course—an elder who served faithfully for 47 years.

In business, though always honest, he was careful, and he required full duty of his slaves. He had large property, many different interests, and a large household, with a wide circle of visiting friends, and a ready invitation for the stranger. It required all of his fine practical judgment and untiring energy to manage his business successfully. His "Clifton" farm was one of the best, and my impression is that he was considered one of the best farmers in the county. He raised big crops, and kept his land improving. His watchword was *clover*. The contents of the barnyard went to the poor spots, and he kept the land turning under the plow.

Like his father, his brother, and his son, the Major was a College trustee from 1812 to his death. His vigorous constitution enabled him to continue his activity without abatement until he was stricken down by apoplexy at the age of 77. He trained his own colts to the last. He considered himself the best rider on the farm, and no doubt he was—up to the time of his death. He died in 1853.

There never were three brothers more alike in the substratum of character, and yet more unlike in personal characteristics, than Andrew, Archibald and John Alexander. They were alike in their independence of thought, purity of character, and religious spirit; but unlike in the bent or natural bias of mind. Apart from their professions, Andrew was a mechanic, Archibald a metaphysician, and John a man of business. Dr. Archibald tells how fond of working with his hands his brother Andrew was, and that he was always contriving something. This was characteristic through his life. Although a farmer, member of the Legislature, active member of the College Board, his taste was for such work as making roads, for which he became noted. He loved to blast rock, and plow with six yoke of oxen. I saw him standing over his gang of slaves when they plowed the first furrow on the Lexington and Covington turnpike, beginning at Col. Reid's stable and running to the creek, the same road that now leads from Prof. White's stables, by way of the depot—out by the reservoir. Mr. Alexander always had his horse close by—and on one side of the pommel was tied a hatchet, and on the other an umbrella in a leather case; and in cold weather an overcoat was strapped in a roll behind the saddle. He attended closely to his business, gave his orders briefly and with decision. He was a small man, rather shrivelled in his old age, but he had an animated look, and a quick step, and an independent way of expressing himself; not hesitating to differ even with Gov. McDowell at a long dinner table; and I observed that everybody, including Mr. McDowell, treated his opinions with great respect.

Dr. Archibald, though having a likeness to his brothers and sisters, was quite different in his tastes. His hands looked as if he never handled anything but books; though he was by no means bookish in his conversation. He was remarkably observant of men and things, which he reflected upon, and loved to talk about. His conversation was perfectly simple in language and manner, and it flowed in a stream full of vivacity and interest. He was always ready to listen, but his auditor became so interested in what the Doctor was saying that he never wanted him to stop; a rare case of a great talker never boring his audience. The reason was he never repeated books or told long stories; nor was he oratorical or

advisory, or gossipy, or puritanical; nor was he given to much sentiment. His sharp eyes were always on the alert for the moment to cease talking. His speech was clear and lively, made up largely of original remarks and short incidents, which made his auditor inwardly say—"What an interesting old man!"

I knew him only in his old age—when he was professor at Princeton; and whilst he was more than I expected in private, his preaching did not usually equal what I naturally expected from his great reputation. Then he was occupying the Seminary pulpit in turn with his son Addison, who was a magnificent preacher. Dr. Hodge and Dr. Samuel Miller were also in the circle. Dr. Ben Rice was the pastor of the town church at this time, and he said, "When the old man was in his prime, he could beat them all." I could not believe it, for now he was reading sermons in a quiet voice, mellifluent in style, but not strikingly impressive in manner or matter. One morning I saw him enter the pulpit with a new expression on his countenance. He had no paper, and as soon as he began to preach I saw that here was the Dr. Alexander I had heard of, but had not seen before. His face was flushed with emotion, his piercing black eyes looked straight at his audience, and as he proceeded they gleamed like diamonds. His voice and his whole frame were full of emotion, his words were simple, but alive with nervous energy; every sentence was a nail driven into a sure place. The discourse was on Saving Faith: its nature, its necessity, and its transforming power on the human character. It was methodical, philosophical, didactic, and intensely practical; like the sword of the Spirit, it pierced to the "dividing asunder of the soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and was a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart." The old man was transformed; he was young again; he felt as he did when he was preaching in Virginia to his old Briery congregation; he not only gave us a stream of vigorous thought, and demonstration, but he poured out his soul in earnest, touching appeals. A more breathless audience I never saw. Elegant, dignified old Dr. Miller sat bolt upright, but he could not restrain his tears. Dr. Hodge sat leaning his head on his hand, his face suffused with the deepest emotion. Every heart was touched and but few eyes were dry. I became alarmed for the dear old gentleman, who was then nearing three score and ten! Can he

stand this pressure upon his heart and mind? Suddenly he said "Let us pray;" and in a moment he had changed the current of his thoughts from earth to Heaven; and pouring out his heart in faith and warm desire, he relieved the tension of his own mind, and that of his audience. He concluded with a sweet benediction, and every soul left the house—I am sure—feeling thankful that he had heard Dr. Alexander that day.

SAMUEL LYLE GRAHAM, D. D.

Dr. Graham was born in the town of Liberty, Bedford county, Virginia, February 9, 1794. His father was Michael Graham, the elder brother of William Graham the early rector of this school. Michael was a soldier under Washington on Long Island and at White Plains. He removed from Liberty (now called Bedford city), to a farm in full view of the Peaks of Otter, which gave him frequent opportunities of entertaining friends who were journeying between Lexington and Hampden-Sidney.

His wife was Elizabeth Lyle, sister of Capt. William Lyle, mentioned in the Lyle chapter. Michael was an intelligent, honest, devout man, and an influential church elder for more than forty years.

Under such influences Samuel Lyle Graham was reared. His early education was at home, or at the "old field" schools of the neighborhood; but he soon exhibited such a thirst for knowledge and such a talent for its acquisition that it was determined to give him a liberal education. For a time he attended the private school of Rev. James Mitchell. At fifteen he entered the New London Academy, nine miles from his father's residence, and then in charge of Dr. Thomas P. Mitchell. Here he studied two years. Whilst there, during a religious service, he went to sleep sitting in a second story window and fell out to the ground, like Eutychus during St. Paul's long discourse. He was taken up badly stunned, but revived and suffered no permanent injury. To his mother's prayers on that occasion is ascribed his determination to enter the Gospel ministry.

He matriculated at Washington College in May, 1812, and whilst here joined the church, having been much influenced by the preach-

ing of Dr. Baxter and Rev. A. B. Davidson. He was graduated in April, 1814, and in addition to his degree received a special premium as the best scholar in his class. He acted for six months as tutor in the family of Judge Nash of Hillsboro, North Carolina. Thence he went to Princeton Theological Seminary in 1815, and studied the whole course, and was licensed to preach April 29, 1818. Whilst a licentiate he acted as missionary on the frontier of Indiana, where he encountered dangers as well as hardships. From there he came to Greenbrier and Monroe counties, Virginia, and performed missionary labor for two years. In 1821, he accepted the call of two churches in Granville county, North Carolina. Here he was ordained September 7, 1821. He labored here with great success, and attracted such attention as a scholarly as well as an able and earnest preacher, that in 1832, he was offered the Chair of Ecclesiastical History in Union Theological Seminary, Hampden-Sidney; but he declined to leave his churches.

In 1833 the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him by Union College, Schenectady, New York. In 1835, he accepted the call of the churches of Clarksville and Shiloh, which brought him back to Virginia. In 1838 he was again invited to a chair in Union Theological Seminary, and it was pressed upon him with so much urgency that he felt it to be his duty to accept. Here he remained until his death in 1851, discharging the duties of his Chair with ability, and to the full satisfaction of students and directors.

He was a very interesting man, full of vivacity and geniality, though shy with strangers. He was also a learned and thoughtful man, and one who was always listened to with pleasure. Dr. Sprague says that Dr. Graham "was always a great favorite with Dr. Archibald Alexander, and that of itself is no mean praise." This attachment was fully reciprocated, and when Dr. Graham was *in articulo mortis*, Dr. Benj. H. Rice came into the room and said, "Dr. Alexander has gotten home before you," alluding to his death, the news of which had just been received. Dr. Graham, though near to death, raised himself and said in a tone triumphant even in its feebleness: "Oh! is it so! I had almost shouted glory! Heaven has seldom received from earth such an inhabitant. A great and good man! His society in Heaven will be invaluable." In a few hours Dr. Graham followed his old friend.

Dr. Graham's first wife was a daughter of Captain Charles Arbuckle, of Lewisburg, West Virginia. One child, a daughter of this marriage, became the wife of Robert Reid Howison, then a practicing lawyer in Richmond, and author of a History of Virginia, and recently of a School History of the United States. Mr. Howison is now a minister of the Gospel, and is well known as a writer. I am indebted to him for many of the facts contained in this sketch.

The Hon. Abram W. Venable, who was a very prominent man in both public and private life, was on terms of closest friendship with Dr. Samuel L. Graham, and wrote a sketch of him, which may be found in "Sprague's Annals."

ALEXANDER MOSELEY.

Alexander Moseley ranked with Thomas Ritchie and John Hampden Pleasants as a great political editor. He was born in the good old county of Buckingham, which in its prosperous days sent many students to Washington College. Young Moseley was a bright youth, fond of books. He early lost his father, which occasioned a transfer of his home when about fifteen years of age, to the residence of his kinsman Col. Thomas M. Bondurant, a prominent and wealthy citizen of the county, by whose liberality he was sent to Washington College. After leaving here he was for a time at the University of Virginia. He became a lawyer and settled first in Charlottesville, but soon became the editor of the Charlottesville *Advocate*. He was now in the line of his life-work; and it was not long until he became joint editor of the Richmond *Whig*, with John Hampden Pleasants. The death of Pleasants put Moseley in charge of the editorial columns of the *Whig*, and he became joint owner of the paper with his friend Col. Bondurant. He took high rank as an editor, and the paper was then prosperous in every point of view. Moseley, feeling burdened with the heavy work he had been doing, and being now an independent bachelor, retired from the paper, in 1846, and travelled in Europe.

He sold his interest in the *Whig* to Col. Bondurant, and bought the fine James River estate, known as Fish Pond, in the east corner of Nelson county. I suspect that Moseley named it himself, for

he was very fond of fishing, and there was a long, narrow pond on the river bottom, which abounded in fish. Col. A. S. Buford now owns this estate, and uses it as a summer residence, with the name of the "The Highlands." Moseley had a fine library, and was fond of studying the ancient classics. Thus he amused himself until the thunders of the war-cloud called him back to his old post at the head of the *Whig*. Robert Ridgway was now editor, and he was a determined Union man, as well as a fine writer. Ridgway found it difficult to let go his principles even when such sturdy Union men as John Baldwin and Jubal Early were beginning to see the inevitable struggle in which Virginia must take part. At this time Col. Bondurant, and his nephew, Gen. Wyatt M. Elliot, were joint owners of the *Whig*, and they determined to change its tone, and for this purpose, indeed, called Moseley to take charge again of its editorial columns. He came—and of all the editorial blades none swept wider, or cut deeper, than that of Moseley. Soon after he took charge, he privately advocated, if he did not originate, a secret movement for the capture of Mr. Lincoln before his inauguration. Very likely this had something to do with Mr. Lincoln's private entry into Washington. Moseley kept up his fiery course until near the end of the war, when he became so dissatisfied with the management of the Confederate Government that he again left the paper. But after the war he was brought back once more, and he as usual plunged enthusiastically into the controversies of the period. He continued with the paper after it had changed hands and become the organ of the party which advocated a compromise of the public debt, on the ground of the inability of the people of the State to pay its full obligations, a conclusion to which all parties were compelled to come at last.

Mr. Moseley died in 1881, at his little home in New Kent county on the York River Railroad, to which place he had retired a few years before. He was buried on the farm on which he was born.

Mr. Moseley belonged to one of the best of the old families of Buckingham county—a county once full of good families; many of which remain, but the most of them in sadly changed circumstances. Quite a number of the same name and family connection have been students at this institution.

SAMUEL McDOWELL MOORE.

Mr. Moore, the eldest son of Gen. Andrew Moore and Sally Reid, was one of the most prominent and striking figures in the State for over a half century ; powerfully built, with erect, short hair, and a bold, strongly marked countenance, set off with a pair of firm gray eyes, all plainly uttering Scotland's motto—*Nemo me impune lacessit!* He was too brave a man to be quarrelsome, but he meant to think and act for himself, and did not intend to be improperly interfered with. He had the confidence of everybody that knew him, as an honest and true man : a patriot, and a man of commanding force. He was frequently elected to important positions, and filled every one of them with credit. His *vis viva* was prodigious. Few men could equal him in jerking "long bullets," though it was hard to surpass his brother David E. This old game was played by three or four competitors who went out of town, armed with what might be called small cannon balls, and from a starting point, jerked the bullets along the middle of the road, each man trying to send his bullet beyond that of his competitors. A strong man could send the bullet with onward movement, one or two hundred yards on a good surface. But this game has gone the way of catball, chermany, knucks, and even quoits.

Mr. Moore was a dangerous competitor on any sort of arena, physical or intellectual. Woe to the man that tested him in a personal rencontre, or that tried to brow-beat him in an argument. In a canvass his exposure of meanness and trickery was frightful : but no man could exceed him in courtesy, when dealing with a courteous and honorable opponent. His style of speaking was full of nerve. His sentences were curt and incisive. Like Martin Luther he called a spade a spade. But he had plenty of fun in his nature, and often had a good anecdote to clinch his argument. He was an entertaining, and at times a jovial companion. Being a lawyer he was, of course, one of the leaders at the bar ; and he made his profession remunerative. In fact he had a thrifty turn, and kept his fortune growing. He was a prompt collector, but no man could say that he ever wanted anything but his own. Mr. Moore was fond of public life in the early and middle periods of

his long career. He represented his county in the House of Delegates and also in the Senate, as often, I suppose, as he cared to do. He was a member of the two Virginia conventions, namely 1829-30 and 1861. He was a determined Union man as long as there was the slightest hope of reconciling the parties, but when the enemy threatened Rockbridge, he was active in organizing the people for resistance, and took the field with his musket to meet the raiders.

He was always an anti-slavery man, and in the forties he was the leader of the party in this region who favored a division of the State by the line of the Blue Ridge, in order that slavery might become a manageable institution in West Virginia. Out of this movement grew the "Ruffner Pamphlet." In politics Mr. Moore was an "old line Whig," of the most pronounced type. He represented his district in the Congress of 1833-1835. Having in his veins the blood of Andrew Moore, Samuel McDowell and Andrew Reid, he could scarcely have failed to be a strong man.

He married Evelina Alexander, sister of Mrs. Judge Anderson, and daughter of Andrew Alexander. She was a very graceful and talented lady, and exerted great influence over her husband. Their only child, Mrs. John Harvey Moore, now occupies the family mansion.

JOHN BLAIR HOGE.

William Hoge, from whom descended the subject of this sketch and many other eminent ministers, was a Scotchman, who came direct to the State of Delaware, and changed his residence from there to the Valley of Virginia in 1735, and settled a few miles south of where now stands the town of Winchester. He had a number of sons, one of whom was James, who lived near Middletown, and who was the father of that noted divine and college president, Dr. Moses Hoge. Moses was first a student and afterward a Trustee of Liberty Hall Academy, and will receive a special notice. Dr. Moses Hoge had three sons who became ministers. One of them was the father of Dr. Moses D. Hoge, of Richmond, and of Rev. Wm. J. Hoge, D. D., who died during the war. Another son was Rev. John Blair Hoge, who was a student of Washington College, of the Class of 1806-1807. After assisting his father for a time in a school in Shepherdstown, he became

a tutor in Hampden-Sidney College. He commenced the study of law, but changed to divinity, and in 1810 was licensed to preach. His first charge was the church at Martinsburg. He was a man of superior talents and exalted character, as is shown by the following quotation, taken from the Presbyterian Encyclopædia :—

“From his first appearance in the pulpit, Mr. Hoge’s preaching attracted great attention. For the sake of needed relaxation from labors he crossed the ocean, leaving home in 1814, and returning in 1816, in various ways benefited by his tour. He was now even more sought after as a preacher than he had ever been before ; but his popularity never seemed to occasion self-exaltation. September 7, 1822, he became pastor of the church on Shockoe Hill, Richmond. Here his usefulness was enlarged, but ere long his health began to decline, and he died March 31, 1826. Mr. Hoge was one of the most gifted sons of old Virginia. His talents, taste, and acquirements were acknowledged by all who knew him intimately, to be of the first order. In his private intercourse he was a model of all that is gentle, discreet and exemplary. His enduring monument is in the hearts of many whom he guided to the Saviour.”

BRIEF NOTES.

It would be a pleasure, but an impossibility, for me to notice all of the eminent men who were students at Washington College during the period of Dr. Baxter’s administration. They were too numerous for this, and the facts are too inaccessible. Besides those who became eminent before the world, there were multitudes of excellent, intelligent men who were contented to pursue a less conspicuous, though equally worthy course of life, and who equally deserve our respect. But to notice even a tithe of these men is a work far beyond my ability, and the time has nearly come to close this volume. I can now attempt nothing more than to take up the descriptive Catalogue—that monument to the zeal and industry of Rector McLaughlin, and his assistants—and to mention some of the more prominent names I find there recorded ; not hesitating when convenient to adopt the language therein used.

In the group of 1800–1803, I find John Alexander, who has been sketched.

George W. Crump, Member of Congress, and minister to Chili.

John Harvie, private secretary of President Jefferson, and president of the Bank of Kentucky.

Dr. Hugh W. Houston, surgeon in the U. S. Army, in the war of 1812, who died at Lake Erie.

John J. Marshall, Judge of the Circuit Court of Louisville, and Member of the Kentucky Legislature, both lower and upper houses.

Judge William A. Menzies, of Kentucky, (who married Miss Garber, of Staunton; and their daughter Margaret married Nicholson, son of Chapman Johnson).

Richard Morris, a distinguished lawyer and orator, member of Virginia Legislature and Virginia Convention.

The names of three Parkers are given in this session. The first is:

Richard E. Parker, of Westmoreland county. He was Judge in turn of the General Court, the Circuit Court, and the Court of Appeals; was also U. S. Senator. He died in 1840. This Judge Parker was the son of Col. William Parker, and grandson of Judge Richard Parker who was a member of the first Supreme Court of Virginia. Commodore Parker, U. S. N., and Capt. William H. Parker, C. S. N., were both first cousins of the second Judge Richard Parker; and the present Judge Parker is a nephew.

Mrs. Le Roy P. Daingerfield was a sister of Judge Richard E. Parker, and the mother of the gallant Capt. Foxhall A. Daingerfield, C. S. A., now of Culpeper county, who attended Judge Brockenbrough's Law School. Capt. Daingerfield commanded the Eleventh Virginia Cavalry, from Bath county. He is now devoting himself to the education of the country in the merits of trotting horses; as an authority on this subject he has no superior.

William Parker, of Accomac (No. 202), I cannot trace with my present information, but no doubt he is of the same family.

Gen. Severn Eyre Parker, of Northampton county (No. 203), belongs probably to the same connection. He, too, was a man of distinction; member of the Virginia Legislature, and member of Congress. He died in 1836. The names Parker and Eyre are both among the best known in Northampton county. There are no better people socially and morally, and none better connected in Tidewater Virginia.

Passing over other names deserving of honorable mention, we find in the group of 1804-1806:

Robert H. Adams, U. S. Senator from Mississippi, a lawyer of eminent ability, of commanding figure, and great eloquence.

Dr. Robert Butler, Treasurer of Virginia.

Andrew Hays, a distinguished lawyer, and Attorney-General of Sumner County, Tennessee, for twenty-five years.

Samuel C. Horsley, of Buckingham county, Post Surgeon of U. S. Navy, who participated in the battle of Lake Erie.

Robert Beverly Randolph of "Curles" on James River. He belonged to the Navy, and was voted a sword by the General Assembly of Virginia, for gallantry in the war of 1812.

Col. Joseph S. Watkins, of Goochland county, a man of great force of character and personal popularity, long in public life, and leader of the Democratic party.

In this group were Gen. Philip Steenbergen, Hon. Thomas Jefferson Stuart, Dr. John McElheny, Hon. John J. Crittenden, Capt. Robert Crockett, Judge George Coalter, Rev. James K. Burch, etc.

And in the preceding group—Dr. Samuel B. Wilson, Dr. James C. Wilson, William L. Turner, Erasmus Stribling, Carter L. Stevenson, Joseph D. Logan, Thomas Lewis, Lindsay Coleman, Capt. Joseph Blair, John Alexander, James D. Breckenridge.

And in the group still preceding—Capt. Henry E. Watkins, Chancellor Allen Taylor, Dr. Conrad Speece, Dr. John H. Rice, Capt. Thomas Lewis Preston, Dr. William McPheeters, Col. Samuel McKee, Meriwether Lewis (companion of Clark), Reuben Grigsby, *two* Rev. John Lyles, Rev. James Vance, Rev. Joseph Glass, Judge Benjamin Estill, Rev. Samuel Brown, Col. John Allen of Kentucky, and many others of note.

Passing now to 1806-1807, we find—William Alexander, a lawyer of great prominence, who became Secretary of State of Tennessee.

Judge James Ewell Brown of the Circuit Court and General Court.

Judge Edward B. Baily of the Circuit Court, and member of the Virginia Convention.

Col. Daniel Bryan, lawyer, Colonel in the war of 1812, and author of a number of books.

Rev. A. B. Davidson, trustee of Washington College.

Gen. John Pope Duvall, lawyer, Captain U. S. Army in war of 1812, Secretary of State, and acting Governor of Florida, author of "Duvall's Digest of Laws of Florida," and Brigadier-General in the Texan army.

Rev. John D. Ewing, trustee of Washington College.

Dr. Thomas Fearn, chief surgeon of Gen. Andrew Jackson's command, in the war of 1812, and member of the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States.

Rev. John Blair Hoge, Maj. Henry Lee, Dr. William McCue.

Dr. Thomas Nelson, distinguished physician of Richmond, Va.

Andrew Reid, jr., Member of the Executive Council of Virginia.

Dr. Thomas F. Withers.

Mathew D. Wilson, attorney-general of the southern district of Alabama.

Three of the sons of Patrick Henry were students at this College about this time, namely—Nathaniel H. Henry, 1806–1807, Edmund Winston Henry, 1807–1808, John Henry, 1813–1814. These were, I believe, all farmers and all worthy and trusted citizens. They inherited good estates from their father. Nathaniel removed from Charlotte county, Va., to Fayette county. John, the youngest son of Patrick Henry, was the father of the Hon. William Wirt Henry.

John and Edmund spent their lives in Charlotte county on adjoining plantations, carved out of the home tract of Patrick Henry. These two gentlemen were long on the Bench of Justices under the old regime. During a brief residence in Charlotte county I enjoyed the privilege of a slight acquaintance with them.

Turning now to the group of 1807–1808, we find the names of Dr. Green H. Batte, Prince George county; Dr. John F. Christian, New Kent county; James Crawford, Augusta county; Dr. Joel W. Flood, Appomattox county; Dr. John Hanger, Augusta county; John S. Peyton, Albemarle county; Overton Redd, Henry county; Burwell Tucker, Clerk of the House of Delegates, Virginia.

In 1808–1809, we find the names of Carter Braxton and his brother General Corbin Braxton, two admirable and influential citizens, who resided in King William county; General Braxton was lieutenant of cavalry in the war of 1812, member of the Virginia Legislature and of the State Convention of 1850–1851.

Walter Coles, captain of cavalry in the war of 1812, member of the Virginia House of Delegates, and member of Congress.

Powhatan Ellis of Virginia, lieutenant U. S. army, judge of the Supreme Court of Mississippi, U. S. Senator, judge U. S. District Court, and minister to Mexico.

Rev. James Gamble, Dr. Alexander S. Moore.

John McCaw, lieutenant U. S. army, and participated in the naval battle between the United States and the Macedonian.

Cyrus McCue, a Lexington lawyer, who became lieutenant in the U. S. army and died in the service.

John McCue, member of the Virginia Legislature, and all his life a prominent and most worthy citizen of Augusta county.

Alexander S. Withers, of Virginia, a lawyer of fine literary culture, who wrote "The Chronicles of Border Warfare," etc.

1809-10. General Philip Aylette, of King William county, was the son of General William Aylette, who was an officer in the Revolutionary army, and the brother of Ann Dandridge Aylette, who married Andrew Alexander in 1803, and died in 1816. He had a brother, William Aylette, who settled in Alabama and left a large number of descendants there, and a sister, Mildred Aylette, who married Spotswood Moore, and left descendants now scattered far and wide over the country. General P. Aylette was the father of our gifted alumnus Patrick Henry Aylette, who belonged to the class of 1842-3, and the father also of William R. Aylette, another son of brilliant parts.

General Aylette was a fine specimen of the Tidewater gentleman, courtly, eloquent, literary, of tall and lithe form and graceful movement. He was a lawyer-farmer, was presiding justice, member of the Legislature of each House in turn, and of the Board of Public Works—in a word, a very important citizen.

Gen. E. C. Carrington, who is mentioned among the Preston sketches.

Robert Craig, of Montgomery county, an able lawyer and man of striking appearance, a member of the Board of Public Works, a member of Congress and also of the House of Delegates.

Col. Joab Early, of Franklin county, father of Gen. Jubal A. Early, the distinguished Confederate commander.

Nicholas P. Hairston, Henry county, a member of the large and wealthy family of that name, who counted their slaves by thousands, because they were unwilling to sell them, and therefore had to buy farms on which to settle them as they increased.

William Harvey, of Baltimore county, aide-de-camp to Gen. Andrew Jackson at the battle of New Orleans. Other students of the same name are on the roll of this institution, some of whom are well known in Rockbridge and are connected with some of our important families.

Rev. John D. Paxton, A. B., D. D., who went from Rockbridge county to Kentucky where he lived a useful life. He wrote a book against the institution of slavery.

Hon. William C. Preston, LL. D., who is mentioned in other places. His home during most of his life was at Columbia, S. C. Although a lawyer by profession he spent a large part of his time in public office; he was a member of the South Carolina House of Representatives and State Senate; he was U. S. Senator for eight years, after which he became President of S. C. College. After retiring to private life he returned to Virginia, and spent some years in Charlottesville with his sister, Mrs. Gen. Carrington.

William N. Scott, D. D., who belonged to the second of the four generations of ministers of that name.

In 1810-11 are the names of Thomas H. Bowyer of Botetourt county.

Dr. Patrick P. Burton, who came from Bedford county to Lexington, and afterwards removed to Mississippi. He was a very handsome man, of great energy of mind and body; gay and sportive in his tastes. He also had a handsome family of sons and daughters. His son, Selden M. Burton, was a student here in 1832-33. He went west and became a distinguished physician.

Judge Richard H. Field, member of the Legislature, Judge of Circuit and General Court, and Judge of the Special Court of Appeals.

Judge John Kenney, lieutenant in the United States army in the war of 1812, lawyer of Harrisonburg, Va., member of the Virginia Convention of 1850-51, and Judge of the Circuit Court.

Sterling Neblett, surgeon in the United States army in the war of 1812, etc.

Dr. John Hooe Wallace, an eminent physician of Fredericksburg. 1811-12. Dr. Robert McCluer, surgeon in the U. S. Army.

Dr. John K. Moore, of Rockbridge, soldier in the war of 1812, participated in the battle of New Orleans, became a farmer in Augusta county, and was an admirable man in all respects. He had two brothers who were also students here, viz.: James C. Moore and Samuel R. Moore, both Rockbridge farmers.

Archibald Scott, of Augusta county, a distinguished classical teacher belonging to the clerical family of Scotts.

Capt. Harold Smyth, of Wythe county, who was in the U. S. Army in the war of 1812. He behaved with conspicuous gallantry and was voted a sword by the Legislature of Virginia. He was a lawyer and an editor. He married a daughter of our Trustee, Col. Henry Bowyer, and died in 1852. His name is 430 in the Catalogue of Alumni.

Judge Robert Strange, of Petersburg, Va., a lawyer who stood in the front rank of his profession and was especially eminent as prosecuting solicitor. He became Judge of the Supreme Court of North Carolina and also U. S. senator.

Augustus Waterman, of Rockingham county, was in the army of 1812; a Whig in politics, but sustained President Jackson's proclamation against the South Carolina Nullifiers, and after a hot canvass on this issue was elected to the Legislature in the strongest Democratic county in the State. He was a man of fine talents and literary culture. Mr. Waterman was an attentive and an uncommonly wise and influential magistrate for many years. He studied law, but neglected the practice, much to the regret of his brother-in-law, the famous Commonwealth's attorney, Robert Gray, who regarded him as capable of moving in the front rank of lawyers.

1812-13. John Smith Herring, of Rockingham, a lawyer of great ability and great oratorical power, a member of the Virginia Senate, agent of Virginia to superintend the survey of military lands; died in Kentucky.

Robert Lewis Madison, of Orange county, an eminent lawyer, member of the Legislature, and member of Congress.

Colonel Samuel McDowell Reid, who will have a special notice. Thomas Richeson, of Amherst county.

1813-14. Francis B. Deane, of Cumberland county. He was an iron manufacturer chiefly in Lynchburg, and a member of the Legislature. His father was one of the first iron manufacturers of Midland, Virginia.

General Charles P. Dorman, of Rockbridge. He was an adjutant in the war of 1812, was one of the early editors of Lexington, a lawyer and politician of decided ability; he represented the county in the Legislature for thirteen years. His two sons James B. Dorman and W. Bolivar Dorman were also students at this institution, as will be seen hereafter.

Samuel L. Graham, A. B., D. D., of whom a sketch will be found *ante*, p. 149.

James Campbell Hays and John Brown Hays, both Rockbridge men, and sons of Major John Hays, trustee of Liberty Hall Academy, described in a previous number. Both James and John were men of strength and distinction.

Robert Kent, of Montgomery county, high sheriff, and member of the Legislature.

General Jackson Morton, who went from Orange county to Florida, held numerous important positions in the State including that of U. S. senator.

Fleming Bowyer Miller, of Botetourt county, a prominent lawyer and commonwealth's attorney, represented the county in the State Senate, House of Delegates and three State Conventions, also became a U. S. district attorney.

Dr. William Hughart Montgomery, mentioned in the Lyle sketch.

Dr. John H. Patterson, of Buckingham county.

Henry Ruffner, A. B., D. D., LL. D.

1814-15. Judge John James Allen, who, besides holding other offices, was member of Congress, judge of the Circuit Court and of the Supreme Court; distinguished for his learning and his judicial ability.

Robert Allen, member of Congress from Shenandoah, etc.

Alexander Tedford Barclay, trustee, who will be separately mentioned. I knew him when I was a youth, and saw much of him owing to my intimacy with his eldest son and my college mate, James M. Barclay. My regard for Mr. Barclay then was very

strong, and on looking back I find no reason to change the estimate I then formed of him as a man possessing every characteristic wanted in a citizen, a friend, a man of affairs, and the head of a family. His son A. T. Barclay, a member of the Board of Trustees, and Capt. Elihu H. Barclay, editor and proprietor of the *Lexington Gazette*, both alumni of the College, are well known among us.

Seth Barton, of Fredericksburg, solicitor of U. S. Treasury, minister to Chili, etc.

Henry W. Bowyer was the son of Col. Henry Bowyer, trustee, who will have a special notice. Henry was trained in the clerk's office of Botetourt county, and succeeded his father. He held the office for fourteen years. Mr. F. Johnston says of him in the "*Old Clerks of Virginia*:" "He was somewhat unfortunate in his manner, which was stiff and formal toward the people generally, while he was sociable and pleasant with a small circle of intimate friends. The result was that he was never very popular, and if he had been dependent on a popular vote would probably not have held his office as long as he did." This I regard as a complimentary notice, showing that there has been a time when the skill and industry of a public officer was more considered than his social life.

John F. Caruthers, A. B., of Rockbridge county, trustee of Washington College, and he will receive a separate notice as will all trustees.

Herndon Frazer, of Spotsylvania county, a teacher and Baptist minister.

Dr. William A. Graham, son of Prof. Edward Graham. He was mentioned in the Lyle chapter. He was a man of genius, entertaining in conversation, and a good writer. It was abundantly proved after a long investigation by Congressional committees that he was the original inventor of the plan for using carbonic acid gas (carbon di-oxide) for extinguishing fires. It was shown that he had operated in Lexington and elsewhere a fire extinguisher of this sort many years before the days of Babcock and others. Hence, long after Dr. William Graham's death, his brother, Dr. Archibald Graham, obtained a patent from Congress which made all the patentees tributary.

It was mentioned in the Lyle chapter that Dr. William Graham was the hero of Judith Bensaddi. This was a romance written by

Dr. Henry Ruffner, founded on an exciting occurrence which took place on ship-board. A young man fell into the sea and was drowned, and his sister, a beautiful Jewess, was left by circumstances in the care of Dr. Graham ; out of which sprang a correspondence.

Peyton Harrison, D. D. This gentleman was educated for a lawyer, but soon passed into the ministry of the church, and became first the pastor of a church in Martinsburg, Va., and was afterward settled in Baltimore. He was long restrained from regular preaching by an affection of the throat, but was a man of great Christian zeal and excellence. He was of the Cumberland family of Harrisons, as has been mentioned in another connection.

Randolph Harrison, from the same county, and of the same family connection, was a student at Washington College at the same time with Peyton. He became a merchant in Richmond. Col. Randolph Harrison, our late admirable Commissioner of Agriculture, is of the same family, and retains his home in Cumberland county.

John Lewis, a descendant of Gen. Andrew Lewis, originally of Roanoke county, and afterward of Kanawha county, the grandfather of Senator Kenna, will be mentioned again in the next volume.

Dr. William A. McDowell, No. 519 of the Catalogue, was a grandson of Samuel McDowell and Mary McClung, who were mentioned in the Lyle chapter and sketched in Mr. Grigsby's address. He was born in Mercer county, Kentucky, and after preparatory study in the schools of Danville, Kentucky, he came to Washington College. Whilst here as a student in 1814, he was drafted as a soldier, and in the discharge of his duty he did some fighting as well as retreating with the army. At the conclusion of the war he returned to college for a short time, and then entered on his medical studies with Dr. Ephraim McDowell, in Danville, Kentucky, and completed his studies in Philadelphia where he graduated in medicine. Returning to Danville he became associated in practice with Dr. Ephraim McDowell "whom he assisted in some of the difficult operations which rendered the latter famous throughout the world" (Green). He next came to Fincastle, Virginia, where he practiced medicine successfully from 1819 to 1838.

Whilst there he married his kinswoman, Mary Hawkins Harvey, a sister of Mrs. Capt. David E. Moore. They were the parents of Capt. Henry C. McDowell, who married Henry Clay's granddaughter and lives at Ashland.

After 1838, Dr. McDowell removed to Louisville, Kentucky, where he practiced his profession for a time, and ended his days in Evansville, Indiana. He was an imposing looking man of great intelligence and agreeable manners. I happened to be at his house in Louisville when he was engaged in a sharp controversy with Dr. Yandell and others, in respect to the treatment of pulmonary consumption. Dr. McDowell had written a book setting forth his views especially in respect to the proper diet for consumptives, which had been attacked by other doctors, and a fire of pamphlets was going on. I remember the closing sentence of one of Dr. McDowell's pamphlets, which was substantially: "I am tired spending time and money in answering your malicious nonsense, and if I am called upon to notice any more of it, I will indite my answer on your parchment with a cowhide!" And I was just as sure he would do it as if the words had been written by his brother-in-law, David E. Moore!

Robert McDowell (No. 520), a polite and pleasant gentleman of Lexington, whose second wife was the daughter of that staunch old trustee and merchant, Capt. Robert White, and the mother of our alumni William G. McDowell and James McDowell. This is a different family of McDowells from that which has been described heretofore, but one whose worthy ancestors should be better known.

William H. Patillo, originally of Mecklenburg county, Va., but who spent most of his professional life at Charlotte Court House, where he was the standard physician for a long time. I knew him well and can testify that he was as good a man as he was a skilful physician.

Joseph Steele, an old-style Rockbridge farmer, in the days when farmers had time to read and think; connected with the Trimbles, Grigsbys and McNutts, and a trustee of the College, who will be described hereafter.

[For want of time and space these sketches must be arrested here, to be resumed, I hope, in time for the next volume of Historical Papers.]



SKETCHES OF TRUSTEES, CONTINUED.

GENERAL SAMUEL BLACKBURN.

Samuel Blackburn was born in the County of Augusta in June, 1761. His parents were among the early Scotch-Irish settlers of the Valley of Virginia. At an early age he entered Liberty Hall Academy under Mr. Graham, and was there associated with many who afterwards became distinguished in the various walks of life. He took a pretty full course, but, upon attaining military age, he entered the Revolutionary army and participated in several of the brilliant engagements that closed that glorious struggle. At the close of the war, he became the principal teacher of an academy in Washington, Georgia, and while thus employed he prepared himself for the practice of the law. In 1785 he received the degree of A. B. from Liberty Hall Academy, and in the same year married Ann, the eldest daughter of Gen. George Matthews, a distinguished officer of the Revolution, and afterwards Governor of Georgia. He was a member of the Georgia Legislature and voted against the celebrated "Yazoo Act." He returned to Virginia and settled in Saunton, where he remained but a short time, when he removed to Bath county in 1796 and settled on a farm called the Wilderness. In the same year he received a license from the General Court to practice law, and at the November term, 1796, qualified as an attorney-at-law in the County Court of Bath. He practiced his profession for more than thirty years in the counties of Bath, Rockbridge, Augusta and Rockingham, and amassed what was regarded in those years as a handsome fortune. As a forensic orator he had few equals in the State, and wielded an immense influence over juries in both civil and criminal cases. He was an

orator of great dramatic power, was eloquent and indulged in pathos, humor, wit, invective and an unsparing ridicule as occasion might require.

He was elected in 1799 to represent Bath in the House of Delegates, and, being a Federalist of the deepest dye, voted against Mr. Madison's report. He was again elected to the House of Delegates in 1809, and was the author of the act against duelling passed by the General Assmblly on the 26th day of January, 1810. And it is singular that he appeared for the defence in the only prosecution ever had under that act in the county of Bath, Mr. Peyton who had aided in its passage in the House of Delegates conducting the prosecution.

He was again elected to the House of Delegates in 1810, 1812, 1816, 1817, 1820, 1823 and 1825. He was defeated for Congress in 1811 and again in 1813 by Gen. William M. Coy, his Federalism not being in accord with the Democratic sentiment of the district. He was also a candidate for the Constitutional Convention of 1829, and was defeated by John Baxter, of Pocahontas, for the same reason.

He was elected a trustee of Washington Academy, as the institution was then known, on the 31st day of January, 1797, and continued an active and zealous member of the Board of Trustees until his resignation on the 19th of July, 1830, a period of more than thirty-three years. In 1802 he and Andrew Alexander were appointed a Committee to attend the meeting of the Cincinnati Society of Virginia, in December of that year, to urge them to bestow on the Academy their funds on their dissolution which then seemed not far distant, and they succeeded in securing the support of a majority of those present to the proposition. This action was very important, as it was never reversed in subsequent meetings, although repeated efforts were made to so, and the fund amounting to more than \$25,000 ultimately came to the institution. The Committee was well chosen. Party feeling was then running high. Both of the members of the Committee were in political accord with the overwhelming sentiment of the Society. In 1818 he was appointed a Committee to appear before the Legislature and oppose the incorporation of a new James River Company, which might impair the

value of the stock given to the College by Gen. Washington. His mission was entirely successful.

He retired from the Bar about the time he retired from the Board of Trustees, and spent the remainder of his days quietly at the Wilderness, where he died on the 2d of March, 1835. He was buried in the church-yard of the Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church of Staunton, and the following inscription was placed on his tomb :

“Here lies the remains of General Samuel Blackburn, late of Bath county, Virginia, who departed this life March 2d, 1835, aged 73 years and nine months.

“He was alike distinguished as an advocate, a patriot and a statesman. He died a believer in the Christian faith, and in the full hope of immortality. This monument was erected to his memory by his affectionate widow.”

His will was proved in the County Court of Bath, at the July term, 1835, and John H. Peyton, Esq., qualified as his sole executor. In his will he declared his religious belief as follows: “I die as I trust a Christian, believing as I must in the doctrine of the atonement by the death, the suffering and mediation of the Lord Jesus Christ as delivered to us in the Gospels by his Evangelists and Appostles, into whose hands I wish with humble confidence to commit my soul and body with all their vast concerns, till it shall please him to reanimate them in a new, and I trust a highly improved mode of existence. Among the different sects of professing Christians which have obtained in this country, I call myself a Presbyterian, not merely by descent, education or accident, but from reflection, inquiry and preference, yet I feel no inclination whatever to shut the door of mercy against any Christian denomination, whatever fault I may find with their supposed errors. Who am I that I should condemn another man servant! To his own master, let him stand or fall.”

By his will he manumitted all his slaves, and provided that the funds should be appropriated out of his estate for their removal to the American Colony in Liberia, and if any of them should refuse to accept this boon, his executors were directed to sell them, not separately, but in families, and at private sale, to such masters or mistresses and on such terms as they might think most advantageous.

As to the election of his slaves he provided—"As the acceptance or rejection of the freedom now offered is to seal the fate of such of my unfortunate people who do reject it, and that of their posterity, in a state of the most hopeless and degrading slavery for perhaps centuries to come; or to restore to their country, the land of their fathers from which they have been long exiled, such of them as may accept it, enrolling them in the ranks of men and citizens, from which they have been long expelled, my executors will excuse me when I entreat they will see this great question fairly put and freely answered, uninfluenced by promise or hope of reward, or the dread of punishment."

He gave the Bible Society of Staunton and its present officers five hundred dollars, "to be disposed of in such manner as they in their discretion may deem most likely to subserve the laudable intention of this State, or of the United States, to supply all destitute families with the Holy Scriptures." To his nephew, Samuel Blackburn, Jr., and to his heirs he gave in the following terms:—"Marshall's Life of Washington, which for the gratitude and affection I bear to the memory of that great man, and the merited confidence reposed in the fidelity of his biographer, I have long determined should descend as heirlooms, if I may so speak in Virginia, to this particular branch of my estate."

To his nephew, the Rev. Gideon Blackburn, D. D., the distinguished Presbyterian minister of Tennessee and long President of Centre College, Kentucky, he gave the balance of his miscellaneous library.

The residue of his estate he devised and bequeathed to his wife, his nephews and his nieces.

On the first of October, 1835, the executor, Mr. Peyton, selected a committee consisting of Thomas J. Michie, Alexander H. H. Stuart, and Samuel Blackburn to be present when he should put the question to the slaves whether they would accept their freedom under the will, and they certified that on that day all, 41 in number, answered in the affirmative except four and one child, and Mr. Stuart certified subsequently that two had reconsidered and answered in the affirmative. One who refused to accept was Scarborough, who was given by the will to Mrs. Blackburn in case she declined her freedom. The certificates were returned and re-

corded in the will-book of Bath county. In December, 1835, John H. Peyton and Samuel Blackburn, Jr., took the 44 slaves (out of 46) who elected to be free to Norfolk, and delivered them to John McPhail, the agent of the American Colonization Society. The sum of \$1,242.39 was appropriated out of the estate to pay their expenses to Liberia.

The following minute prepared by Col. William H. Terrill appears on the record of the County Court of Bath, March 11th, 1835.

"The death of Gen. Samuel Blackburn, late a practitioner of the law in this county, having been announced to the court, the following resolutions were adopted and ordered by the court to be spread upon the records: 1st, *Resolved*, that the Court and the members of the Bar practicing in this county do entertain the most respectful and affectionate recollection of the eloquence and talents, and of the liberal and honorable deportment of the deceased both as a legislator and a man. 2d, *Resolved*, that in the death of General Blackburn, society has lost an ornament, liberty a bold and fearless defender, and the profession of the law one of its most distinguished members. 3d, *Resolved*, that we sincerely sympathize with the widow of the deceased in her bereavement, and as token of the profound respect we entertain for his memory, we will wear the usual badge of mourning for thirty days. 4th, *Resolved*, that the clerk of this Court do communicate a copy of these resolutions to the widow of the deceased, and that a copy be published in the Staunton *Spectator*."

General Gilmer, in his sketches of the first settlers of Georgia, speaks of Governor Blackburn as follows: "His fine voice, expressive features, noble person, perfect self-possession, keen wit and forcible language, directed by a well cultivated and powerful intellect, made him one of the most eloquent men of his time. He was a Federalist in politics. His strong abusive denunciations of the Republicans, when he was a member of the Virginia Legislature, made him long remembered by the parties of the State."

In a letter of the Hon. Alexander H. H. Stuart to the writer dated January 19th, 1891, just before his death, and probably the last letter he ever wrote, Mr. Stuart speaks of Gen. Blackburn as follows: "You are in error in supposing that Gen. Blackburn was

still at the bar when I came to it. He had retired some years before, and although he sometimes came to court as a matter of habit, and to meet his old friends, he came merely as a looker-on, and not as a member of the bar. I never heard him speak as a lawyer, and cannot, therefore, speak of his merits as an orator of my own knowledge. But I have heard marvellous accounts from others, of his eloquence, especially in the denunciation of wrong and injustice. He had wonderful powers of sarcasm and invective which he did not hesitate to employ when the occasion required, and great dramatic power which added to the effect.

“I knew him personally in his old age, and frequently stayed all night at his house with Mr. Peyton, in going to and from Bath court. He conversed with great fluency and ease. He had been educated with a view to the ministry and was perfectly familiar with the Scriptures, and often quoted and drew illustrations from them. In appearance he was the most striking and majestic-looking man I ever saw. He was fully six feet or more in height, and admirably good proportioned. He was also singularly graceful in his gestures, and dignified in his whole manner, movement and deportment. His face was large, his forehead expansive, and his features well framed, and he had a facility of expressing every emotion by a slight contortion of the muscles of his face. When his face was in repose, it involuntarily recalled to your mind the idea of a noble old *lion* at rest ! Again when his countenance lighted up with feeling, you would naturally think of one of the prophets when the spirit of inspiration was upon him !

“I have heard persons here describe one of his great speeches in the old chancery court here, which must have been one of extraordinary power. But as many of the descendants of the party principally interested are still living, and I do not care to record it.”—W. McL.

REV. WILLIAM MCPHEETERS, D. D.

The subject of this sketch has already been briefly referred to in these papers. His father, William McPheeters, was a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian elder, of Augusta county, Va., and “a trustee of 1776.” His mother, Rachel Moore, was descended from a line of eminent Scotch divines (the Rev. Samuel Rutherford and the Rev.

Joseph Alleine, author of the "Alarm"), and was a woman of consecrated piety and devotion to all the duties of her station in life. She was a sister of James Moore, whose tragic fate is recorded in "The Captives of Abb's Valley." Her niece, Mary Moore, married the Rev. Samuel Brown, and became the mother of a large family, most of whom are now dead. One of them, however, still survives, a man widely known and greatly esteemed, gifted with rare wisdom, and adorned with many virtues—we refer to the venerable Rev. William Brown, D. D., so long an honored member of the Board of Trustees of Washington and Lee University.

The Rev. William McPheeters, subject of the present sketch, was the ninth child of William and Rachel (Moore) McPheeters. He was born September 28, 1778, in the county of Augusta, near the North Mountain, seven miles from Staunton, Va.

His boyhood was passed on his father's farm, and in attending country schools in the mountains of Augusta and Rockbridge. At a proper age he was sent to a classical school in Staunton, and from there transferred to "Liberty Hall Academy," then under the direction of the Rev. William Graham, of honored memory, whose character and career have been already so admirably portrayed in these sketches.

After completing his literary and classical course at Liberty Hall, he journeyed, in the year 1797, to Cynthiana, Ohio, where for two years he was a medical student under his brother, Dr. James McPheeters. While here he united with the Presbyterian Church, and soon afterward, with changed views of his calling in life, he abandoned the study of medicine, returned to Virginia, and placed himself under the care of Lexington Presbytery as a probationer for the Gospel ministry.

His theological studies were pursued chiefly under the direction of the Rev. Samuel Brown, of New Providence Church. His "trial sermon" was preached before Presbytery, October 12, 1801, from Isaiah 6:8—"Then said I, here am I, send me." On April 19, 1802, he was licensed. He then went to Kentucky, where many of his friends and relatives had moved, and engaged in missionary work in that State and Ohio. In June, 1803, he accepted an invitation to take charge of the Presbyterian Church in Danville, Kentucky.

In 1804 he returned to Virginia, and soon afterwards was ordained to the full work of the ministry, and accepted a call as pastor to "Bethel Church," in Augusta county, Va. Rev. Dr. Baxter preached the ordination sermon, and the Rev. Samuel Brown presided and gave the charge to the church.

On the 23d of September, 1807, he was elected a trustee of Washington Academy, as the institution was then known. In consequence of his removal from the State he resigned in 1812.

In January, 1810, he received by a special messenger an invitation from the trustees of the Raleigh Academy, Raleigh, N. C., to become the principal of that institution, and "Minister of the City Congregation," there being no organized church there at that time.

After visiting this new and inviting field, he accepted the invitation and entered on its duties June 1st of the same year. Both the Academy and Church flourished under his wise and efficient administration. In the Academy were educated under his hand numbers of youth who afterward became men of mark in the various callings of life. And it is pleasing to note that his pupils uniformly cherished for him a profound respect and esteem, and in many instances a strong, personal affection. While speaking of his labors as an educator, it will be proper to note that he early manifested a warm interest in the welfare of the North Carolina State University, and did much toward making that institution the power for good that it afterward became. The University conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1819. His connection with the Academy at Raleigh continued until 1826. In October, 1836, he took charge of a female school in Fayetteville, N. C., but, finding that his health was likely to suffer in consequence of residence there, he withdrew from the school and left the place in July, 1837. In the autumn of this year, he undertook an agency under the direction of the Board of Domestic Missions of the General Assembly. This agency he continued to the spring of 1839.

Sometime in the year 1840 he was elected to the Presidency of Davidson College, Mecklenburg county, N. C., but, owing to ill health, was obliged to decline the invitation to that rising and important institution. From that time until his death his health continued to decline. His disease, which was a calculus affection, was attended with the most intense suffering, which, however, he

bore with the utmost fortitude and submission to the Divine will. He died amidst the affectionate attentions of his family on the morning of the 7th of November, 1842, in the sixty-fourth year of his age.

“From one of the many notices published soon after his death we learn that, on the afternoon of his funeral, ‘in token of the profound love and respect’ in which ‘the dead pastor, patriot and citizen’ was held, ‘the bells of the city (of Raleigh) were tolled, all business was suspended, and nearly the entire population followed his remains to their last resting place.’”

Dr. McPheeters was married three times: first, on September 25th, 1804, to Elizabeth, daughter of Major John McDowell, who lived near Lexington, Kentucky. This marriage was without issue. His wife having died in 1806 of pulmonary trouble, he was married a second time on the 18th of March, 1809, to Lavinia Moore, of Blount county, Tennessee. The fruit of this marriage was one child, a daughter, who subsequently developed into a woman of marked character and piety. His second wife having died in a short time after the birth of their daughter, on March the 10th, 1812, Dr. McPheeters married his third wife, Margaret A. C. McDaniel, of Washington, Beaufort county, North Carolina. This union resulted in the birth of twelve children, of whom three still survive.

As a citizen Dr. McPheeters took an active and interested part in the movements of his day. As an ecclesiastic his knowledge of ecclesiastical law and his soundness of judgment won for his counsels the confidence and support of his brethren, who showed the esteem in which they held him, by electing him on a number of occasions to represent them in the highest court of their church. As a preacher he was simple, earnest and logical. His personal appearance and character have been portrayed as follows by the Hon. D. L. Swain, formerly Governor of North Carolina: “In personal appearance there was nothing very remarkable. He was of average height, more than usually robust, and somewhat inclined to corpulency. The expression of his countenance indicated the union of firmness and benignity, and these were in reality his most striking characteristics. His courage, physical, intellectual and moral, his benevolence, heightened by a vein of humor, always

delicate never obtrusive, and never out of place, no one who knew him ever doubted. He was eminently a man of judgment, and his practical common sense, aided by these traits of character, gave him an influence over all classes of society, that more powerful intellects not unfrequently fail to obtain."—W. M. McP.

JUDGE JOHN BROWN.

The subject of this imperfect sketch was a student at Liberty Hall Academy in the years 1782 and 1783, and when the adopted child of Hanover Presbytery had been rechristened "Washington Academy" and became later known as "Washington College," was a member of its Board of Trustees, from the 23d September, 1807, to March, 1817, when his resignation was accepted on the ground that other demands upon his time rendered it impossible for him to discharge the duties of the office.

John Brown was born on the 5th of October, 1762, and spent his boyhood in Pennsylvania, not far from Harrisburg, the native place of Rector William Graham, his friend of later years. He was a scion of the same sturdy Scotch-Irish stock which has illustrated at every step the progress of the western world for more than two centuries, and which laid deep the foundations and has builded well the superstructure of the University of Washington and Lee.

Of his family ancestry no reliable account has been transmitted, but the traditions make him a descendant of one of two brothers of his name, who were officers in the Parliamentary army, especially devoted to Cromwell, who left England when the second Charles was welcomed back to the throne of his ancestors and addressed himself to disorganizing the standing army, and who, after a short sojourn in the north of Ireland, found their way to the Colony of Pennsylvania.

The youth had reached man's estate, and had made good advantage of preparatory schools, when he came to Lexington to complete his course of study.

He was there more noted for his genial good fellowship, and his proficiency in all athletic exercises, excelling all his fellows in their out-door games and sports, than for burning the midnight oil; but he made a creditable record as a student, and none was more univer-

sally popular. Among his associates there, and his friends in after life, were Col. James McDowell, Judge Alexander Stuart, Rev. Archibald Alexander, Judge John Coalter, Isaac and John Hall, Judge Roane (who was from his State, and was afterwards Governor of Tennessee), and General Boyd of Berkeley. With one of these college friends, a classmate, Henry J. Peyton, son of Captain Valentine Peyton, he spent part of a vacation at his home near Winchester, and there made the acquaintance of Miss Frances Peyton, of Westmoreland, a niece of his host also visiting that hospitable household. He was charmed by her beauty and vivacity, and she, while she made light at first of his attentions, and laughed at the color of his hair, which was emphatically red, and his freckles, which were equally pronounced, and at his horse play with the other young men, had the good sense to appreciate him and his admiration. He was then not particularly good looking, and awkward in appearance and manner, but with an inexhaustible fund of good humor and ready wit, and was a frank, manly, independent fellow, full of life and fun. His frame was sinewy, active and powerful, and at boxing, wrestling, running and jumping, in those primitive days of gymnastics, he never found his match. There is an undignified story about his winning a wager in his later judicial life, by several times jumping from the floor and striking the lintel of the door frame with his boot-heels.

Miss Peyton was of proud English lineage, with the blood-royal in her veins, and with equal right to be proud of her American house. Her father, Col. Henry Peyton, of "Acquia," was a distinguished officer in the Revolution, and she had lost five brothers killed in the Continental army.

They were married on the 21st of February, 1784, after which young Brown undertook the study of law and qualified himself for the practice, in which he was soon actively engaged in the counties of Frederick, Hampshire and Hardy, having made his home in Moorefield.

The union was a most happy one, though the young couple lived in a simple way, with limited means, and it was not long before he attained a leading position at the Bar. Though he always aspired to the Bench, the gratification of that wish came unexpectedly. The High Court of Chancery in this State had for a number of

years consisted of one judge, the incumbent being George Wythe, and the sessions at Richmond. In January, 1802, the counties were laid off into three districts, and a Superior Court of Chancery established in each, one to be held at Staunton and one at Williamsburg, as well as that at Richmond. Two additional chancellors were appointed, by joint ballot of the General Assembly. William Wirt was chosen for the Williamsburg District, and on the 27th January, 1802, John Brown for the Staunton District. He thereupon removed to Staunton. In 1811 that district was divided into four, with courts to be held for each at Staunton, Wythe Court House, Winchester and Clarksburg. Judge Brown was then assigned to the first two, and in 1814, when a new district was formed, and a court directed to be held at Greenbrier, he was assigned to that also. And these important duties he continued to perform until his death, in a manner which won the highest praise of the profession, and endeared him greatly to the people.

A few years after coming to Staunton, Judge Brown purchased from Col. John Bowyer the Spring Farm estate, lying a short distance west of the town, and which had formerly been the home of Col. Wm. Preston. As his residence and afterwards that of his son-in-law, Judge Baldwin, the place was noted far and wide as the abode of hospitality and social enjoyment, and a favorite resort of the most cultivated people of the State. Indeed, in his day, Staunton, though a small inland village, was one of the important theatres of the legal profession, with a local bar of notable ability. The clerk of his court there was his college friend, Henry Peyton, a man universally esteemed. Judge Brown's children were Margaret, wife of William S. Eskridge, James Ewell who married first Maria M. Crockett, and afterwards Ann Dabney McDowell, and was a Circuit Judge residing in Wythe, and Martha Steele, who married February 12, 1812, Briscoe Gerard Baldwin, son of Dr. Cornelius Baldwin of Winchester, a prominent surgeon in the Revolution, and personal friend of Washington and Lafayette, and himself a leader of the Bar in the State, an eloquent orator, and for ten years a distinguished member of the Court of Appeals. He was the father of the no less distinguished and lamented John Brown Baldwin, and of Mrs. A. H. H. Stuart and Mrs. James M. Ranson of Jefferson. About 1830 he established a law school at Staunton

which enjoyed a reputation not confined to Virginia, and was attended by many students from other states, afterwards eminent in public affairs. In 1812 we find that Judge Brown took an active part in the military association formed at Staunton to prepare for armed resistance against the encroachments of Great Britain, and his new son-in-law raised a company and marched at its head to the defense of Craney Island and Norfolk, with Gen. Porterfield. Judge Brown was commissioned as Major-General in the Virginia militia, and a like commission was held by Judge Baldwin at a later day. Both were active in politics, as for example in the contest of Madison and Monroe for the Presidency. Both were "men of the people," loved for their generous and genial qualities, social dispositions and popular manners, seldom appearing on the street without gathering an admiring group about them. They were fine specimens of vigorous, noble and useful manhood, with few peers in their mental powers, men of stainless honor, with outspoken scorn of all that was low or mean or indirect, and they wielded a wide influence for good. Judge Brown accumulated and enjoyed—as did his friends—a choice and extensive library, general and scientific as well as legal, at Spring Farm. He died suddenly on the 6th October, 1826, sitting quietly in his chair upon the porch of that residence, which was one of the old landmarks about Staunton until recently torn down to make way for the pavilion of the Gypsy Hill Park. The greater part of the mansion was built by the Hessian prisoners taken at Trenton. His widow, who survived until May 14, 1851, then in her 90th year, was the first person interred in Thiorose Cemetery, which now outnumbers the city of the living. His remains were then removed thither from Trinity church-yard.—T. D. R.

JAMES J. MAYERS.

James J. Mayers graduated at Washington Academy in 1799, receiving the degree of A. B. He studied law and settled in Lexington, where he practiced his profession successfully. On the 23d day of September, 1807, he was elected a member of the Board of Trustees. In 1809 he was elected clerk of the Board, which office he held for some time. In 1810 he removed to Greenbrier county and continued the practice of his profession of the law. He

enjoyed the confidence of the people of Greenbrier, and was rewarded with a lucrative practice. In 1819 he removed to the State of Tennessee, and at the same time resigned his position as a member of the Board of Trustees. He was a faithful member of the Board of Trustees, and was a respectable, painstaking and reliable lawyer. He died soon after removing to Tennessee in the midst of a successful career.—W. McL.

ROBERT WHITE.

Capt. Robert White was born on the 17th day of September, 1775, in the parish of Banagher, Londonderry, Ireland, and died at his residence in Lexington on the 5th day of September, 1851. He received a liberal education, and was especially proficient in the classics and Belles-Lettres. At the age of sixteen he emigrated to America and spent some time in teaching. In the year 1800 he settled in Lexington and engaged in merchandizing, which he prosecuted most successfully until near the close of his life.

In the year 1802 he married Margaret, the daughter of Zechariah Johnston, of whom a sketch has heretofore been given. Capt. White was commissioned a justice of the peace for Rockbridge county on the 8th day of January, 1807, and served as such to his death. He was high sheriff of Rockbridge for two years, 1832–34. He served as a lieutenant in the company of artillery commanded by Capt. Henry McClung in the war of 1812. This company, although not engaged in any regular engagement, did good service in repelling predatory incursions of the enemy along the waters of the commonwealth.

He was called at different times to represent Rockbridge in the House of Delegates and served ten sessions. He was a Republican in politics, but, in the readjustment of parties, he aligned himself with the Whig party, and clung to it with tenacity during his life.

On the 15th day of January, 1812, Captain White was elected a trustee of Washington College, a position for which he was especially fitted by education, and business habits, and experience. He served until his death, was regular in his attendance, and was zealous in the interest of the institution. He was one of the executors selected by Mr. Robinson, who devised his whole estate to the

College. In 1840 he opposed strenuously with others an appropriation of a part of the Robinson fund in a way which he thought was inconsistent with the intent of the testator and the provisions of the will. It carried, and he entered his solemn protest on the record of the Board. In 1886, forty-six years after, the present Board of Trustees recognized the propriety of his course, and re-invested the fund thus appropriated, and set it up among the investments of the University.

As a citizen, magistrate, representative in the Legislature, trustee, and, in short, in all the relations of life, both public and private, his course was open, honest, independent and fearless. He approved of the doctrines and forms of the Presbyterian Church, and died in its communion.

Three sons of Captain White were alumni of the institution: John N. White, who died in early life, Zechariah J. White, long a merchant and Sheriff of Rockbridge county, and Robert I. White, who represented Rockbridge in the House of Delegates of Virginia.—W. McL.

HENRY McCLUNG.

Capt. Henry McClung, a trustee of Washington College from 1812 to 1830, was born on a farm in Rockbridge county, April 22, 1773. When quite a youth he spent some time in Philadelphia, and heard Washington deliver his farewell address. Returning to Rockbridge, he resided there till 1830. In 1802 he was a member of the Grand Jury of the District Court at Staunton which indicted the famous Bob Bailey as "the keeper and exhibitor of a certain unlawful gaming-table called Pharoah, or Pharoah Bank."

During the war of 1812-14, he was captain of an artillery company raised in Rockbridge, and with his company rendered efficient service in lower Virginia. In 1830 he moved to Staunton, and lived there during the remainder of his life, generally and highly esteemed. He died April 3, 1846. The only time the writer ever saw the old Rockbridge man, Gen. Sam Houston, he was sitting at Capt. McClung's fireside whittling a stick.

Capt. McClung's wife was Elizabeth Alexander, a sister of Messrs. Andrew and John Alexander, of Rockbridge, and the Rev.

Dr. Alexander, of Princeton, N. J. She survived her husband many years. No woman was ever more honored and beloved by a host of friends. While her son, James A. McClung, was proprietor of the principal hotel in Staunton, she may be said to have "held her court" there. Nearly all the ladies and gentlemen who tarried at the house sought her acquaintance, and all who approached her felt the charm of her goodness. She spent the last six years of her life at the Augusta Female Seminary, with school girls basking around her, and warmed and cheered by her presence. She died March 9, 1869, aged 86 years.

The children of Capt. McClung were three sons and four daughters. All the sons died unmarried. One of the daughters, Miss Agnes McClung, was for nearly twenty years a co-principal of Augusta Female Seminary. The surviving descendants of the family are Mrs. Martha Lyle Wills, of Louisa county, and the children of the late Col. Osceola Kyle, of Wetumpka, Alabama, a gallant Confederate soldier.—J. A. W.

HON. WILLIAM TAYLOR.

William Taylor was born in the city of Alexandria on the 5th day of April, 1788, of wealthy and cultured parents. He was educated in the schools of his native city, and though the facilities afforded were limited, his education was thorough and complete. He studied law with his brother Robert J. Taylor, Esq., a distinguished member of the Alexandria bar. A short time after his legal course was completed he left home and settled in the Valley of Virginia. In 1813 he married Susan Preston, daughter of Col. James McDowell, and soon afterwards removed to Lexington and engaged actively and successfully in the practice of his profession. In 1817 he was appointed Commonwealth's attorney for the County Court of Rockbridge, and was also appointed Commonwealth's attorney for the Circuit Court of Pocahontas, both of which positions he held until his election to Congress. In 1821, he was elected to the House of Delegates of Virginia. He was elected a Trustee of Washington College on the 8th of November, 1815. He was an active, zealous, and influential member of the Board and served as such until his death, a period of more than

thirty years. He was also for many years President of the Board of Trustees of the Ann Smith Academy.

In 1843, he was elected to represent the eleventh district of Virginia, composed of the counties of Rockbridge, Rockingham, Augusta, Pendleton, Hardy, and Shenandoah, in the twenty-eighth Congress of the United States, defeating Hon. Alexander H. H. Stuart, his Whig competitor, and in 1845 was re-elected for a second term. He had scarcely entered upon his second term when he was stricken with disease and died in the city of Washington, on the 17th day of January, 1846.

He left several sons and daughters. Among the former were Dr. James McDowell Taylor, the beloved physician of Lexington, who represented Rockbridge several sessions in the House of Delegates of Virginia; the Rev. Robert J. Taylor, a prominent minister of the Presbyterian Church; and Thomas Benton Taylor, Esq., of the Fulton, Missouri, bar, all alumni of the institution. One of his daughters married Col. John B. Weller, Governor of California, afterwards a Senator in Congress from that State, and also Minister to Mexico.

Mr. Taylor was a man of fine personal appearance, gentle in his manners, of fine talent, of the strictest integrity and unbounded popularity. The following extracts from speeches made at his death so justly delineate his character that it is unnecessary for us to say more.

Judge Isaac S. Pennybacker, in announcing his death in the United States Senate, spoke as follows:

"The deceased I knew well, both in person and by reputation. He was the representative in Congress of my immediate district, which district he also represented in the twenty-eighth Congress. A purer man never lived on earth. He was remarkable, sir, for the modesty of his manners and for the unvarying courtesy and urbanity of his deportment; no man excelled him in sensibility and honorable feelings.

"As a lawyer he stood well at the bar; as a member of Congress there were few superior to him in usefulness and devotion to the interests of his constituents; as a father, a neighbor, and a friend, he was all that could be desired—nothing was wanting to the perfection of his character as an amiable and accomplished gentleman.

He was respectably connected in all the branches of his family ; he was, in fine, an ornament to human nature itself.

“In his life there occurred no very striking incident. The placid stream flowed smoothly on until lost in the ocean of eternity. What I have said is not the language of mere panegyric. I have said that I knew him well, and those who knew him best will acknowledge the truth of the portrait which I have drawn.”

Gen. George C. Dromgoole, his colleague in the House of Representatives, thus spoke of his character and public services :—

“If, sir, his life has been marked by no extraordinary incident, that fact constitutes an encomium on the moral beauty of his character. Although a well educated lawyer, and a highly reputable member of the bar, he manifested no restless eagerness for distinction, and suffered not the promptings of worldly ambition to disturb the evenness of his temper and betray him into uncongenial controversy. Remarkable throughout life for his uninterrupted equanimity, nevertheless he was, in his public capacity, firm and decided in his opinions ; and in the conscientious discharge of his duties he was inflexibly upright.

“Justice and integrity characterized his entire intercourse with his fellow-men. Honor in its best sense regulated his conduct.

“Whether contemplated in the faithful discharge of his public duties, or in his fair and honorable intercourse with his fellow-men, or as an exemplary husband and father, reposing in tranquil happiness by his own fireside, in company with an affectionate wife and children—in whatever scene, or under whatever aspect we may examine the character of my departed colleague, he will be emphatically pronounced, in the most dignified and refined definition of the term, *a gentleman*.

“Such, sir, was the man who, in the wise dispensation of an inscrutable Providence, has been removed from his country and his family before he had attained an old age.

“Of the grief of his bereaved companion and his now fatherless children, it does not become me to attempt a description. Into that private and sacred scene of mourning I will not, even by imagination, intrude.

“If earthly consolation can alleviate their distress, some portion of it may, perhaps, be derived from the reflection that he was

universally esteemed and beloved by his acquaintances, and that *all* his colleagues, in the highest degree, respected him, and mourn his loss as that of a brother."

Gen. Charles P. Dorman, his associate and friend for thirty years, in presenting to the County Court of Rockbridge the resolutions adopted by the Bar of Lexington, paid the following tribute to his memory :

"The members of the bar connected with this court have delayed any public demonstration of respect to the memory of one of their brethren until this day, in order to enable the court and its officers to unite with them in the public expression of those feelings which the sorrowful event has inspired ; and have instructed me formally to announce the death of the Hon. Wm. Taylor, which took place in Washington on the 17th of last month.

"Unfitted as I feel myself for the task, I beg leave, before I present the resolutions which have received the approval of the bar, very briefly to refer to some of the leading events in the life of him whose death we all deplore.

"Wm. Taylor was born in the town of Alexandria in the district of Columbia, where he mainly received his scholastic education. His legal studies were pursued in the same place, in the office and under the direction of his distinguished elder brother, the late Robert Taylor, Esq. A short time after he had fitted himself for the practice of his profession he removed to and settled in the neighboring town of Staunton. In the year 1812, he commenced attending the courts of Rockbridge, and whilst upon these occasional visits to this place he was early introduced into the hospitable family of the late Col. James McDowell, and in the year 1813 married his eldest daughter. From that time to the day of his death he was a resident of Rockbridge.

"In the year 1821, he was elected one of the delegates to represent the county of Rockbridge in the State legislature. On the 14th of March, 1817, he was appointed by this court Commonwealth's attorney, and held that office, as well as that of prosecuting attorney for the Superior Court of Pocahontas, to the spring of 1843, when he became a successful candidate for the Congress of the United States. He was again elected for a second term in the spring of 1845, and died in the first month's service of his second term.

“Although his prominent and main pursuit in life was that of a lawyer, yet for the last quarter of a century he united with it the more congenial and peaceful occupation of a farmer. This brief and condensed recital contains the prominent points in the life of him who on the 17th of last month, under the same sky and in view of the same spot of earth that gave him birth, yielded up his spirit into the hands of that great Being who giveth and taketh away, who casteth down and buildeth up, according to the purposes of his infinite wisdom and inscrutable will.

“In the character and life of Wm. Taylor, there was a most striking resemblance. Wherever he was—at home or abroad, in the domestic and social circle or in the legal forum, on his farm or in the halls of Congress—he was ever the same in temper and in action. Brave but gentle, firm but conciliating, he pursued the even tenor of his way, without noise, without strife, and died as he lived without an enemy. If the public posts to which I have alluded constituted all of Wm. Taylor—if his talents and reputation as a lawyer, if his growing fame and the distinguished political honors which clustered around him in the last three years of his life, were all—his death would have produced that sensation which ever attends the loss of useful and distinguished men. But to this large audience whom I now address—his constituents, his county men, his near neighbors, his familiar and intimate friends, his brethren of the bar—I put this question: Was it his elevated position in this forum, his political honors at Washington, his rank, his titles, the loss of which chilled every heart and moistened every eye, when the intelligence first reached us, and the solemn words passed from mouth to mouth—“Taylor is dead!” No!—it was a sentiment more elevated, above them all. It was the man, honorable and virtuous—the friend, faithful and true—the neighbor, generous and kind—our elder brother, without envy and without guile.

“I shall be pardoned in this last connexion in mentioning, that it is now more than a quarter of a century since I found myself in early manhood standing in the place I now occupy, by the side of Wm. Taylor, a candidate, but not a rival, for professional honors and professional awards; and that for several successive years we were the only resident lawyers of this town or county; and that

during the long period that has elapsed from the day we first met until our last parting a few brief weeks ago, amid all the excitement attendant upon professional and political disputation, there never passed between us an angry or unkind word. Nay, gentlemen, I answer for the dead, and affirm for the living, *not an unkind thought!* May I not then be permitted to say, that I have lost a friend who sticketh closer than a brother, and that the last link which connected me with the first years of my professional life has been broken?

“I will not venture upon a theme too hallowed for public declamation. Forever sacred be the grief which death inflicts upon the widow and the orphan! That Being who tempers the wind to the shorn lamb is alone able, and he will in his own good time raise up those whom he has cast down.

“At the request of my brethren of the bar, I offer to them, the court and its officers, the resolutions which I hold in my hand, in order that a perpetual record may exist of one who was long and honorably connected with the public administration of justice in this court, and whose purity of life, unsullied integrity, and goodness of heart made him not only the beloved husband, the adored parent, but one of the brightest ornaments of the community in which he lived.

“VIRGINIA :

“At a monthly court begun and held for Rockbridge county, at the court-house on Monday, the second day of February, 1846 :

“On the motion of Gen. Charles P. Dorman, who introduced the following preamble and resolutions, and addressed the court on the subject, they were unanimously adopted as follows:—This court, its officers, and the members of the bar, have heard with deep and sincere sorrow, the death of the Hon. William Taylor, which took place in the city of Washington on Saturday, the 17th of January, whilst in attendance upon his duties as the representative in Congress from this district; and entertaining the most grateful and lively remembrance of the character and talents of our departed friend, who was a member of this bar for the last thirty-four years, and who for twenty-six years of that time discharged

the duties of attorney for the Commonwealth, with distinguished fidelity and humanity, and whose many and amiable virtues as a man endeared him to all; and lamenting his loss with a sincerity and depth of feeling corresponding with their regard for the public and private character of the deceased, have

“*Resolved*, That as a token of their sentiments, we will wear the usual badge of mourning for thirty days.

“*Resolved*, That Charles P. Dorman, Samuel McD. Reid, and Thomas Wilson, Esqs., be a committee to communicate to the bereaved family of the deceased these proceedings, as an evidence of the esteem and consideration in which the virtues and talents of the Honorable William Taylor were held by the court, its officers, and the bar, and assure them of their sincere sympathy in the loss which they have sustained in his death.”—W. McL.

DR. WILLIAM McCUE.

William McCue was born in Augusta county, Virginia, on the 14th day of January, 1787. He was the son of the Rev. John McCue, upon whom the degree of A. B. was conferred by Liberty Hall Academy in 1785, and who was long the pastor of the Tinkling Spring Church. Mr. McCue entered Washington Academy, as the institution was then known, and finished his course in 1807. He then took a course of medicine in one of the colleges of Philadelphia. Upon receiving his degree he settled in Lexington and occupied the lot where the Presbyterian church now stands. He at once took a high stand in his profession and enjoyed a large and lucrative practice.

He was elected a Trustee of Washington College on the 8th of November, 1815, and at once became an active and efficient member of the Board. He married Miss Ann Isabel Barry, like himself of Scotch-Irish descent, who survived him more than half a century. She married John Allen, who removed to Michigan, and founded the city of Ann Arbor, calling it in honor of his wife.

Dr. William McCue died in Lexington on the 18th day of November, 1818.—W. McL.

COL. HENRY BOWYER.

Henry Bowyer was born in Augusta county in 1760. He was of English descent and one of his ancestors, Edmond Bowyer, was one of the adventurers that came to Virginia with John Smith.

At the commencement of the Revolution Henry Bowyer, then sixteen years of age, was living with his uncle Mike Bowyer in Fincastle, and acted in the capacity of a salesman in his store. His uncle, having determined to join the army, upon leaving Fincastle for that purpose committed the management of his store to his nephew, with directions to continue the business until all the goods were disposed of. This, according to his mode of conducting the business, required but a very short time, for, burning with a desire to join the army himself, no sooner had his uncle taken his departure than he put up the whole establishment at auction, sold the goods for what they would bring, and immediately started himself for the army. He joined the Continental army as a private soldier and gradually rose, and at the end of the war was colonel of a regiment of cavalry in the division of Light-Horse Harry Lee. During a part of his service he was attached to the splendid regiment of Col. William Washington. He participated in many of the severest battles of the Revolution and was greatly distinguished for his gallantry and feats of horsemanship. He was a member of the Virginia Cincinnati Society and attended the meeting of the Society in 1818, when the donation of its fund to Washington College was confirmed. He was a member of the Committee that reported on the subject and he pressed decisive action, thus stopping all further agitation of the subject.

After the war Col. Bowyer returned to Fincastle and was subsequently elected clerk of the County Court of Botetourt, and upon the establishment of the Court of Common Law he was appointed clerk of that court also.

In 1794 Col. Bowyer married Agatha, the daughter of Thomas Madison, a brother of Bishop Madison, and whose wife was a sister of Patrick Henry.

Col. Bowyer was elected a trustee of Washington College on the 8th day of November, 1815, and served until the 19th of July, 1830, when he resigned. In the same year he resigned his offices

of clerk and retired from public life and removed to Lauderdale, his country seat, six miles from Fincastle, where he died on the 13th day of May, 1833, aged seventy-three years. He was buried with the honors of war, Gen. James Breckenridge, who died not long afterwards, commanding the troops.

Col. Bowyer left a large family. One of his daughters married Judge Edward Johnston, distinguished as an advocate and jurist. Two of his sons, Thomas H. and Henry M. Bowyer, were educated at Washington College. Thomas was an officer in the United States Navy, and participated in the battle of Lake Erie under Perry. He died at Havana, in 1830, of yellow fever. Henry succeeded his father as clerk of the courts of Botetourt, and continued to hold the positions for many years.

Col. Bowyer was greatly esteemed and enjoyed the fullest confidence of the people of Botetourt. He discharged every trust committed to him with fidelity and ability.—W. McL.

REV. ANDREW B. DAVIDSON.

Andrew Baker Davidson was born in the year 1779 in Botetourt county, Virginia. His father was William Davidson, who married Martha Baker, of Prince Edward county. He was called after his uncle, Gen. Andrew Baker, who took an active part in the Revolutionary war. Mr. Davidson was educated for the Presbyterian ministry by his uncle, and especially for home missionary work. In 1800 he entered Washington Academy, and finished his course in 1807. Gen. Baker made a donation to Washington Academy for theological purposes, and it was his express desire that his nephew should share in its benefits. Along with his studies in the Academy, he pursued his theological studies with Dr. Baxter, and was licensed to the ministry in 1807, and in the same year married Susan Dorman (sister of the late Gen. Charles P. Dorman), whose cheerful disposition and lovely character are remembered by many still living. In 1809 he was ordained to the ministry and installed pastor of the united churches of Harrisonburg, Cook's Creek, in Rockingham county, and Mossy Creek, in Northwest Augusta county. In November, 1814, he returned to Lexington and was for a time principal of the Ann Smith Academy. He then engaged

in preaching in the northwestern part of Rockbridge, along the base of North Mountain, and ministered to the churches of Oxford, Collierstown, Kerr's Creek and Bethesda, several of which he founded. His style of preaching was earnest and fervent, and he continued in the active ministry until the infirmities of age and disease forced him to retire.

He was elected a trustee of Washington College on the 8th of November, 1815, and continued to serve for a period of more than forty years, when, on account of age and infirmity, he resigned on the 2d day of July, 1857.

He died in August, 1861, at the age of eighty-two, just as the terrible civil conflict was beginning to rage. He left several children, among them James D. Davidson, Esq., long a prominent member of the Lexington bar, and for many years a member of the Board of Trustees of Washington and Lee University, Dr. Henry G. Davidson, a physician of Lexington, Gen. Alexander H. Davidson, of Indianapolis, Indiana, and the Rev. Charles Baker Davidson, Rector of St. John's Episcopal Church, Cincinnati, Ohio—all alumni of Washington College.

Rev. A. B. Davidson was a descendant in the fourth generation of the pioneer Presbyterian minister, John Thomson, whose burial-place is in the cemetery of "Briery Church," Prince Edward county, Virginia. In Mr. Davidson's library, at the time his house was destroyed by fire, was a volume of Rev. John Thomson's sermons, printed in Glasgow, Scotland, and on its fly-leaf was written, in Mr. Davidson's handwriting, "The author of this book was my great-grandfather."

We conclude this sketch with the following extract from a sketch of Mr. Davidson written for the Central Presbyterian by the Rev. William T. Price, July 8, 1885:—"There are many who remember his home as a most attractive place for its hospitality and social charms. He was beloved and greatly respected. Though laid aside in his latter years by rheumatic affection from the active duties of the ministry, yet his last days were happily serene. His attached friends still frequented his home on visits of truest friendship, and up to a few weeks of his decease he baptized the children and married the young people. His social qualities became more attractive, if possible, when mellowed by increasing age, and his

love of reading intensified as he ceased from active work ; and so really he had no *old age*, in the common acceptance of that term, as to mind and spirit. He died August, 1861, just as the gloom of our terrible war began to shroud the land in its sorrowful shadows. . . . The work of an evangelistic pastor, such as Father Davidson was, is one of marked usefulness, and yet, when one undertakes to make a record of the incidents of his busy life, they are so uniform as to afford limited scope for the annalist. In the world's esteem there is no work so obscure, still one must feel that in the estimation of the blessed Master it is as important and precious as any work ever undertaken in his service. While even angels might desire to look into the most minute particulars of such a life's mission, the busily employed and eagerly pushing men of affairs give it but the most cursory attention. As some one has beautifully written, such a life as his was a 'calm routine of lowly, though sacred duties, a constant, unvaried ministry of love ; it flowed on in a still and quiet stream, arresting no attention by its noise, and known alone to the homes it visits on its way, and to the flowers and fields it watered.' In the limits of Rockbridge his life was mainly spent in preaching the Word ; warning the careless, baptizing little children, blessing the union of the young, comforting the sick and the dying, whispering words of peace into the ear of the penitent, and carrying to the poor widow and friendless orphan the charity of others and his own. In out of the way places he often spread the sacramental table and dispensed the sacred supper. .

"There is much in such a life for the records on high, but nothing, or next to nothing, for the pretentious annals of the times."—W. McL.

ALLEN TAYLOR.

Allen Taylor was the son of John Taylor, who emigrated from the north of Ireland and settled in Montgomery (now Pulaski) county, near Pepper's Ferry on New River, opposite the present new and growing town of Radford. Here Allen was born in the year 1778. He attended a school taught by a man named Havens, and became proficient in the studies taught in grammar schools, especially in elocution. He entered Liberty Hall Academy about

1797, and enjoyed the instruction of Dr. Baxter, who soon afterward took charge of the Academy. A friendship sprung up between the teacher and pupil which continued during life. He spent three or four years here and then went to William and Mary College, where he finished his course in 1803.

Soon after leaving William and Mary College he commenced the study of law with Gen. James Breckenridge, an alumnus of Liberty Hall, who was then in full practice at the Botetourt bar. Receiving his license he settled in Monroe county and was appointed attorney for the Commonwealth for that county by Judge Winston of the General Court, who held court at the Sweet Springs.

After a few years he removed to Fincastle, where he engaged extensively in the practice of the law. He was elected to the House of Delegates in 1811, and was in the Richmond theatre when it was burned on the 26th of December, 1811, escaping with some difficulty.

He married first the only child of Capt. Charles Thompson, the proprietor of the Hot Springs in Bath. She died a few years after marriage leaving a son, Charles, who for many years was an officer in the Bank of Virginia at Buchanan, and a daughter, Lucy, who married Col. William M. Peyton, a prominent citizen of Roanoke. He married again, Rhoda, the widow of Capt. John Beale, who was a daughter of the Hon. Abraham Trigg, who represented the Montgomery District for twelve years in the United States Congress. By this marriage there were two children, Juliet, who married Alexander P. Eskridge, Esq., and Dr. John B. Taylor of Montgomery, to whom we are indebted for most of the material for this sketch.

On the 4th of March, 1820, Mr. Taylor was elected a Trustee of Washington College and served faithfully until his death. He practiced law with great success at the bar of Botetourt county and adjoining counties until 1826, when he was elected one of the Chancellors of Virginia in place of Judge John Brown, deceased. His district embraced the courts held at Staunton, Wytheville and Lewisburg. He held this position until the new constitution went into effect in 1831, when, the court ceasing to exist, he was elected Judge of the Botetourt Circuit, which position he held until his death in June, 1836.

Judge Taylor was a Federalist in politics and imbibed the doctrines taught by Alexander Hamilton and that school of statesmen. Upon the rearrangement of parties he aligned himself with the Whig party. In person in his earlier manhood he was over six feet high, erect, with a fine suit of black hair and blue eyes. He was very handsome, with a fine figure, but in his later years he grew corpulent. He was a fine speaker, a good general scholar and a learned and accurate lawyer. He was distinguished on the bench for his learning, ability, uprightness and sound judgment. Few abler and none purer ever wore Virginia's ermine.—W. McL.

REV. JAMES MORRISON.

James Morrison was born in Cabarrus county, North Carolina, on the 24th day of March, 1795. His father John Morrison and his mother Mary McCurdy were of Scotch-Irish origin, and were held in high repute for piety and general worth. When James had come to the proper age, he became the pupil of Rev. John Makemie Wilson, D. D., pastor of the Rocky River congregation in which his father was a ruling elder. This congregation was, and continues to be, one of the largest in the Synod of North Carolina. In addition to his work as a minister of the Gospel, Dr. Wilson conducted a classical school, with much success. In due time the subject of this sketch was sent to the University of North Carolina, at Chapel Hill. There he was graduated with distinguished honor in 1814, at an age earlier than usual. Immediately upon his graduation he was engaged as a tutor. On April 5th, of the year 1817, he was licensed by the Presbytery of Orange to preach the Gospel, and was ordained by the same Presbytery on the 15th of November, 1817, and his labors in that line of service were engaged in the lower part of the State in the region of Newbern. Making a transient visit to the church of New Providence, in Rockbridge county, Virginia, the attention of the people was directed towards him, and he received, not long after, a unanimous call to become their pastor. This he accepted, and on September 25, 1819, the Presbytery of Lexington, holding its fall meeting at New Providence church, installed him as pastor of the same.

A salary of \$600 being insufficient for the suitable support of his family, he was under the necessity of establishing a classical school at his home, such as the one in which he had been taught. From this time on to the end of life, there was not much out of the ordinary course of a successful pastor. A large congregation, the charge of a classical school, and the cares of an increasing family, called for the utmost exertions of which he was capable. And this call he met in an active and noble spirit. The congregation grew steadily, and the young pastor grew in favor with both God and man. His school was successful and popular. In it were educated a large number of men who afterward attained distinction in the various walks in life. Of his pupils some still survive who would willingly bear testimony to the debt they owe Mr. Morrison both for his instruction and his example. He became the father of a family of eleven children, ten came to adult age, and were a comfort to their parents. His course ran on smoothly in peace and prosperity. At various times the religious feeling would so increase that a large ingathering of members was the result. If, at any time, it became known to the pastor that unfriendly relations had been brought about between members of the church, it was his habit to visit the parties separately and alone, and this office of mediator hardly ever failed effecting a reconciliation.

On the 4th day of March, 1820, he was elected a trustee of Washington College, which office he retained until the year 1865, a period of more than forty-five years, when his infirm health made it proper for him to resign. The records show that he was a punctual and useful attendant upon the duties imposed, and rarely missed a meeting of the Board until his infirmities pressed upon him. In the year 1852 he was attacked by the malady which adhered to him with increasing power to the end of life. The disease was epilepsy, but in some respects abnormal in its character.

It is painful to relate that a connection with his congregation which had been so happy and useful for more than thirty years should have been rudely broken. To enter into a detail of this distressing controversy would extend this paper beyond reasonable length, and could be productive of no good. It is enough to say here, that Mr. Morrison acted conscientiously in the whole matter, and that he received a complete vindication, in the extended minutes

adopted by the Presbytery of Lexington at their meeting in April and June, 1857. After the pastoral relation was dissolved, Mr. Morrison preached only occasionally ; as far as his health allowed, worshipping stately with the congregation. In the meanwhile his disease was making slow but steady progress all the time, until, both in body and mind, he became a complete wreck. During the whole of this trying period his temper towards those by whom he considered himself to have been injured was forgiving and free from malice. He expired on November 13th, 1870, while upon a visit at the house of his son-in-law, A. T. Bondurant, Esq., in the county of Buckingham, Virginia.

Mr. Morrison was a man of comely person. His stature was about six feet. His countenance was very benevolent in its expression. His manners were friendly and pleasing. His home was two miles west of Brownsburg, at Belle Vue, from which place he loved to dispense a simple but generous hospitality. From the facts here presented, it will be seen that the subject of this sketch was held in high esteem as a truly good man, a faithful and successful minister of the Gospel, and a worthy citizen of this commonwealth.

On the 19th day of June, 1820, he was united in marriage with Frances, daughter of Rev. Samuel Brown, whom he succeeded as pastor of the church at New Providence. Their posterity, too numerous to mention in detail, rise up and call them blessed.—WM. BROWN, Bay View, Florida.

WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY

LEXINGTON, VIRGINIA

HISTORICAL PAPERS

No. 5.—1895

1. CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE, EMBRACING THE REGENCY OF REV. HENRY RUFFNER, D.D., 1829-30, WITH SKETCHES OF DISTINGUISHED ALUMNI.
 2. SKETCHES OF TRUSTEES, CONTINUED. COL. SAMUEL McDOWELL REID.
HON. JAMES McDOWELL.
-

BALTIMORE:
JOHN MURPHY & CO.

1895.

PREFACE.

We now present the continuation of the History of Washington College, by William Henry Ruffner, LL. D. This embraces the period of Prof. Ruffner's Regency, 1829-30 This will be followed in the next number by a history of the administration of President Ruffner.

We also continue sketches of the Trustees. We are indebted to Col. J. D. H. Ross for a sketch of Col. Samuel McDowell Reid, so long a member of the Board of Trustees, and to Mrs. S. C. P. Miller for a memoir of her father, Governor McDowell, which is the best review of the political situation in Virginia from 1830-50 that has ever been written or will probably ever be written. To this is appended a sketch of Governor McDowell by the Hon. Hugh A. Garland, the biographer of John Randolph and Clerk of the United States House of Representatives.

These sketches will be continued in future numbers.

WILLIAM McLAUGHLIN,
HENRY ALEXANDER WHITE,
W. A. GLASGOW,

Committee.

January, 1895.

CONTENTS.

| | PAGE. |
|--|-------|
| HISTORY OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: A CONTINUATION OF THE "EARLY HISTORY OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE, BY HENRY RUFFNER, D. D., LL. D." BY WILLIAM HENRY RUFFNER, LL. D. | |
| Preface | iii |
| Chapter V.—The Regency of Henry Ruffner—1829–30..... | 3 |
| Prof. Henry Ruffner's Narrative..... | 6 |
| Meetings of the Societies..... | 9 |
| Election of Dr. Louis Marshall to the Presidency..... | 15 |
| Chapter VI.—Personal Sketches..... | 17 |
| Lewis Ruffner..... | 17 |
| George W. Summers..... | 23 |
| Rev. William S. Plumer, D. D..... | 26 |
| SKETCHES OF THE TRUSTEES, CONTINUED. | |
| Colonel Samuel McDowell Reid..... | 33 |
| James McDowell. | |
| Chapter I.—Introductory..... | 37 |
| Chapter II.—Birth and Lineage—The Prestons—John Preston— William Preston—Friendship with Washington—The Tugg River Expedition—Battle at Guilford Court House and Death —His Family and His Religious Fidelity..... | 39 |
| Chapter III.—Parents and Home—Childhood, and His Mother's Influence—His First School—Rev. Dr. James M. Brown's Reminiscences—Enters Washington College—[John J. Crit- tenden and Col. James McDowell]—Sent to Yale—Incidents on the Way—Spends two years at Princeton..... | 50 |

| | PAGE. |
|--|-------|
| Chapter IV.—Outlook in Life—Property—Profession—Marriage— Study of Law—Removal to Kentucky—The Military—Aban- donment of the Law—Climatic Fever—Dr. Lewis Marshall —Recovery—Return to Virginia—Colonel McDowell's Illness —Colalto..... | 56 |
| Chapter V.—Permanent Settlement in Lexington—Drifts into Poli- tics—Is Identified in all the County and Town Interests—Instru- mental in Securing "Jockey Robinson's" Gift to Washington College by Writing his Will—Extract from the Will—Made Trustee of the College—Is in and out of the House of Delegates —Struggles and Personal Asperities in Local Affairs—Town and County Improvements—Roads and Highways..... | 61 |
| Chapter VI.—Formation of the Whig and Democratic Parties..... | 65 |
| Chapter VII.—The African Slave Trade—Introduction of Slavery into North America—Act of Emancipation in United States— Slavery Abolished in West Indies..... | 67 |
| Chapter VIII.—Exciting State and National Political Questions from 1824 to 1851—Southampton Insurrection—Nat Turner... | 76 |
| Chapter IX.—Abolition Discussed in the Legislature—Committee of Twenty-one—Handsome Attitude of the Western to the Eastern Members—Petitions, Appeals and Memorials Poured in upon the Legislature from all Parts of the State—Opinions of the Press—The Great Debate—The Subject Dismissed with- out Legislative Action—McDowell's Part in this Historic De- bate—Extracts from His Speech—Contemporaneous Critics; and Judgment of Later Historians—Hon. George W. Summers' View of the House of Delegates on the Question of Slavery..... | 81 |
| Chapter X.—Religious History—First Death in the Family..... | 100 |
| Chapter XI.—Nullification—Tariff Legislation Upon Southern Interests—The "Woollens Bill" in South Carolina—John C. Calhoun Leads the Way to Nullification—Doctrine of Nullification in Virginia Politics—Fatal to McDowell's Offi- cial Advancement—His Position Upon It—Excitement in Rockbridge Upon the President's Proclamation..... | 103 |
| Chapter XII.—Jackson's Administration—Van Buren Able but Unsuccessful—The Failure to Meet all Party Requirements Issues in the Loss of Party Preferment—Virginia Military Institute..... | 116 |
| Chapter XIII.—Oration at Princeton..... | 125 |

CONTENTS.

vii

PAGE.

| | |
|---|-----|
| Chapter XIV.—New Complications in Politics—Annexation of Texas—War with Mexico—Acquisition of Oregon—Formation of Free Soil Party..... | 133 |
| Chapter XV.—Governor of Virginia—Steam Navigation of James River and Kanawha Canal Fails—Requisition on Massachusetts for a Runaway Slave—Excitement that followed..... | 136 |
| Chapter XVI.—Serves an Unexpired Term in Congress in 1846—Retrocession of the City of Alexandria—War with Mexico—Creation of a Lieutenant-General—The Scheme Fails—McDowell's Vote for it Costs Him a Seat in the U. S. Senate... | 142 |
| Chapter XVII.—Canvas for Congress in 1847—Politics and People of the "Old Tenth Legion"—Domestic Sorrows—Ill Health.... | 146 |
| Chapter XVIII.—Death of John Quincy Adams—Complexities in Public Affairs—The South Hard Pressed—The Wilmot Proviso—Compromises for the Saving of the Union—Slavery the Uppermost Question..... | 153 |
| Chapter XIX.—Opening of the 31st Congress—Mutterings of Disunion—Nashville Convention—Clay's Compromise Measures—Death of John C. Calhoun—Death of the President—Fugitive Slave Bill—Admission of Mexican Territories as States—Governor McDowell's Speech in Favor of the Bill; and how it was Received..... | 157 |
| Chapter XX.—Illness and Death of a Daughter—His Own Death—Respect and Kindness of Friends—Newspaper Tributes..... | 186 |
| Chapter XXI.—Methods of Preparation and Delivery of Speeches—Letters of Thomas Green and Robert C. Winthrop—Conversational Ability—Prayer-Meeting and Sunday-School Addresses—Temperance at the Government House—Devotion to His Family—His Children..... | 191 |
| James McDowell. By Hon. Hugh A. Garland..... | 203 |

THE
HISTORY OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE,

NOW WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY

DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY:

A CONTINUATION OF THE

“Early History of Washington College, by Rev. Henry Ruffner, D. D., LL. D.”

BY WILLIAM HENRY RUFFNER, LL. D.

HISTORY OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE.

CHAPTER V.

THE REGENCY OF HENRY RUFFNER.

1829-30.

In preparing for a new departure in the Autumn of 1829, the Board of Trustees required each member of the Faculty to confine himself to his official duties, instead of adding a pastoral charge or other employment, as had been customary—as had, in fact, been necessary in the earlier period of the College history. President Graham, President Baxter, Prof. Blain, Prof. Heron and Prof. Ruffner had all added the pastoral care of churches to their professorial work. Professor Ruffner, who had been re-appointed to the chair of languages, and had been entrusted with the temporary management of the College, promptly resigned his charge of the Timber Ridge and Fairfield churches. He bore the loss of income cheerfully because he approved of the action of the Board.

He and Colonel Reid having been appointed a committee to obtain the services of an assistant teacher, appointed Landon C. Garland, who here and then began that long and distinguished career which has only in this year (1893) been terminated by his voluntary resignation of the presidency of Vanderbilt University. Mr. Garland had shortly before graduated at Hampden-Sidney College, and, as soon as he took up his work in Washington College, he showed that he was made of no ordinary metal. I, then about seven years of age, had some experience of Mr. Garland's attractive manner. He was one of the founders of the Lexington Sunday-

school, which was organized in the gallery of the old church at the head of town about the year 1831. I was a member of the class which he personally instructed, and retain a pleasant memory of his teaching.

The College session was opened in the Fall of 1829, with eighteen students in the College proper, and six in the Preparatory Department, which was about the usual number in attendance for four or five preceding sessions. Professor Ruffner and Mr. Garland undertook to carry on all the College classes, whilst Mr. Seabrook taught the grammar boys.

The first subject which received the special attention of the professor in charge was the physical comfort and decency of the students, and the general improvement in the order and cleanliness of the public rooms, the passages, the walls, the walks, and the lawn immediately around the building. He had been pressing this subject for years, and had succeeded in inducing the Board of Trustees to employ a college servant for all his time. John Limas, mentioned in the preceding chapter, entered regularly upon his duties at the beginning of this session. Under his faithful hand a new aspect was given to the College premises within and without. Although the ground had been enclosed years before, the brick-making and building, that had been going on for some time, occasioned numerous breaches in the fences, which were steadily enlarged and multiplied by the demand for kindling wood among the students and the neighbors generally. Thus the domestic animals—horses, cows, sheep and hogs—belonging to the town's people and the neighboring farmers, were in full possession of the grounds, and in partial possession of the buildings; for on stormy nights the passages furnished a convenient shelter for these animals, which, if crowded below, sometimes made their way to the second floor. The expulsion of the animals, the closing up of the fences, and the general clearing up of rubbish, raised the College hill several grades on the scale of civilization.

Another improvement went into operation this session, viz.: the separation of the grammar school from the College proper. This separation had been decreed in the Spring of this year by the direct efforts of Professor Ruffner, who had for years maintained that the

admixture of the small boys with the students was an obstruction to order, progress, and dignity ; and equally bad for both classes. The new arrangement was imperfect, but it was a step in the right direction.

But evils of much more serious import, according to the judgment of the professor in charge, remained unsubdued, and the question arose as to whether these evils should be attacked or should be left in full strength. Professor Ruffner, though entrusted temporarily with the chief management of the College, was obviously subject to great disadvantages in any attempt he might make toward a direct reformation of discipline. His authority was not only temporary, but of very uncertain duration. He had not the title, and could not have the full official force of a president. Moreover, small as was the number of students, the professor's labor as teacher must be greatly enhanced by the necessity for teaching an increased number of subjects and classes. Under these circumstances he might readily have excused himself from attempting anything more than to keep the school in order, and to teach the president's classes and his own. But there was another side to the question. Some years before, he had induced the Board of Trustees to adopt a greatly enlarged scheme of studies which up to this time had never been fully carried out. And besides this, the professor had openly advocated a number of administrative changes which he deemed essential to good order, and to the successful operation of the scheme of studies ; and now he is, for the time, in full possession of administrative authority, and how could he excuse himself if he should let the opportunity pass without at least making some effort to effect those changes to which he was so fully committed. He finally resolved to enter upon the work of reformation as he understood it. The history of his struggles in this direction is given in the private narrative which he left, and from which I have frequently quoted facts, using in some cases the words of the author without quotation marks, intending by this to assume the whole responsibility. From this, the only contemporaneous history of the times, I will now quote at length, only remarking that the author prepared this narrative without any intention of publishing it, unless there should be some special demand for the facts.

PROF. HENRY RUFFNER'S NARRATIVE.

At a meeting of the Board, October 21st, 1829, he [Prof. R.] presented to the body the following rules for the better government of the College. They were readily adopted by the Board. Under each rule some remarks are now made to explain them, or to show the need of them.

"1. The students who lodge in the College shall rise at 5 o'clock in the morning, or as soon thereafter as the signal shall be given, and assemble for prayer; after which they shall immediately apply themselves to their business."

The want of a rule of this sort may be conceived when it is known that heretofore there was no rule on the subject. College business began at 9 o'clock in the morning, and closed at 4 or 5 o'clock in the afternoon. During the rest of the day, and all night, the students were left to themselves, except occasionally when an officer would visit the College at night. It was customary for many of the students to spend a great part of the night in idle amusements, strolling, or dissipation, and to lie in bed until breakfast time in the morning.

"2. During the hours of the day assigned to study, no library in College shall be visited except by officers of the College, or with their special permission."

The library rooms of the College had become places of idle resort for parties of students and young men of the town, where they often locked themselves in, and were known sometimes to have played cards.

"3. On Saturday forenoon the students shall attend to exercises in composition, or such other as the Faculty may direct."

Saturday exercises, though prescribed in the course of studies adopted in 1821, had for years been wholly omitted. This was a notice of resumption.

"4. On Sundays, students in College shall attend to exercises of a religious nature, such as the study of the holy scriptures, &c."

The same remark applies to this rule. Now, the students were to assemble on Sundays for these exercises.

“5. The faculty are authorized to admit poor youth of promising talents, and good moral character, to matriculate without paying fees into the treasury.”

The College laws had heretofore required all students, without exception, to matriculate; that is, *to produce receipts for their fees*, and to enter their names in the register under a promise to obey the College laws. But the rule had never been strictly enforced. Students matriculated or not, as they pleased. Some few times they were called on to do so, and reasons for delay were required.

The usual practice was at the beginning of the session to produce the matriculation book some two or three mornings in succession, and *invite* such as were prepared to come forward and enter their names. Such as chose to do so, came; the rest, if they held back a few days, generally escaped notice, for the matriculation book and the invitation were forgotten, and all in College joined the classes without ceremony. A comparison of the matriculation lists with the examination lists previously to November, 1829, will show that not more than half of the students, or at most two-thirds, matriculated at all. The consequences were that a great portion of the fees were not paid in advance, that some were never paid, and that some of the students not only escaped a responsibility to which others were subjected in case of misconduct, but chose to spend the money given them to pay their fees in a way more agreeable to themselves.

As to gratuitous instruction, it had been given by the professor of languages to the sons of the elder professors who never paid any fees (and given willingly). It had also been given by special favor of the faculty to several poor young men of Lexington, and to a few others, but *there was never any action of the Board, nor provision of law on the subject, until provided for by Prof. R. among the College rules presented to the Board for their sanction.*

The intended enforcement of the law concerning matriculation made some legal provision expedient. Subsequent acts of the Board made no material alteration in this beneficent rule.

“6. (and last). It is the duty of the faculty to require of the students a strict obedience to the College laws, and to dismiss any student who, after being admonished of an offence, shall continue to

manifest a spirit of insubordination or negligence in the same or any similar way."

This was designed partly as a notice to the students of what would now be required of them, and partly as a sanction of the Board to the system of discipline intended now to be introduced.

During the year of interregnum that followed, Professor Ruffner taught the French, Latin and Greek languages, together with the studies of the senior class; and Mr. Garland taught the Mathematics and Natural Philosophy classes. The students, especially the regulars, accomplished more than had been usual. In April, by the annual commencement, the senior class, eight in number, completed their course and were graduated. They performed more than double the usual winter's study, which had heretofore consisted, for more than ten years past, of nothing but recitations on Burlamaqui's Natural Law. This session, besides Astronomy, etc., in the Junior department, they not only recited as usual on Burlamaqui, but wrote theses on every chapter, and studied the whole of Say's Political Economy. This was the first introduction of Political Economy into the actual course of studies. As yet Mental Philosophy was wholly omitted, and Logic was read in the most superficial manner.

The eight regulars having finished their course in April, there remained almost no regulars to pursue the higher studies the next session, the low state of the College during the previous years having prevented the entrance of a regular succession of classes. With the few miscellaneous students remaining, or admitted the next session, not much could be done to test the efficacy of a new system in the way of scholarship. Yet the classes were as numerous and the teaching of them was nearly as laborious as ever.

The labors undergone by Professor Ruffner this year were excessive. His residence was six or eight hundred yards from the College, and the way was often exceedingly muddy. Yet, before 5 o'clock *every morning* through the College year he was in College, and with the exception of usual intervals for meals and exercise, he was there until 9, 10 or 11 o'clock at night, attending to the classes and the police duties necessary to the establishment of a new system of discipline. Incessant vigilance and unyielding firmness were indispensable to this end. Three or four of the students were some-

what restive, but none transcended the limits beyond which they would have been dismissed.

Mr. Garland was a good tutor, but being a young graduate with no experience as a teacher he could give little aid in maintaining discipline. So much the better ; *one mind* can best manage an affair of this kind.

Meetings of the Societies.

But the execution of the rules before mentioned did not complete the reformation. There remained one prolific source of disorder—the nocturnal meetings of the Graham and Washington Societies. Had these been composed of students only, they might have held their Friday night meetings with less pernicious effect on the peace and good order of the institution ; but they had gotten into the habit of admitting to membership various sorts of young men of the town and neighborhood, especially since the number of students had declined. The rivalry between the societies had made them take in, to swell their numbers, some of the most riotous and dissipated youth of the town. They often continued their sessions until after midnight ; and their adjourning at so late an hour, after the citizens had gone to bed, was the signal for boisterous yelling in and about the College, and for sallying forth into the town, students and town members together, to play that sort of noisy or mischievous pranks which in the boyish vocabulary is called *fun*.

In the Spring of 1830, when it was evident that no president could be obtained before the next winter session, Professor Ruffner determined to attempt the reform of this crying evil, which, if suffered to continue, would in a great measure frustrate every effort to maintain an efficient system of College discipline. He took this upon himself, that the way might be fully cleared for the new president, who might then enter upon a successful course of administration without the odium of making difficult reforms—for odium to some extent is the necessary consequence of imposing disagreeable restraints on the disorderly.

The main point to be accomplished in this case was to get the time for the meetings of the societies changed from Friday night to Saturday forenoon. He first tried the method of *moral suasion*, which men not experienced in the management of schools often

fancy to be all-sufficient. He might have succeeded in this instance, if he had had none but students to deal with. But a large majority were not students, and many never had been students, but were store-boys or otherwise engaged in business by day ; and to cut off their night meetings was virtually to cut off their membership in the societies. Here was at once a ground of opposition that influenced not only the town members but the students who did not like to have their meetings thinned ; and all soon began to feel the *esprit de corps*, as usually happens in such cases ; though all the while most of the students were disposed to comply.

The notion was soon started that the societies were independent bodies, with whom neither faculty nor trustees had ever interfered or could rightly interfere. This doctrine was eagerly caught at by the town members ; several hot-headed youth eagerly took up the argument, and sought to acquire glory by defeating the scheme of Professor Ruffner and establishing the independency of the societies. They compared their case with that of the American colonies contending for their independence against British oppression, and thought resistance as necessary and as glorious in the one case as the other. Hence the motion to change the time of meeting was lost in both societies.

Professor Ruffner now brought the matter before the Board, who readily adopted his recommendation of several additional regulations necessary to complete the new system of order and discipline ; the chief of which were that the students should, when there was no steward, board only at approved private houses ; that they should attend to their studies and exercises from morning roll-call until bedtime, except at certain prescribed hours of intermission ; that graduates of the College might continue to reside and study in it for a year free of charge ; and that the societies should meet only on Saturday forenoons, and should admit to membership none but persons who were or had been students, or were graduates of other colleges, or officers of this College.

The system of marking the scholarship of students at public examinations was also changed. Up to this time, six degrees of scholarship were denoted by the terms *bonus*, *melior* or *optimus*, to signify approval, and *malus*, *pejor*, *pessimus*, to signify disapproval. While the professors examined the classes, such trustees as happened

to be present sat as judges and awarded the marks. It could not be expected that these gentlemen, who were not generally much acquainted with the subjects of examination, should be able to judge very accurately of the student's scholarship. Some of them judged by the sound, that is, by the readiness and fluency of the answers to the professors' questions, whether these answers did or did not exhibit an accurate knowledge of the subject. By long use and the tendency to overrate the student's proficiency and to lean to the favorable side, it came to pass that *optimus*, best, was awarded to almost every one who was ready and fluent; and *bonus*, good, was the usual mark of bad scholars—a lower mark being exceedingly rare. Yet *bonus* entitled the student to advancement as an approved scholar, and to a degree when he finished his course.

To obviate the evils of this system, and to raise the standard of scholarship, Professor Ruffner proposed to the Board that they should adopt the plan of having but three degrees of scholarship, *disapproved*, *approved* and *distinguished*, the last to be reserved for those who had made extraordinary proficiency. The evil of the old plan was for a while corrected; but in the course of two or three years it was almost as bad as ever. For when a student appeared well at his examination he was apt to get a mark of distinction, and sometimes whole classes became distinguished, when they were in fact nothing extraordinary.

When the [Spring] session [of 1830] began, after the Board had passed the regulations respecting the societies, Professor Ruffner communicated to each of them a copy of these regulations and requested them to take the necessary steps for a compliance with them. Motions to this effect were made in both societies. The Washington Society, the weaker of the two in numbers, was influenced by some judicious members to make no resistance except by petition to the Board; but in the Graham Society the mass of the town members, and a few of the students, undertook to defy the authority of the Board, and to maintain the independence of the societies. Professor Ruffner, who was present as a member of that society, exhausted all his means of persuasion to obtain a peaceful compliance; but the candidates for glory defeated him when it came to the vote by a decisive majority. He then rose and in a calm but firm tone of voice announced to the society that he must

execute the College laws, and that they would not be permitted to meet again in College on Friday nights. This announcement was received by some of the town members with hissing and defiance; but these brave sticklers for independency did not undertake to meet in College again in violation of the law. They virtually gave up the point by resolving to hold their future meetings on Friday nights in a school house outside of the College precincts; expecting that this movement would, like the secession of the Roman Plebeians to Mons Sacer, compel the College authorities to yield. At the same time they appointed a committee to present a memorial setting forth their claims to the Trustees at their next meeting.

The Board met on the seventeenth of July, when they were informed by the professor of these facts. At the same time the committee appeared with their memorial, which was enforced by a speech from the leader of the committee. In this memorial they flatly denied that the authorities of the College had any right to control the societies in any manner whatsoever. The Board unanimously adhered to the regulation complained of, and asserted their right to exercise a general control over the societies in College. After this decision, the town members continued to hold meetings in the school-house; but finding that the College authorities took no notice of them, much less made them any concessions, they finally bowed their necks to the yoke and resolved to comply with the College regulation. Thus was an important reform effected and the claim of independence quashed.

The regulation forbidding the societies to admit members in future, who had no connection with the College, was suspended by the Board; because, when night meetings were no longer permitted, the more objectionable sort of town-members was virtually excluded. Perhaps it would have been better to retain the rule as a salutary restraint upon the societies; but since the number of students has increased, they have been less disposed to admit improper persons of the neighborhood.

At the period now spoken of and for years before, this connection between the town and the College through the societies and other means, was attended by other bad consequences. One was the custom of idle young men of the town frequenting the College at

all hours, to associate with idle students and to call off those who were disposed to study from their duties as students.

Professor Ruffner had on his hands also the task of breaking up this pernicious custom. He frequently visited the rooms, and when he found any of these town idlers among the students, he gave them to understand that he considered their visits at unseasonable hours improper; and if a slight hint was ineffectual, he made it broader, until he banished this sort of intruders from the College.

Another evil consequence of the close connection between the students and the town was, that almost every dissipated and disorderly student had a party of personal friends and associates in the shops, stores, and taverns, who joined him in his unlawful courses, and helped him to raise an outcry against the faculty when he was suspended or dismissed for his offenses. Many of the town's people had very erroneous notions of college discipline, yet fancied that they were very wise on that subject (as many other people fancy), and some, interested in retaining the profitable custom of young spendthrifts, were ready to join in faultfinding whenever one of them was sent away; so that from various circumstances it so happened that the faculty could rarely dismiss a student for any cause without exciting a ferment in the town. The culprit would go upon the streets, tell his own story in his own way, and soon gain partisans enough to raise a clamor against the faculty, and sometimes to procure a demand, in some shape, for his restoration. The deleterious effects of this town interference with college discipline can be easily conceived. The more discreet part of the citizens rarely joined in any of these improper proceedings; but the others could make noise enough to pass for the *vox populi*, which in this country is the *ultima ratio* on all subjects.

It is easy to conjecture that the leading part which Professor Ruffner took in all the measures of college reform would, under the circumstances just mentioned, subject him to no little odium. The societies, the more restive students, and the idle town visitors of the College, all had something to complain of in his conduct. Some accused him of rashness in his measures, some of harshness in the manner of their execution; some assailed his motives, charging him with a selfish desire to pass for a *reformer*, or an ambitious design to work himself into the presidential chair. Not a few of

the intelligent and sober citizens—and some even of the trustees—thought that he pushed his measures too fast and too far—that he did too little by moral suasion, too much by strictness of police and force of legal restraint.

But he never for a moment lost confidence in the rectitude and good policy of his course. What the College wanted was the establishment of a steady and efficient government, the principle and the habit of obedience to law, and the observance of order. *Moral suasion*, so much talked of, never did and never can of itself keep a college in order. Mr. Jefferson had it tried in the form of *honor* at the University—Dr. Marshall tried it in the form of *good fellowship* in our College—Dr. Bishop tried it in the form of *religious urbanity* in the Miami University—and in all these forms its results were *destructive*. To produce any better result, it must be fortified and regulated by legal administration, and a scale of moral punishments adjusted to the various degrees of offence—as admonition, probation, dismissal, varied according to rule, and inflicted invariably according to rule. A college is a society of youth between 14 and 20 years of age, with all the diversities of temperament, and of previous training or neglect of training, that characterize the population of the country at large—and it is more impracticable to govern them and keep them in order by persuasion alone, than it is so to govern society at large, because students are *all* youth in the springtime of the passions, and banded together for their mutual support against the government.

Professor Ruffner proceeded on the principle that government and law must, in the first place, be *established*. After it was established and grown into a *habit*, its severity might be somewhat relaxed, and moral suasion, so far as it could go, might then be substituted as a means of securing obedience to law; for *obedience to law* is the principle of all human virtue, and the best result of all moral education; or rather, it is the one essential result, without which education fails of its end.

He did not neglect moral suasion, and he has ever aimed to treat the students with personal kindness and a due regard to their feelings, and to inculcate by word and action the best moral principles—not by always lecturing them about religion and morality, and thus by overdoing to effect almost nothing, but on such occasions

and in such manner as would effect the most with the least appearance, perhaps, of effecting anything.

He first introduced the practice in 1830 of cultivating the private acquaintance of the students with his own family and the genteel families of the town, by inviting them to evening parties at his house, where they would meet with some of the most intelligent and charming young ladies of the place; and he recommended to other families to pay them the same kind and respectful attentions. Hitherto the students generally had not received this sort of attention. Most of those who came from a distance and had previously no acquaintance in the town, went away, even if they staid years at the College, without having enjoyed during their stay any of the pleasures or advantages of private society with the genteel families of the town, or even of their teachers. They had, therefore, to depend for social amusements on casual street acquaintances and on those young men, often not of the best sort, whom they met in the societies, or about the shops and places of public resort. To this may be ascribed much of the dissipation and spirit of disorder that reigned so long in the College. To the new and better social relations introduced and promoted by Professor Ruffner between the students and the families of the citizens and faculty, he ascribes no small part of the improved manners and spirit of the students, since a good degree of regular government has been established in the College. This is a sort of *moral suasion* more productive of good results than would be a daily moral lecture an hour long.

•
Election of Dr. Louis Marshall to the Presidency.

At length, on the 19th of July, 1830, after the interregnum had continued about nine months, the office of President was filled by the election of Dr. Louis Marshall of Kentucky. The only other candidate voted for was the Rev. Dr. McClelland of Rutgers College.

Professor Ruffner heard shortly before the election, that some members of the Board—he knew not how many—intended to vote for him. He had given intimation to the Board, at a previous meeting, that he was not a candidate for the office. Now he communicated to the Board in writing, before the election began, that

he did not then desire the office, and wished them to unite on some other person. Though confident of the accuracy of his views on college government, and of his ability to carry them into successful operation, if duly supported, and thus to raise the character and reputation of the College; he was averse to undertaking the office of president under present circumstances. His time had not come. He preferred now to act the part of scape-goat—bearing as he did all the odium and censure of the reformation that he had effected—and to have cleared the way for a new president to manage the institution with ease and reputation. Had he allowed his friends in the Board to vote for him, he might perhaps have at that time prevented the election of another, at least by such a majority as was desirable. Had he by any means received a majority of votes, he must have either declined the office, or have undertaken it with a considerable party opposed to him. And, besides, the experiment of calling from abroad a president of distinguished name to give eclat to the institution, and to govern it by *moral suasion*, had not been tried; and until it was tried, the system of Professor Ruffner could not—at least for years—gain general approbation. Many would still imagine that there was a better way, and that the eclat of a name was the most sovereign remedy for a diseased college.

[The end of Professor Ruffner's narrative *quoad hoc*.]

CHAPTER VI.

PERSONAL SKETCHES.

LEWIS RUFFNER.

Gen. Lewis Ruffner, an alumnus and tutor of Washington College, 1816-18, was born October 1, 1797, in the Clendennin Blockhouse, which stood on the bank of the Kanawha River, at the upper corner of the forty acres which George Clendennin had not long before laid off for a town, which he called Charleston; and which had been adopted as the seat of justice of the new county of Kanawha. Lewis was the first child born in what is now the capital of West Virginia. The town at its first election could poll but thirteen votes, and yet it was the county seat of a county containing 10,000 square miles. Its first Commonwealth's attorney and first postmaster was Edward Graham, brother of William Graham, and long professor in Washington College. Mr. Graham also represented the county in the legislature the same year that Lewis Ruffner was born.

At this time Daniel Boone was living six miles above Charleston near the Salt Spring, which was a famous lick where deer, buffalo and elk came to supply that mysterious craving of nature which belongs to all ruminating animals. Beaver and bear also still abounded in the country, and now and then a few redskins would be seen to hover about the settlements, "willing to wound, but afraid to strike." But the Salt Spring was something more than a deer and buffalo lick. It was the custom of the aborigines to evaporate its brine to supply themselves with salt. The earliest whites followed their example.

In the year 1785, only eleven years after the battle of Point Pleasant, one John Dickinson, living on Cow Pasture River, in what is now Bath county, was shrewd enough to get a patent for 502 acres of land which included the Salt Spring. Nine years afterward Joseph Ruffner, the grandfather of Lewis, a Shenandoah

farmer, riding among the mountains in search of iron-ore, chanced to lodge at the house of John Dickinson, and, before he left, bought Dickinson's Kanawha survey for five hundred pounds. Thus we have the clue to the birth of the baby in the block-house.

The Ruffners were Germans, and their first settlement in Virginia occurred in 1739. Peter Ruffner and wife seated themselves at the "Big Spring," on the Hawksbill Creek, close to where now stands the town of Luray. Peter had with him a patent granted to one Steiman, of Pennsylvania, for a large body of land extending from the mouth of the creek and up both branches a distance of eight miles, which he soon extended to twelve miles. One standing on the hill at Luray, and looking up the valley toward the Willow Grove Mills, also looking from car windows on the east side for three or four miles south of Luray, will see a green and well improved valley, with gently sloping hills, which is not surpassed in fertility and beauty by the Linville's Creek valley, in Rockingham county, and I suspect, not surpassed by the Elkhorn in Kentucky. This is the valley of the Hawksbill; and all that is seen, and much that is not seen, constituted the domain of the Ruffners a hundred and fifty years ago. Joseph Ruffner, the son of Peter, built the Willow Grove Mills, and lived near by. In 1794, when he bought the Dickinson survey of Kanawha, he was surrounded by a large and well-grown family, the most of whom had been set off in homes of their own. The mills had been turned over to David, who was the oldest son, and whose little boy Henry was now running about considering matters far too deep for his years.

Joseph Ruffner made no haste to visit his Kanawha purchase, but the next year he rode out; no doubt, on one of his Conestogas, which had made his six horse team and big road wagon, covered with bear skins, famous "over all the world for ten miles around." When he saw his Salt Spring, and, no doubt, had shaken the hand of Daniel Boone; when he had considered the fatness of those river bottoms, along which he had ridden for thirty-six miles; when he looked at that clear, placid "river of the woods," alive with red-horse, white perch, buffalo and blue cats, something whispered, "It is good to be here." He did not care much for the game in the woods, nor for the coal in the hills. Nor did he care much about savages, some of whom had been seen only the year before inspect-

ing the new town, and had killed one of the men of the town about two miles above Charleston. The object that above all took his eye, was that rich plain, on the lower end of which stood the new town, a plain that extended from Elk River to Wilson's Branch, a distance of three miles along the Kanawha River. This tract had first been given by the State in 1773 to Col. Thomas Bullitt for military services. He sold it to his brother, Judge Cuthbert Bullitt, of the Court of Appeals, who in turn sold it in 1787 to George Clendennin, a man well known in Greenbrier in Indian times. The tract measured 1030 acres of bottom land. The next year after Clendennin bought it, he brought a party of settlers, and built his fort. Like William Byrd he could recognize a natural town site when he saw it; and, like Byrd, who laid off the towns of Petersburg and Richmond before there were any visible signs of a town at either place, so George Clendennin sent off to Lewisburg, 100 miles, for a surveyor and laid off his forty acre town; little thinking, however, that he was originating a State capital. He soon had six houses in the town, and the same year that the town was formally established, Joseph Ruffner bought the Salt Spring, six miles above, and the next year he was out there sounding Clendennin for the purchase of the whole bottom, including the town site. In this he also succeeded, and received the title deed in 1796. He used the fort for a residence. The body of this fort, nicely weather-boarded, though removed from its original site, still stands as one of the residences of the city, preserved by the patriotic sentiment of Dr. John P. Hale.

Joseph or his sons bought land also from George Alderson, another well known West Virginia man, adjoining the Salt Spring tract, or Dickinson survey, as it has been and is more commonly called,—land above and below. Dying in 1803, he left the Dickinson survey to his sons David and Joseph, who soon went to drilling in the rock to get a larger supply of salt water. Joseph Jr. became discouraged, and sold out to his brother David, whilst he went down the Ohio, and began to farm on land which, in time, he sold out in town lots to accommodate the incoming population of the town of Cincinnati.

David remained on the Kanawha, and went on with his "churning in the ground," as his incredulous neighbors jeeringly called

his operations. Meanwhile, however, he kept his farm a-going. He invented many devices for boring wells that continue to be approved. In November, 1808, he struck a good supply of brine at forty-four feet from the surface, and erected a large furnace, by means of which he promptly reduced the price of salt from five dollars a bushel to two dollars. But this is not the place to trace the remarkable career of Col. David Ruffner. Of him and his brother Daniel, Capt. David E. Moore remarked, that they were the two most intellectual men he had ever met. When David died, Rev. Stuart Robinson, his pastor, wrote: "Colonel Ruffner was one of our first settlers; and, by general acknowledgment, has been our most useful citizen."

When his son Henry was a youth, the father found that he could never work him in either the agricultural or the manufacturing harness, so he yielded to his son's uncontrollable craving for knowledge, and sent him to Dr. McElhenney's Academy. The younger son, Lewis, showed the same preference for books that the older had done, and so the father, without waiting so long as he had done with Henry, determined to give him also a good education. The career of Lewis is well described in a series of articles on the Ruffner Family, published a few years ago in the *Kanawha Gazette*, by Charles Hendrick, Esq., an old friend of Lewis Ruffner; and I cannot better accomplish the design of this notice than by adopting the body of Mr. Hendrick's sketch. In the words of Mr. Hendrick:—

"The subject of this notice, Gen. Lewis Ruffner, as a business man and as a public man, from his early manhood, occupied a high and enviable position in the community where he was born, and lived the whole time—except a residence of a few years in Louisville, Ky.,—to a venerable old age.

"When quite a boy he attended a school in Charleston, kept by Herbert P. Gaines, and afterward he went to school to Levi Welch at Charleston. In 1808 he attended a select school, taught by Professor Duvall on the farm of Robert Johnston, father of Richard M. Johnston, at the crossing of Elkhorn Creek, in Scott county, Ky. In 1812 he entered a high school taught by Rev. John McElhenney at Lewisburg, Greenbrier county, where he remained until January, 1815. He then went to Cincinnati to an academy, where he remained one year. Thence, in 1816, he went to Washington

College, Va., where he remained two years. He then returned to Kanawha and taught school one year. In 1820 he commenced the manufacture of salt on a small wood furnace. He continued in this business with occasional interruptions until November 20, 1873,—53 years.

“In 1820 he built a new furnace adapted to the use of coal for fuel. In 1823 he took possession of the property and salt business of his father, who retired, and settled up his business. In 1825 he was elected to the Legislature of Virginia—was reëlected in 1826, and again in 1828. These were times when an election to the legislature was a compliment of which any one might be proud.

“On the 2d of November, 1826, he was married to the daughter of Joel Shrewsbury [whose son, Dickinson Shrewsbury, was a student of Washington College in 1836–7, and whose great-grandsons, the Quarrier brothers, were here at a recent date. W. H. R.]. In 1828 he was appointed by the County Court, and commissioned by the Governor a justice of the peace (*dum bene gesserit*), which position he held without an interval until he vacated it in 1845, when he removed to Louisville, Ky. Here he remained until 1857, acting as agent for the sale of Kanawha salt. In 1857 he returned to his old home in Kanawha, and resumed the manufacture of salt.

“From 1828 to 1861, General Ruffner ceased to mingle in politics. On the 4th Thursday in May, 1861, however, being a staunch Union man, he was again chosen to represent his native county in the Legislature of Virginia. On the 12th and 13th of April of that year, Fort Sumter had been fired on; the secession spirit was red hot, and a destructive and bloody war loomed on the horizon. The signs of death and ruin hurtled through the air, and ‘the boldest held his breath for a time.’ General Ruffner, against the wishes of most of his relatives, and many of his warmest personal friends, declared for the Union, and stood for it with the courage of inflexible conviction. Nor did he ever waver from the path he had chosen respecting the impending bloody crisis. In June of that year he was invited by leading citizens of other parts of what is now West Virginia, to meet them at Wheeling with a view of taking action in reference to restoring Virginia to the Union. He accepted the invitation, took a leading part in the convention which, by what was regarded by the people in some other parts of the State as a

revolutionary method, declared the State restored to the Union; and that the delegates assembled at Wheeling constituted the legitimate legislature of Virginia. He was again elected as a member of the legislature of the government at Wheeling. In 1863 he was one of the delegates to the Wheeling convention, which framed a constitution for the new State. In the same year he was appointed by the legislature a major-general of militia for the State. He was also about that time tendered the position of colonel of a regiment in the Federal army, which he declined on account, among other reasons, of the large business interests he represented at home, and which were continually in peril. His public life closed with the war.

"In 1868 some four or five negroes from Tinkersville, just below Malden, went up to a trial in Malden before a magistrate in which they were interested. A mob of about one hundred whites, including many returned soldiers, belonging to both sides, collected at Malden; told the negroes that they should not attend the trial, and drove them from Malden, and were pursuing them with stones and other weapons, and were threatening to drive them from the country—saying the negroes were the cause of the war and should not stay in the country. The mob was composed entirely of laboring men, who no doubt thought the negroes in their way in the labor field. General Ruffner, being informed of the difficulty, went out to quell the disturbance and protect the blacks. He remonstrated with the mob, who were still pursuing the negroes, and while standing between the pursued and the pursuers, some one, not yet known with certainty, threw a stone which struck the General on the head. He fell apparently dead, and was carried to his house in an unconscious condition. He, however, partially recovered, but never again either in mind or body possessed his former strength. His judgment remaining sound, he recognized his inability to continue the management of his large business, and proceeded to turn over his estate to trustees for the benefit of his children, reserving an annuity for himself and wife.

"Losing his first wife in 1843, he subsequently married Miss Kuapp of Philadelphia. Capt. Ernest H. Ruffner, of the Federal Engineer Service, whose reputation for scholarship and ability is second to none, is the youngest son of General Ruffner. The Gen-

eral died in 1883, aged 86. He was an elder in the church. His character may thus be summed up:—

“A man of sound practical mind, he was well read in books; and until he received the injury above spoken of, he kept up with the current literature of his day. He conversed and wrote with much force and clearness, but was not a public speaker, and made no pretensions to rhetorical display. In public life and in matters of business he was regarded as a thinker, and much deference was paid to him in this respect. Whether in public life, or engaged in the large salt and mercantile companies of which he was often a member and a large stockholder, he never permitted others to think for him. He was willing to listen fairly to the views of others, and if convinced of their correctness, would frankly adopt them. So long, however, as he was satisfied in his own mind that he was right, he was immovable. Conscious of being an honest and a just man himself, he scorned and detested everything that savored of dishonesty or trickery in public men or in business men; and he never failed to denounce these vices unsparingly. He freely aided to the extent of his means in the inauguration and prosecution of every enterprise that had for its object the development of the resources of his County and State. No charity that was brought to his notice went unblest by his contribution. In a word, General Ruffner indulged, as much as any one within the knowledge of the writer, in ‘the luxury of doing good.’ A phenomenal virtue this may seem, but it is nevertheless true of him whose character the writer has attempted to describe.”¹

GEORGE W. SUMMERS.

Hon. George W. Summers was a student of Washington College of the Class of 1820–21. For forty years he was probably the most prominent and influential citizen of Trans-Alleghany Virginia. He had all the elements of greatness, including moral excellence. He was alike admirable at home, at the Bar, on the hustings, and in the public councils of the State and the nation.

¹ I have taken the liberty of condensing a few passages in Mr. Hendrick's excellent sketch, in order to bring it within our limits.

He was born in Fauquier county, Va., in 1804, but was removed at ten years of age to the Kanawha Valley, his father having bought land and settled his family in what is now Putnam county. His father dying the next year, George was brought up under the direction of his elder brother, Judge Lewis Summers, who long sat on the Bench in that region, a model of judicial wisdom and purity. George's first appearance at the Bar announced the arrival of a new force in Kanawha Valley, and every year for many years he developed additional strength until he became a great lawyer and a great leader. His honesty and good nature made him popular with all parties, and even at the Bar, when examining witnesses, or sifting the testimony in his argument in the most important cases, full of doubt and difficulty, he made no enemies. He knew how to coddle an adverse witness so as to make him feel proud and happy even whilst exposing the unreliability of his testimony. His close, legal reasoning before the judge, and his astute logic and rhetoric to the jury were equally effective. His first appearance in public life was as a member of the General Assembly of Virginia in 1830-31, and also in '31-2, and '34-5. Here he exhibited great powers of debate, and showed himself to be a broad-minded patriot, as well as a faithful representative of his constituents. Even then he read the signs of the times with prophetic eye. He foresaw the trouble that would grow out of slavery, and was of the party that wanted at that time to inaugurate a scheme for its removal—though he did not on that occasion make himself so conspicuous as did some others.

In 1841 he went to Congress, and continued in the House of Representatives for four years, at the end of which time he declined re-election. On this wide arena he measured his strength without hesitation with the ablest men, with an increase—rather than loss—of his reputation. He electrified the body with his eloquent and appropriate address when he presented to Congress the sword of Washington and the staff of Franklin. On motion of John Quincy Adams the entire speech was spread on the journal of the House.

In the opinion of discriminating friends, the ablest work ever done by George Summers was in the Virginia Convention which formed the Constitution of 1851. It was a body marked by the presence of "great orators and profound statesmen," and Summers, by his strong views and sagacious handling of his party, and his

powerful eloquence, showed himself to be the peer of the best of them. He was the acknowledged leader of the Western men, and the champion of the white-basis doctrines.

He consented to be the candidate of the Whig party for Governor in 1851, the first popular election for that office, and although his defeat was a foregone conclusion, he did heroic work on the stump as a popular orator.

In 1852 he became Circuit Judge of the Kanawha District, but the office did not seem to suit him, and he resigned in four years, two years before the expiration of his term.

He was chosen by the Legislature of Virginia a member of the Peace Congress, which met in Washington city February 4, 1861. He put forth all his powers to harmonize contending parties, but in vain. Summers, being in fact a Union man with Southern sympathies, his course in that meeting displeased the partisans on both sides, and this was his course throughout the war; his head and his heart were at variance, and were never fully reconciled.

He was a member of the Convention at Richmond in 1861, which began by honestly giving its best efforts to preserve the Union, and ended by passing the Ordinance of Secession. Summers refused to vote for or to sign the Ordinance of Secession, and went home a wretched man. Judging by what I saw and heard of him in 1865 and 1866, I believe he never recovered his cheerfulness and equanimity of mind. Without controversy, all should admit fully and freely that George W. Summers was as honest a man as he was able and eloquent. In this estimate of his character, I believe that there were no two opinions among those who knew him. Until his lamented death in 1868, George W. Summers continued to be a tower of strength in the community in which he lived. No man was more resorted to for advice, and no counsels were followed with more confidence. He died in the communion of the Episcopal Church, of which he had long been a consistent member.

His son, Lewis Summers, was a student at Washington College in 1860-61.¹

¹ It was the privilege of the writer to hear Judge Summers at Lexington in the Presidential campaign of 1860. Although not in accord with his political views, he listened with intense interest to his address of more than two hours, which was replete with elegant diction and commanding eloquence.

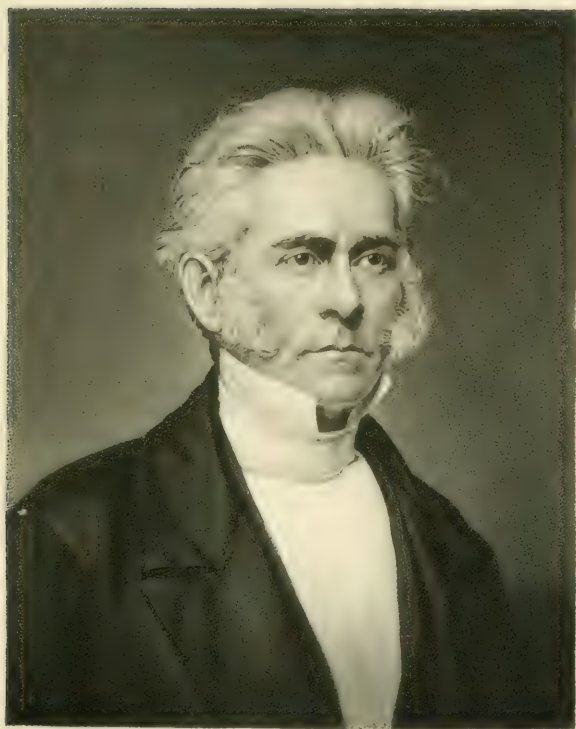
REV. WILLIAM S. PLUMER, D. D.

Dr. Plumer's father was a substantial mercantile trader of excellent sense and character, and a church elder, who belonged to that wing of the Scotch-Irish immigration which settled in the western half of Pennsylvania. His home was on the Ohio river in Beaver county, the extreme western county of the State. Here his son, William Swan, was born in 1802. When William was five years old his father removed to Kentucky and afterward to Ohio. His business belonged chiefly to the river. He had a floating store which he removed from place to place, and took his son William with him. He occasionally brought his store-boat up the Kanawha river, where one of his stations was at the landing of Col. David Ruffner, among the salt-works. Both father and son found a friend in Colonel Ruffner, who was so impressed with the youth, that he induced the father to give him up for the experiment of a different mode of life.

Young Plumer had taught a primary school in Wood county, Va., and now, at seventeen, undertook a school in what is now Malden, six miles above Charleston, and showed himself not only to be well qualified for this service, but to possess abilities of a high order, though not without marked eccentricities.

Whilst sojourning in Colonel Ruffner's family he became a church-member, as stated by himself long afterward in his paper, *The Watchman of the South*, on the occasion of Colonel R.'s death. Dr. Plumer told me that he ascribed his conversion to the influence of Mrs. Colonel Ruffner, a lady of great piety and sweetness of character, whom he ever after called "Mother Ruffner." Colonel Ruffner himself shortly before had changed from a godless, defiant life, to that of an humble and most earnest Christian.

It was determined that William S. Plumer should have a liberal education, and his next move was to Lewisburg, where he joined the privileged band of Dr. McElhenney's pupils; and, like all the rest, he became a devoted admirer for life of this mountain apostle. From Lewisburg he came to Washington College, and was graduated in 1825. The same year he entered Princeton Theological Seminary. The main facts of his public life are so succinctly given in the *Presbyterian Encyclopædia*, that I quote the statement almost entire:



Wm. S. Plumer.

“He was licensed by the Presbytery of New Brunswick June 14, 1826, and was ordained an evangelist by the Presbytery of Orange May 19, 1827. From September, 1826, to June, 1829, he was employed as an evangelist in Southern Virginia and North Carolina. During this time he spent ten months and a half at Danville, and organized the Presbyterian Church there, and eleven months in Warrenton, N. C., where he also organized a church. In June, 1829, he became Stated Supply of Briery Church, Virginia, where he labored sixteen months. He was pastor of the Tabb Street Church, Petersburg, Va., from July 10, 1831, until September 19, 1834; pastor of the First Church, Richmond, Va., from October 19, 1834, until November 3, 1846; and pastor of the Franklin Street Church, Baltimore, Md., from April 28, 1847, until September 10, 1854. His next pastoral charge was that of Central Church, at Allegheny, Pa., which continued from January 17, 1855, until September 19, 1862. After an interval of three years he was installed pastor of the Second Church of Pottsville, Pa., November 19, 1865, and continued in this relation until January 2, 1867. In January, 1867, he began to reside at Columbia, S. C., preaching, while a professor in the Seminary, extensively in that and adjacent States.

“In 1837 Dr. Plumer founded, and for eight years was sole editor and proprietor of *The Watchman of the South*, in Richmond, Va. In 1838 he was largely instrumental in founding the Institution for the Blind, and Deaf and Dumb, in Staunton, Va. In 1854 he was elected Professor of Didactic and Pastoral Theology in the Western Theological Seminary, at Allegheny, Pa., which post he filled until 1862. In 1867 he was elected Professor of Didactic and Polemic Theology in the Theological Seminary at Columbia, S. C., and filled that chair until 1875, when, at his own suggestion, he was transferred to the chair of Historic, Casuistic and Pastoral Theology in the same institution, and retained that position until 1880, when, a few months before his death, the Seminary was closed from lack of funds.

“Dr. Plumer was a very voluminous author. His works amounted to over twenty-five volumes, besides a very large number of tracts, sermons, leaflets, etc. In 1838 he was Moderator of the General Assembly (O. S.), and in 1871 Moderator of the General Assembly (Southern).

“His life was one of great earnestness and usefulness. As a pastor, preacher, professor, author and Christian, he was eminent. His tall and erect form, white hair, beaming eye, expressive countenance and deep, sonorous voice, added greatly to the impressiveness of his Scriptural, instructive, experimental, searching, and at times impassioned preaching. As he advanced in years his mental powers seemed to brighten and mellow, and he never ceased his varied and active labors until he was called to bid farewell to earth. He died in Baltimore, Md., October 22, 1880, in the seventy-ninth year of his age.”

This article does not convey to the uninformed reader a full impression of Dr. Plumer's impressive appearance and prodigious power as a speaker when he was in full strength; nor would his power be imagined by those who heard him only in the latter years of his life. When he was pastor of the church in Richmond no one would, I think, have hesitated to place him at the head of the Virginia pulpit, and at the head of popular orators. His power of terse, pithy statement was unequalled. Some of his sentences were electric, and he could hurl them with Olympic force. He had two grades of voice that were as different as though they belonged to different men; one was low, musical, sympathetic; the other stentorian, explosive, overwhelming. His presence was the most commanding I ever saw standing before an audience. His aspect was that of a great commander—tall, muscular, majestic; his eyes large, intelligent, penetrating; his mouth beautiful, and full of strong expression; hair raised from his head in copious waves, and nodding with his pulpit action, like the locks of Jupiter.

When he was in his prime some of his sermons, considered as to matter, style of delivery, and the speaker himself, were the grandest exhibition of human power I have ever seen displayed before an audience—at least so they affected me, then a comparatively young man. This could not be said of his writings, which, although excellent, are but the sibyl's sayings, without the sibyl. Dr. Plumer was equally strong before an audience when speaking on ordinary subjects; an illustration of which we once had in Lexington. It was at the College Commencement, in 1841, when it was held in the old church at the head of town. There he gave full scope to his characteristic wit and drollery. “Ran Tucker,” on the stump

in his best days, never crazed an audience with laughter more than Plumer did on that occasion. It was a strange sight to see the elderly trustees, the faculty and distinguished strangers, sitting on the ample stage, pounding the floor with their boots, their canes and their umbrellas, clapping their hands and laughing uproariously with the great audience, until at times the whole house was a bedlam.

As a public debater Dr. Plumer had few equals. His own wariness and self-poise were always perfect, thus giving him an advantage even over "Bob Breckinridge," who could be rowelled until he would lose his temper. Plumer could draw a javelin out of his own flesh and hurl it back to the heart of his adversary, whilst he stood with statuesque coolness, inwardly chuckling.

In the great church war of 1836, he was the Ajax Telamon of his party. His debate with Lyons and McFarland, on church endowments, has become historic. It was perhaps his greatest triumph in secular debate.

He was fond, perhaps too fond, of these tilts. He tried for years to get the Catholics to "knock the chip off his shoulders," and how we boys wanted them to do it; just that we might see the fight!

Whilst he had severe critics, he was a devoted Christian, and one of the most useful men of his generation. His speaking for fifteen years before his death was entirely changed owing to an apparent loss of voice.

In his later years he wore a magnificent white beard, to which Colonel Preston, in a public speech, compared Niagara Falls. He said that Niagara Falls was equal to Dr. Plumer's beard. Dr. Plumer was present, as were many other members of the Presbyterian General Assembly, who had just come from looking at the falls. But his features were so fine, especially his mouth and chin, that I preferred the short side-whiskers of his earlier days.

Dr. Plumer was full of human sympathies, and he never forgot services rendered to him, often showing his feeling by thoughtful kindness to the third generation. As a pastor he was unsurpassed. In fireside and lecture-room talks he had no superior. In a word, he was a complete pastor, as well as a heroic defender of the faith.

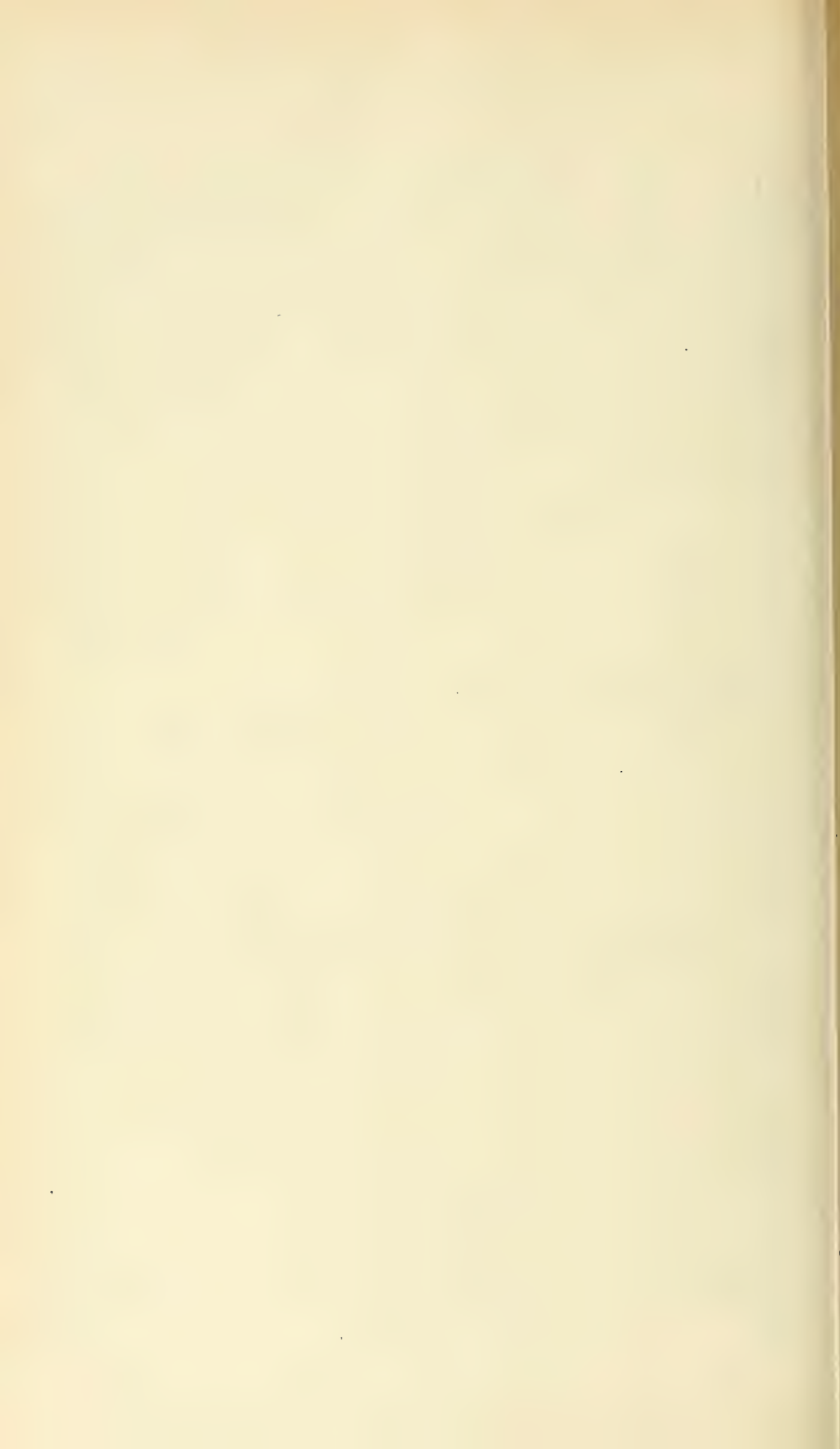
The scene at his death-bed was a grand exhibition of triumphant faith.

Since writing the above I have seen the manuscript of the address which Dr. Plumer delivered in 1841 to the Alumni of Washington College. I find what I would have expected that, although it is full of shrewd, sententious comments on public topics, and should be printed, it can convey no idea of the effect produced at its delivery by the suggestive mimicry of the speaker; especially as much of the effect was dependant on the familiarity of the auditors with the topics which were current at that period, over fifty years ago, but which are scarcely known to the present generation. He was asked at the time for a copy of the speech for publication, but he declined. Whilst considering the question of publishing he consulted Col. J. T. L. Preston (an old college mate) on the subject. Preston intimated to him that the printed address could never reproduce the remarkable impression made by its delivery; and this, no doubt, determined Dr. Plumer not to print. Besides, the written address is incomplete. Some of the speaker's telling strokes were in connection with topics which were only mentioned by name in the manuscript, and there were many remarks interjected which do not appear in the manuscript. I will give one from memory. In satirizing the shallow oratory, which was even more common then than it is now, he writes:—"Some twenty years ago [!] every orator whose lack of ideas shut him up to commonplaces, felt bound, at least once in each speech, to tell us of that capacious place 'the tomb of all the Capulets.' This phrase is now worn out." Instead of the last sentence, I remember that Dr. Plumer said:—"The tomb of all the Capulets *must* have been a capacious place, or, considering how many things have been consigned to it, it would have been full long ago!"

When he alluded to a certain grade of politicians courting the churches, he impersonated the hypocritical demagogue to perfection. And so he pictured the Eastern-born "buckeye," looking across the Ohio River into Virginia, and exclaiming:—"Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?" And when he spoke of the demagogical cant about Mason and Dixon's Line, he repeated at least three times the words—"Mason and Dixon's Line," "Mason and Dixon's Line," with a variety of attitudes and intonations that were ludicrous in the extreme. Presently he introduced with solemn tone and manner the menace to the liberties of the country from the great *standing army*; and the audience looked serious and concerned,

but when in the next sentence he said in a droll way—"I mean the standing army of *office-seekers*," the revulsion was so great that everybody found relief in an involuntary burst of laughter. But the climax was reached when he told the story of how William Pitt (who looked like a mere stripling when made prime minister), pursued by a crowd of office-seekers, entered the church at Cambridge, and how the preacher, a droll fellow too, took his text John, vi: 9, "There is a lad here that hath five barley loaves and two small fishes; but *what are they among so many!*" The story and the speaker's manner of telling it were so irresistible, that the audience went into an uproar. Major Alexander sat conspicuously on the stage, and if his big umbrella had been a crowbar, he would have split the platform. And the effect was not lessened when the speaker went on to compare the office-seekers to dogs watching around the master's table, and how little they got! For there is not even a crumb of executive patronage for each "surly mastiff, and cringing spaniel, and barking fice, and yelping hound that gathers around the ballot-box and the White House."

Mrs. Trollope had not long before gone through the country and had written a disagreeable book, and when he alluded to "the woman who had lately *trolloped* through our country," everybody saw the point instantly. Then he took up the stock jobbers, and said, "Even the fur on the otter and the beaver on the head-waters of the Missouri, is often sold ten times before it is taken off his back." And so he touched on the "renowned *Morus Multicaulis*," which he spoke of as "a wild and furious speculation in brush and switches." And in like manner all the leading "booms" of that day were sketched with a few master touches to the uncontrollable amusement of his audience. Many have tried to imitate him, but there has been only one Wm. S. Plumer.



SKETCHES OF TRUSTEES, CONTINUED.

COLONEL SAMUEL McDOWELL REID.

This alumnus, trustee, and life-long friend of Washington College in its growth and progress from Liberty Hall Academy to Washington and Lee University, was born in Rockbridge county, Va., October 21, 1790. He grew to manhood at "Mulberry Hill," the home of his parents, situated northwest of Lexington, and a short distance beyond the present corporate limits of the town. He was the seventh child and youngest son of Andrew Reid and Magdalene McDowell, his wife; who were blessed with three sons and eight daughters, all of whom reached maturity except one son who died in infancy.

Andrew Reid was the third of that name in regular descent in this country; his great-grandfather, Andrew, originally from Scotland, having come over from County Down, in Ireland, and settled near the present site of Lancaster, Pa., with two brothers, Thomas and John.

Andrew Reid was the first clerk of Rockbridge county, and discharged the highly honorable and important duties of that office for more than half a century.

Magdalene McDowell, the mother of Samuel McDowell Reid, was a great-granddaughter of Ephraim McDowell, who distinguished himself at the siege of Londonderry and at the battle of Boyne; and afterwards emigrated through Pennsylvania into Virginia, and with his two sons, John and James, and his son-in-law James Greenlee, was the first settler in Rockbridge county.

John, the elder son of Ephraim McDowell, was a surveyor by profession; whose services were brought into requisition by

Benjamin Borden in fixing the boundaries of his land grant, which included the site of Lexington, and of all the lands around, to the extent of 100,000 acres. He was also a man of a military turn of mind and of recognized courage; and, having been commissioned by Governor Gooch to the command of a company, he met his death in the prime of his manhood, at the head of his troops, in a battle with the Shawnee Indians, near the site of the present town of Glasgow, in December, 1742.

His son, Samuel McDowell, the grandfather of Colonel Reid, emigrated to Kentucky, accompanied by his wife, seven sons and two daughters, in the year 1784; leaving Mrs. Reid alone of all his family in Virginia. He became one of the most useful and distinguished citizens of that noble daughter of Virginia, and was largely instrumental in the formation of that State from the surplus domain of the Old Dominion; presided over nine of the conventions held in Kentucky for the purpose of framing a State constitution, was one of the first District Judges and one of the first Circuit Judges in the State; and was also United States Judge by appointment of General Washington, under whom he served during the Revolutionary War.

The Scotch records in the British Museum trace the McDowells back to the twelfth century. They held lands in Galloway, Scotland, and afterwards, during the Protectorate of Cromwell, moved to the north of Ireland.

From these Scotch-Irish ancestors sprang Col. Samuel McDowell Reid. He received his collegiate education at Washington College, studied law in Staunton under Judge Stuart, and, while there, was made adjutant of Col. James McDowell's regiment, and served as such in the war of 1812.

He was afterwards Deputy Clerk of Rockbridge county until 1831, when his father, who had held the office fifty-three years, retired from active life, and Colonel Reid was made his successor. He held the office twenty-seven years, when he declined re-election; thus, it will be observed, the continuous service of father and son constituted a period of eighty years in this important and honorable position.

Colonel Reid married February 22, 1820, Miss Sarah Elizabeth Hare, of Nelson county, Va.; a daughter of Dr. William B. Hare

and Elizabeth Cabell his wife. There were born to them seven children; then death entered the happy family circle, and the beloved wife and mother was taken away. Two of the children died in infancy, while three grown sons, handsome, manly youths, of whom any father might be proud, died in early manhood, leaving his home desolate, and his name extinct.

Two daughters remained to him; Mary Louisa, the elder of them, married James J. White, Professor of Greek in Washington and Lee University; and Agnes married Col. John De Hart Ross, of Culpeper county.

Colonel Reid was, throughout his long and useful life, devoted to the interests of his people and his place. He was always foremost in whatever promised to advance either. For more than fifty years he was a trustee of Washington College, and of the University which grew out of it. His judgment and business tact were recognized, and valued by his co-trustees, as is evinced on one occasion, particularly, when he was appointed by the Board a committee of one to act with the President in the selection of a professor. He was one of the founders of the Graham Debating Society of the College.

He was one of the founders and a stockholder of the Franklin Society, which for nearly three quarters of a century was the most potent factor in the community; begetting and fostering a taste for literature and oratory. For fifty years he was a trustee of the Ann Smith Academy, and an earnest friend and supporter of that valuable institution.

He was a member of the Board of Public Works, and mainly instrumental in having North River opened to navigation to Lexington. Also, one of the chief organizers and supporters of the Rockbridge County Fair, and of the Virginia State Agricultural and Mechanical Society; thus manifesting his great interest in the subject of agriculture, upon which his people and section so largely depend. For many years of his life he was a ruling elder in the Presbyterian Church, and his home was the abode of a generous and an elegant hospitality.

Colonel Reid represented his county in the State Legislature for three terms, embracing the most eventful and critical period of the State's history.

He was also, for many years, the General Receiver of the Courts of Rockbridge county.

Mr. Frederick Johnston, in his Memorials of Virginia Clerks, includes Colonel Reid's name in a list of twenty-two out of the eight hundred clerks of Virginia, which he selects as "exceptionally skillful clerks, or otherwise remarkable men." In this Memorial Volume he is thus characterized:—

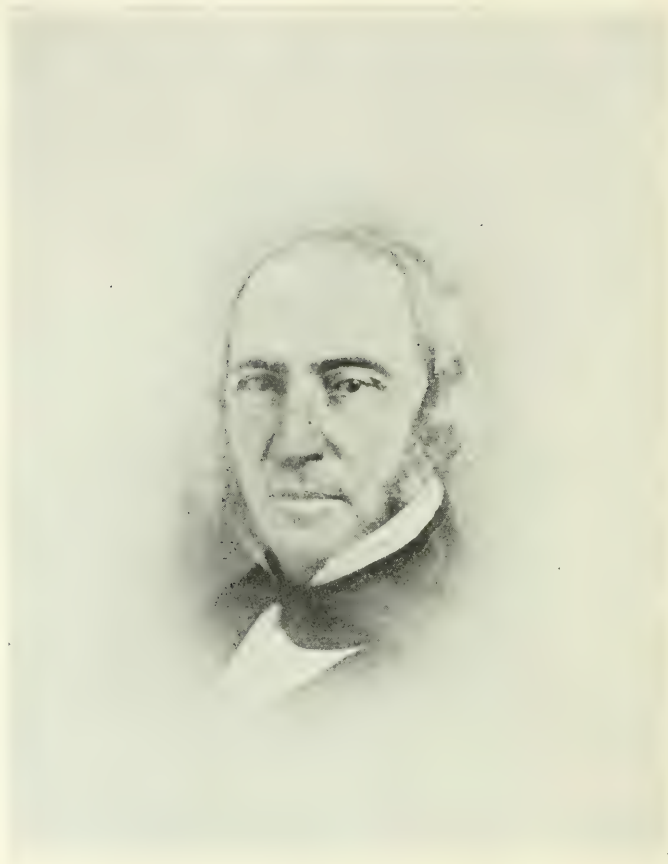
"The distinguishing traits in Colonel Reid's character were, his sound common-sense, strong will, strict integrity, undeviating candor and directness in word and deed, high moral courage, a notable freedom from censoriousness in his judgment of others, a uniform spirit of kindness in his intercourse with his fellow-men, and unbounded hospitality, all more fully developed by constant intercourse with many leading men of his day, with whom he was thrown, in the conduct of public institutions and enterprises."

Mrs. S. C. P. Miller, of Princeton, N. J., in a sketch of her grandfather, Colonel James McDowell, mentions Judge Samuel McDowell of Kentucky, and pays the following beautiful tribute to his descendant:—

"His grandson, Col. Samuel McDowell Reid, in his day was in public spirit, weight of character, in breadth of personal influence, one of the first, if not the very first, citizen of our own Lexington: where his memory will ever be cherished with pride and affection, mingled with pain, that, by the death one after another of his three sons in the fair promise of their early manhood, there was none left to bear the name which in his own person, and that of his father, had been the synonym for integrity and honor for more than a century."

Col. Samuel McDowell Reid died September 15, 1869, just before reaching his seventy-ninth birthday, at his home, in Lexington, Va.

J. DE H. R.



JAMES McDOWELL, LL. D.

JAMES McDOWELL.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory.

It seems but yesterday that we followed the sturdy pioneer family of Ephraim McDowell to their settlement on Timber Ridge. The blows of their own axes, as they cut their way through matted vines and dense brush, woke the first echoes in the vast solitude, and heralded their approach to a home where no greeting awaited them. Indeed, but for the heavy tramp of the buffalo ; the growl of the bear ; the splash of the wild deer in the Northern waters of the beautiful James ; the merry carol of the free bird, and the rustle of the gentle breeze, fragrant with the breath of mountain flowers, as it played amid the rich verdure of the primeval forest, Nature herself was dumb as she was dreary. But these unwelcomed men were to break the slumbers of that silent wilderness, and beat the *reveille* of a new day in its history. Following the instinct of their Scotch nature, in a very few years a hundred families of these neighbors and kinsfolk in the old country were planted beside them on the virgin soil of Western Virginia. Soon wild stretches of land, under their resolute husbandry, yielded plentifully for their support ; and long before the thirty-three years had elapsed, between the coming of old Ephraim in 1738, and the birth of his great-grandson James McDowell in 1771, of whom we have already spoken in this Historical Series, the settlement had attained the spirit and appearance of a prosperous community. The struggle of frontier life was over ; the dismay and disaster of Indian warfare had passed ; population was rapidly increasing ; the arts of com-

fortable living, under the daily-growing advantages of trade and commerce, were better understood, and within easier reach ; indeed, the luxuries and elegancies of European hospitality and dress were not without a modest exhibit in many a Colonial home. Schools of inferior grade were broadcast through the land ; while here and there appeared a noble college, frequently the conception and work of some pious clergymen, poorly endowed as to funds, but ably officered and doing admirable work. Churches spread around their benign influence. Hamlets, too, with the ubiquitous "smithy" and store for "dry goods and sundries," and, not unfrequently, the high decoration of a lawyer's or a doctor's sign, dotted the landscape with the signs of active life. At greater distances large towns appeared, and with much superciliousness dispensed the second-hand fashions of Boston and New York. Post-offices, at wide intervals, rejoiced the country side with their welcome news, anywhere from four to six weeks old ; and, unlike that condition to which the Christian aspires, "new things" in all that region had passed away, and "all things had become old ;" unless, indeed, it be their relation to the King of England ; but soon even that was to be added to the same category of change. Already angry mutterings were heard over the land ; open hostilities came on apace, and a struggle of eight years culminated in the toppling over of the throne, with all its entourage of nobles and hierarchies, and the establishment of the Union of the thirteen colonies upon the sovereign right of the people to govern themselves.

England seemed to have forgotten that the people she governed in the New World, beyond the sea, were not natives toiling upwards from savagery to civilization, but were largely emigrants from her own shores, outfitted for their enterprise with the lineage and language, the literature and learning, and advanced principles of government upon which she herself claimed supremacy over the great nations of Europe. There were minds among them quite as able to wrestle with the science of politics and problems of national affairs as were those afar off in the highest positions of authority at home. The wide Atlantic had proved no barrier to the impulse to human intellect and activity introduced by the eighteenth century. The solitude of the Western wastes gave leisure for study of the rights of man ; and the sacred convictions of law and liberty,

secular and spiritual, for which their fathers had suffered, grew in strength under every exaction of the British crown. At length the Anglo-American—with his motley European fellow-citizens—the Puritan and the Cavalier; the Knickerbocker and the Huguenot; the sturdy Scot and honest Friend, unlike in everything else, joined hands in an earnest, persevering, and, at last, victorious struggle for freedom. Thus, a century and three quarters from Jamestown and Plymouth usher in the period of my sketch, when the whole country was upon the march of universal progress.

CHAPTER II.

Birth and Lineage—The Prestons—John Preston—William Preston—Friendship with Washington—The Tugg River Expedition—Battle at Guilford Court House and Death—His Family and his Religious Fidelity.

Birth and Lineage.

James McDowell, the third of the name in direct succession, was born October 13, 1795, at Cherry Grove, on the original tract of land obtained by his ancestors under the famous land-warrant from Governor Gooch to Benjamin Borden. He was the youngest child and only son of Col. James McDowell and Sarah Preston, being the great-great-grandson of Ephraim McDowell, the pioneer settler of Rockbridge, and the great-grandson of John Preston, one of the early comers to Augusta county; thus uniting in his person the blood of two Scotch-Irish emigrant families whose story is inwoven in the subsequent history of the country.

These emigrants made no claim to political or social eminence, or to wealth. Their outfit as colonists was in muscle, in the highest principles of true manliness, and in some mechanic art—their record in the home they had left, so far as we can penetrate the obscurity of the times, being only the satisfactory one of loyalty to church and state.

The Prestons.

The Prestons,—in No. 3, of this Historical Series, I have spoken of the McDowells,—were from the North of England, and con-

tributed six brothers to the army of William III. as in 1689 he marched against the insurgent Roman Catholics of Ireland. Three brothers perished in the memorable siege of Derry. Two returned to Yorkshire, and one, Archibald, remained in Londonderry, where his son John was born. They were Presbyterians; and their fidelity to the Protestant William, sealed by their blood, was not greater than their sectarian devotion and adherence to conscience, which sought exile rather than yield a single tenet of faith or depart in the least from the severe simplicity of their forms of worship.

These Prestons, without claiming it, however, had some right to a gentle position in England, through a title worn by one of the family (but whether the "Sir" meant knight or baronet is not known), and a crest better attested than the title, which, in defiance of poverty and misfortune, has been faithfully preserved and worn with pride by their democratic sons in the palmy days of their American prosperity. This crest bore the pretty conceit of a castle, from whose high tower rose an eagle, plumed for higher flight, with the pious aspiration at its base—"Si Dieu Vieult"—which freely rendered means: "Leaving the towers of earth we soar D. V. to heaven."

John Preston.

But these claims are too remote even to kindle so inflammable a thing as family pride. And, however real they may have been, they did John Preston no good in the all-important matter of a livelihood, for he had to earn his living at a trade; and the story current among the old members of the family is, that he was a ship-carpenter in the "shipyard" in Dublin of Colonel James Patton. Outside of the household annals he is spoken of as "the ship-master of Dublin;" but whether he was employed first in the building and then in the commanding of one of Colonel Patton's vessels is nowhere fully stated. He was an uncommonly handsome fellow, this young carpenter, "with correct principles and of strong mind and attractive manners." And who can tell but that that bit of heraldry, and the title that we have been talking about, had involved in them the curious hereditary power to do him a good turn now, by adding to his gifts of person and character the delicate charm of

social ease and grace:—for he won for his wife Elizabeth Patton, the fair sister of his aristocratic and affluent employer! It was the best bit of carpentering he ever did. And though, at the end of more than a century and a half, as the lady passes under the partly critical but wholly affectionate observation of her grand-daughter (with several “greats” interposed), some wonder cannot be repressed as to what were the soft persuasions, beyond those I have mentioned, that tempted our vigorous, independent, ever-to-be-honored ancestress to step downward in her matrimonial venture, especially as her two sisters had emblazoned the family escutcheon with the impressive quarterings of a pair of titled gentlemen; yet, at the same time, we must throw up our hats in hearty applause at that master-stroke of the young mechanic, by which he secured to his establishment the mental ornament and brilliancy which his wife has dispensed through all their generations.

But the crowning gem in the character of that remote pair, for which we are under the deepest obligation, is the piety of the husband. It was for this that he suffered in Ireland; and this gave the impulse to his venture across the sea, for which his connection with Colonel Patton supplied the opportunity, and this laid the foundation of his American home.

Col. James Patton, whose wife was a daughter of Benjamin Borden, holder of the famous land-grant in Virginia, was an officer in the Royal Navy during the wars between William III. and the Netherlands; a man of great wealth and energy and influence, who, listening to the glowing pictures of Virginia beyond the sea, had gone thither, having received “an order from the Governor of Virginia under which he appropriated to himself and associates 120,000 acres of the best lands lying above the Blue Ridge in that State.” Being energetic and enterprising, he determined to take out his own colonists. His knowledge of the sea and large means enabled him to buy or build (both are intimated in the fragmentary material within my reach) ships of his own in which were transported a large number of that class of emigrants known as “redemptioners.” In the prosecution of this plan he is said to have crossed the Atlantic twenty-five times! Doubtless, he may have drawn into these schemes his brother-in-law, John Preston, by advancing the “ship-carpenter” into the “ship-master” of one of his own vessels,

thus reconciling the traditions on that point. Be that as it may, however, it is quite certain that Preston stood in no attitude of financial dependence upon his rich kinsman. His grandson, Hon. John Brown, long in the United States Senate from Kentucky, after confirming the statement of the loss of his household goods by a storm on their passage from Ireland, adds, "that John Preston, being an associate, obtained under the order of Council, aforesaid, (that to Colonel Patton) a valuable tract of uncultivated land called 'Robinson's,' which descended to his son," etc. And Waddell, in his "Annals of Augusta County," copies from the Court records the fact that he "proved his importation from Ireland with his wife and three children *at his own charges*, in order to partake of his Majesty's bounty for taking up land."

It was in 1738 that these shipwrecked immigrants made their way to a tract of land in Augusta county, Va., belonging to Colonel Patton, and known as Spring Hill. Here they remained till Preston was able to procure a home of his own, not far distant, and near the site of the present city of Staunton, to which he removed his entire family—his wife and five children—of whom William, the only son and youngest child, was between seven and eight years old, having been born in Donegal, Ireland, on Christmas day, 1729. A struggle with the dangers and poverty of frontier life was a heavy part of the price paid by those early comers for the civil and religious liberty they demanded for themselves and their children. In this case, however, the battle was not long, for in 1747 Preston died, and was buried in the graveyard of the Tinkling Spring church, of which he was a member. He left four daughters who, as mothers and grandmothers of the Howards and Browns and Breckinridges and Smiths and Marshalls and Blairs, have furnished brilliant men in both houses of Congress; and as governors and jurists and orators and authors and soldiers; as diplomats and clergymen and journalists; as college presidents and professors, and, in the person of John C. Breckinridge and of Frank Preston Blair, candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency of the United States.

Besides these daughters he had one son, William Preston.

A hundred years swept over that quiet grave, beating down the lowly mound, and bearing away the frail defences against oblivion

made by loving hands long since folded beside him, before the tardy memory of his descendants was roused to the pious duty of rescuing it, and rearing above it a simple granite shaft, on which to inscribe his name and their gratitude. But what recked the dreamless sleeper of these late memorials! In the firmness of his Christian faith, "not having received the promises, but having seen and greeted them from afar," he had founded his house, and the great achievement lives on and on, in ever-widening beneficence, as his generations multiply in the young empire to which he contributed them. And, as the light gleams along the household history from then till now, I seize the pen to underwrite his testimony to the faithfulness of God's covenant to *His* children and to *theirs*.

William Preston.

Colonel Patton having no son, after John Preston's death, took charge of his nephew, William Preston, then a lad of fifteen or sixteen, and did him the rare good service of placing his education in the hands of the Rev. John Craig, the Presbyterian clergyman of the neighborhood. From this cultivated scholar he obtained an excellent foundation in his own tongue; and imbibed, in his association with him, that thirst for learning which, becoming to him "English without a teacher," incited him to the use of the small opportunities afforded by the distractions of his early years, for increasing his stores of information, and for strengthening and expanding his naturally high mental endowments—a good preparation for the varied and important stations that awaited him. To all these methods of culture his uncle, himself possessed of a polished education, added his instruction in the practical art (and the eminently useful one, as he afterwards found it to be) of surveying. Thus equipped, his career bristles with the activities of a most energetic, public-spirited citizen. He was an active participant in the military, municipal, ecclesiastical and political affairs of Augusta county, where he resided until 1769, when, upon the formation of Botetourt county, he removed to it, settling upon a property near the village of Amsterdam, called Greenfield. "At the first session of its court he qualified as county surveyor, coroner, escheator and colonel of militia. . . ." Fincastle county was formed in 1772,

and Colonel Preston became its first surveyor. In 1773 he acquired Draper's Meadows estate, removed his family there in 1774, and changed the name to "Smithfield" in pleasant compliment to his wife, Susannah Smith. "He engaged in expeditions against the Cherokee Indians, and the Legislature of North Carolina included him with Col. William Campbell" (of King's Mountain fame) "in a vote of thanks for their services in protecting the frontier. Throughout the war of the Revolution he was actively employed, holding important command in Southwest Virginia, and his official papers show that he was a man of more than ordinary culture." (*Annals of Augusta County*, pp. 117, 118).

In 1776 the county of Fincastle was divided into the counties of Montgomery, Washington and Kentucky; and as Colonel Preston's residence was in Montgomery, he was appointed to the same office of county surveyor in it which he had held in the now extinct county of Fincastle.

He had also represented Augusta and Botetourt counties at different periods in the House of Burgesses.

Friendship with Washington.

While pursuing his business as surveyor, he fell in with a young man from Eastern Virginia, carrying his ball and chain, being engaged in the same craft as himself. The acquaintance between them was promoted by Preston's hospitable entertainment of his friend at his own home.

Indians yet prowled around in that mountain region. They were not foes, however, but friends to the family on that bleak knot of the Alleghanies; especially to the genial, warm-hearted, sandy-haired young man who was the head of it. They felt very differently to the "dark stranger" who came to visit him, and after awhile determined to put an end to him. Seizing an occasion when the gentlemen, unconscious of danger, sat chatting on the green turf, an Indian raised his bow and took aim at the unwelcome visitor. But before he could draw the arrow Preston, in the eagerness of his talk, flung himself forward so as completely to shelter his friend. The savage drew back and dropped his bow. He would not run such a risk for the gratification of a hatred however

intense. And it was many a long day, doubtless, before either the host or his guest knew the peril they had escaped.

This "dark stranger" was George Washington! The friendship of the young surveyors stimulated a correspondence between them that lasted as long as Preston lived. And, I may as well tell the whole story here, as I have begun it,—long, long after, when the Indian had disappeared from the scene; when the "red-coats" were no longer in the land; when the roar of the British lion was no more heard on our fair Western Shore; when peace smiled over mountain and plain; when the "Stars and Stripes" waved over the land of the free, and when "the dark stranger" from the chief of the army had become the head of the nation, then the young son of the sandy-haired Preston met his father's friend in Philadelphia:—the one, President of the United States, the other, representing the Virginia they both loved in Congress. Warm relations were established between the old and the young man; and in reminiscences of the old friendship, the horn of a buffalo was produced as a trophy to Colonel Preston's skill in a hunt they had had on the Alleghanies. The horn was put in the hands of a clever silversmith in Philadelphia, who constructed out of it a small ladle, the handle of which was finished with a silver cap, and the bottom filled in with a silver plate. On the inside of the plate Washington had his head engraved, while young Preston covered the outside with Masonic emblems.

The unique little affair was much prized in the family, but the owners of it, in a spirit of patriotic pride lent it, in 1876, to the Centennial Exposition, and it never was heard of more.

The Tugg River Expedition.

In the summer of 1767, William Preston and Major Thomas Lewis, of Rockingham county, were sent out as commissioners by Governor Dinwiddie, to effect a treaty with the Shawnees and Delaware Indians at the mouth of the Big Sandy, a branch of the Ohio river. The Indian parties to this treaty were Oconoto, a very old chief, and Cornstalk, a young and famous warrior. He it was who led the Indians in the fearful battle of Point Pleasant, in which ran streams of the noblest blood in all that region.

The perils of this expedition fill the pages of the written story, and are traditions of the times. The march was through a wild, dreary wilderness, so wretched as to be scarcely sought by beasts or birds. Even at this day, despite the progress of civilization, it is, of all stretches of land known to the modern traveller, the most weird and uncanny. Hardships increased at every mile's advance, until starvation actually confronted them. Captain Preston, commanding the forward party, proposed to kill and eat the horses, under the threats by the men of mutiny and desertion. I am availing of the account which Campbell gives in his History of Virginia. Major Lewis refused this proposal. Some of the men deserted; others were forcibly retained. At this juncture the killing of a young bear brought some relief, "especially to the officers who breakfasted upon it."

Under stress of famine the expedition was abandoned; but the two weeks' return to the settlement were weeks of intense suffering from cold and hunger. The buffalo hides, hung up to dry as they went out, were now cut into strips for food, which in spite of this grew so scarce during the last two or three days of their journey, that they ate the strings of their moccasins, belts of their hunting shirts, and flaps of their shot pouches. The Tugg river, between Virginia and Kentucky, the scene of these sufferings, got its name from the tugs or thongs of buffalo hide which they fed upon.

Captain Preston was occasioned much suffering and danger during this expedition, by tying his moccasins so tightly as to chafe the instep of one foot and produce partial mortification. He had with him, as an especial personal attendant, a young "redemptioner" whom he had brought into his family several years before. At this critical moment, the poor immigrant turned out to be an educated physician, whose skill possibly saved Captain Preston's life. His skill revolutionized all their social relations, and the doctor became a member of the family as a teacher, and as one of its most valued friends.

Battle at Guilford Court House, and Death.

There was little rest allowed or claimed by an ardent soldier in that period of the Revolutionary War; and we see, with no sur-

prise, Colonel Preston organizing a regiment which, on March 15, 1781, he led, with conspicuous gallantry, in the fateful engagement at Guilford Court House. Here, being thrown from his horse, his life was saved by the heroic intervention of a friend and neighbor, Joseph Kent; but from the severe exertions of that day he never recovered, and died a short time afterward, July 28, 1781, at the age of fifty-three.

His Property and Educational Provision for his Family.

In leading a life of the utmost devotion to the welfare of the Commonwealth, Colonel Preston did not count himself absolved from a like fidelity to the more sacred trust of his own household; a trust too often lost sight of or held in abeyance by the public citizen in the thronging demands of his official position. His repeated calls in defence of the exposed frontier of Virginia; his service in framing treaties of peace with the treacherous Indians; and his duties as surveyor of several counties, gave him a wide acquaintance—westward and southward of the State—and enabled him to create for himself an immense estate in lands. But while he made his home on a beautiful plateau of three thousand acres in Montgomery county, on the very top of the Alleghanies,—the now historic Smithfield of the wide family,—his possessions reached into the blue-grass region of Kentucky, and became, to some extent, the site of the city of Louisville. But to amass a fortune was not his whole, or, indeed, his chief interest for his great family of twelve children. Thanks, perhaps, to his early inoculation with a love of learning by the classical cleric, Rev. John Craig, he was perpetually scheming for their education; a most difficult undertaking in the disorder of the times, the sparseness of the population, and the rare apparition in that mountain region of educated teachers. He did what he could, however, in sending the bettermost of the young men, who drifted toward him in his office, into his house to give to his children such rudimentary training as they were capable of, until at last there fell into his hands a “redemptioner,” a cultivated scholar, driven by cruel domestic disaster from his English home, whom he installed into the permanent tutorship of his house, and who, as the years moved on, drew towards himself the warm friendship of the whole family.

Having thus given to his children a taste for books, Colonel Preston supplied the books themselves, by uniting with some like-minded gentlemen in furnishing funds to a competent person in England for the purchase of the best English classics and dictionaries of the period.

This little library did noble work upon the minds and characters of those young people; and gave them, wherever they went, a power greatly above that of mere wealth or social station. It had a singularly marked effect upon the daughters, all of whom, no doubt largely through its means, became centres of influence in the different homes to which they were afterwards scattered. They had no such mental drill as the languages, and higher mathematics, nor such poetic polish as the Brownings and Tennysons furnish their great-granddaughters with to-day; but I question whether Vassar or Wellesley ever awakened a keener zest for knowledge, or a more genuine taste for literature, than did that small library of rare masters of Queen Anne's day, which, having crossed the Atlantic in a sailing vessel, made its toilsome way, in the rumbling old road-wagon, to the quiet inmates of the bleak home on the mountain top.

The sons were sent to William and Mary, of which Bishop Thomas Madison, a brother of William Madison, Colonel Preston's son-in-law, was president.¹ This educational advantage was the highest benefaction he could have bestowed upon his children; for, out from it have come, in successive generations since, blessings that have swept beyond the utmost range of his prophetic aspirations.

His Family and His Religious Fidelity.

The sons, following the lead of their father, did duty to Virginia and to the Union in their legislative and military departments; whilst the sons-in-law came gallantly abreast of them in the same offices in the State and national governments. Colonel Preston's family consisted of five sons:—John in the House of Delegates; Francis, lawyer and member of the State Legislature and of Congress; William, Major in the war of 1812–14; James Patton,

¹ Thomas Lewis Preston received his academic education at Liberty Hall, and his legal education at William and Mary.—Eds.

Colonel in the war of 1812, and Governor of Virginia; Thomas Lewis, lawyer, joint-editor with Thomas Ritchie of the *Richmond Enquirer*, member of the Legislature, and running for Congress at the time of his death. And of seven daughters, one of whom, Ann, died unmarried; Eliza, who married William Madison, brother of Thomas Madison, first Bishop of Virginia; Sarah, Mrs. Col. James McDowell of Rockbridge; Susan, Mrs. Nathanael Hart of Kentucky; Mary, Mrs. John Lewis of the Sweet Springs; Lætitia, wife of John Floyd and mother of John B. Floyd, both governors of Virginia; and Margaret, wife of John Preston of Washington county, whose daughter Ellen married Hon. James W. Sheffey, frequently a member of the Virginia Legislature.

In spite of all that I have said of Col. Preston, my sketch would be singularly incomplete, if I failed to mention yet another element of fidelity in his character, which, perhaps, stands the hieroglyph for all the rest. And it is the one which those of his descendants who seek for the noblest motive of a man's actions, must hail with most pleasure, and chronicle with supremest satisfaction:—

Once a year this busy man broke away from all secular cares, and, mounting his horse, rode a hundred miles over the trackless mountains and wild region beyond, that he might, in the old church of his youth, renew his spiritual vows and enjoy the privilege of communing with his fellow-Christians in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

I have been beguiled into this introduction,—one so long as to need an apology,—by the wish to present the intellectual and moral, as well as the natural, genealogy of my subject, feeling sure that such a heredity has been real; and that in his case, as in that of his cotemporary and even younger kindred, it is thoroughly well-marked and handsomely exhibited.

CHAPTER III.

Parents and Home—Childhood, and His Mother's Influence—His First School—Rev. Dr. James M. Brown's Reminiscences—Enters Washington College—[John J. Crittenden and Col. James McDowell]—Sent to Yale—Incidents on the Way—Spends two years at Princeton.

Parents and Home.

From this robust ancestry of McDowell and Preston ;—the former from the Scottish Clans ; the latter remotely of English stock ; both represented in the siege of Derry ; both driven by persecution for conscience sake to the Province of Ulster, and forming parts of its marvellous Scotch-Irish colony ; both coming, in the same small span of years, into the unexplored wilderness of Western Virginia ; both, as enterprising colonists and active citizens, advancing the cause of law and of order, and of religion and of education, in the new country to which they had come—from such vigorous forefathers sprung the James and Sarah (Preston) McDowell, whose home was Cherry Grove, in Rockbridge county, and whose family consisted of three children ;—Susan Preston, who married William Taylor, a lawyer and member of Congress, and lived in Lexington ; Elizabeth, who became the wife of Thomas H. Benton, thirty years senator from Missouri ; and one son, the James McDowell of whom I am to write.

A home like Cherry Grove, with its wide territory, diversified by hill and plain ; with its large family of slaves ; its great flocks and herds and droves of domestic animals ; the number of plantation trades and tradesmen which met all the varied needs, not only of the home proper, but the needs of other thousands of acres in distant counties of the State, in different parts of the county of Rockbridge, and, also, in far-away Kentucky, taken along with that abounding hospitality which drew guests from every region, furnished, in itself, a singularly full education for the wide-awake mind of a little boy. And the child unconsciously availed of his opportunities. Here his mind was steeped with a sense of the beautiful all around, the spell of which rested upon him ever

afterward. And when in the future he opened to the public his "chambers of imagery," the pictures hanging on their walls and the music filling their recesses were the gifts that Nature had made him in his childhood.

He grew also in the knowledge of soils and their capabilities, of animals and their habits, and the thousand different questions of systematic and intelligent husbandry. But, although he bore the impression of these early scenes throughout his life, and possessed wide intelligence and wise theories on agriculture, he yet did not come into his full inheritance from his McDowell ancestors of the power to transmute his learning into financial success in farming. From a child he seems not to have been fond of out-door occupation. The rollicking pastimes of boys had no charms for him. Driving and hunting, and the usual rough games of the time (no rougher, however, than the foot- and base-ball of to-day), county fairs and "general musters" he had no taste for. He admired fine animals, and was a good judge of them; he indulged in feats of physical strength, and was not a little proud of his own prowess in muscular efforts. But the trend of his mind was altogether in another direction.

Childhood, and His Mother's Influence.

Through the magnetism of mental congeniality, he drifted towards his mother for companionship and sympathy in his early taste for books, for she had imported from the little library at Smithfield, her home on the Alleghanies, not only a considerable acquaintance with English literature, but a keen relish for reading; and, what is more surprising still, she had some knowledge of instrumental music; for, when a child, I saw her give to one of her nieces an instrument which she had used when young, and which she called an "English guitar." This, if my memory is to be relied upon, much resembled the mandolin of to-day. At the same time she was a notable housewife, after the old-time laborious fashion of Virginia housewifery. Indeed, she was more than that; inasmuch as she was remarkably enterprising and successful in making the looms of the plantation bring all its textiles into most comfortable and beautiful use, by the skillful employment of colors

and patterns in the woollen and linen and cotton fabrics so abundant in the household. When, from the deft machinery of the present, I look back to the limited and clumsy tools of the past, I wonder that their results, even under the most vigilant and intelligent supervision, were so really handsome and good as they were. Still I must acknowledge a warm sympathy with the son who would tell us children that the day his mother exchanged the shirt of fine linen in which she clothed him for "a cotton one, bought at a store," was one of the very happiest epochs in his boyhood.

With all this domestic care, however, she always found time to read. She was devoted to newspapers, few, and possibly far between, as their coming then was; and by means of them kept abreast with the world's movements, and, particularly, with the politics of her own State and country. She even framed her own political faith, from her own thought and reading, and was a decided Republican, in opposition to the strong Federalistic doctrine of her husband;—a difference which, I must pause to say, brought no tinge of acrimony to either side. In after life, her son took no little pride in saying on the stump, that his mother had taught him his earliest lessons in politics, and had framed his political creed for him.

His First Schools.—Rev. Dr. James M. Brown's Reminiscences.

With this hereditary cast of mind, and tutelage from his mother, it is easy to see that this young James McDowell was in no wise built for a great farmer, as were the Jameses who had preceded him; nor was his father bent on making him one. He had other plans for his only son, and eagerly availed of the best educational openings of the neighborhood, by sending him to a classical school, taught at Greenville, by Rev. Dr. William McPheeters, whose wife was his relative. The next year, when about twelve years old, he was placed, as a boarding-scholar, in the home of the Rev. Samuel Brown, at Brownsburg; an admirable arrangement, which procured excellent secular training, under the religious influence of an eminently pious family. I do not believe that the parties concerned, however highly they valued it, were at all aware of the great providential favor they were receiving.

Of what he was then, the following letter, written to me many years ago by that noble man and clergyman, Rev. James M. Brown, of Kanawha, son of Rev. Samuel Brown, is the only picture from life that now remains :—

“Your father, four or five years my senior, was very much ahead of me in his studies. It was my hard lot to be very much the smallest one in a school of about twenty young men and boys, with most of whom it was a regular part of the business of every day to tease me in all conceivable ways. There were only two in the number who seldom carried it to any vexatious length ; and who, if present, would interfere in my behalf if matters proceeded to an extremity. Carey Breckinridge and your father were the largest of the boys, as distinguished from the young men ; and numberless are the instances in which I was indebted to them for protection. One thing, deeply fixed in my memory, is the decision of character your father manifested in these interferences ; for when he took my part it was well understood that the ‘little boy’ must be let alone.

“After the lapse of so long a period I do not remember who were his classmates ; but my father always spoke of him as one of the most diligent and successful in the school. He was engaged in English studies and the languages. Mathematics did not then enter into the course at so early a period as they do now. Geometry was considered too hard for a boy ; and it was not an uncommon thing to have nearly completed the course of classics before entering on mathematics.

“Declamation formed a part of the exercises of the school, and in this your father excelled, though not fond of it. I have heard the young men remark that he would be a fine speaker when he grew to be a man.”

Enters Washington College.—[John J. Crittenden and Col. James McDowell].—Sent to Yale.—Incidents on the Way.—Spends Two Years at Princeton.

After leaving the Browns, it was a matter of course that Colonel McDowell should send his son to Washington College. He had long been a trustee of the institution, and had given full proof of his friendliness to it by a personal interest in its individual students,

one notable instance of which yet lives. A clever boy from Kentucky, for some misdemeanor, the nature of which has not been perpetuated on the statute book, fell under censure of the Faculty and was threatened with expulsion. Colonel McDowell, hearing of it, went up to Lexington, begged a halt in the sentence for a few days, persuaded the young man to spend this momentous week at his house, and so "labored" with both parties as to effect an entire reconciliation between them;—securing to the youth his full course at College, and to the College, in the John J. Crittenden of the future, one of the most ornamental and distinguished of her alumni.

In the early part of 1814 the country was in the midst of hostilities with England, and Colonel McDowell was with his regiment on the exposed eastern front of the State. Nevertheless, he was energetically planning, now that the first section of his son's college career was over, at his own home-institution,—Washington College,—to send him to Yale. To this place he was probably drawn by the influence of the name of Dr. Timothy Dwight as a man of letters, as well as by a sense of the importance of adding to the mental training of his son that culture of character which a broader intercourse with men, and the more thorough experiences of self-dependence are best calculated to give. And thus, in 1813, Gen. James Breckinridge and he sent their sons together to New Haven. On the journey James turned aside to Ellicott's Mills, for a flying visit to his father, temporarily encamped there. At the close of it, the *old* gentleman (not so very old either at forty-five!) took from his own pocket his watch, and put it into the empty pocket of his son, no doubt to the latter's satisfaction, for he wore it nearly all his life after with a veneration which his children, who considered it a good deal of a "turnip," and not a bit of an ornament, had no sympathy in, and small patience with. All the happier for this kind attention of his father, he joined Carey Breckinridge at Philadelphia, and they proceeded quietly to New York. But the sailing vessel on which they embarked, had not made much headway in Long Island Sound, before the lads found themselves in for an adventure. An English privateer, seeking whom it might devour, bore down upon their small craft and made prisoners the poor little innocents, abroad for the first time, in the great world beyond their own blue mountains! But finding that

their deep net had brought up such very small fish as a pair of scared school-boys, the big Britons exploded their disappointment in such an uproarious frolic as only John Bull, when he is determined to be good-natured, is capable of. With great gravity a search was ordered, and violent possession taken of the few harmless letters that rattled in their meagre pockets. These, announced as "love letters" from "sweet-hearts" left behind, were read aloud, the reader concocting their contents, and framing his comments upon them as best to amuse the improvised audience of soldiers and sailors, and most calculated to anger and annoy the young captives. But, outside of their teasing, they had no interest in them; and, at the earliest convenient moment, sent them ashore to seek the friendly shade of the elms of old Yale.

After a year at Yale, in 1814 he sought admission to the College of New Jersey, then under the presidency of Dr. Carnahan. The two years spent here seem to have made the most delightful period of his educational career. In his comrades he found congeniality of mind and pursuit and a noble emulation in the use of every faculty. And, despite the social reserve of the shy youth, he formed among his classmates some of the most valued friendships of his after life. Among these were Dr. John Breckinridge of Kentucky, kinsman as well as friend, Rev. Dr. John Maclean, the greatly honored President of Princeton College, Hon. Benjamin W. Richards, Mayor of Philadelphia, some of the Jersey Penningtons, Rt.-Rev. Charles P. McIlvaine, Bishop of Ohio, and others, men of mark in their subsequent history.

He was a studious youth, especially fond of English literature, yet making commendable progress in other lines of study. His distinguished excellence, however, was with the pen. At that time the contest in English composition was not confined, as now, to each separate class, but was open to all the classes; and Dr. John Maclean states the fact that, in this general competition, he was considered the best writer of his day.

"And," he says in a note to me, "he was one of the distinguished scholars of his class; and at the time he was graduated spoke the Latin salutatory oration.

"He was held in great respect by his classmates and other fellow-students; and, while yet at college, he gave promise of attaining to

some high position in public life. He here exhibited those traits of integrity, firmness and honor which won for him the respect of all to whom he was known."

This dear old gentleman, having been my father's friend, made me happy in being mine also; and he would tell me in his characteristic way:—"There were three Macs in my class in Princeton; and they were not the meanest fellows in it either:—they were Charles McIlvaine, James McDowell, and—Johnny Maclean."

No rumor reaches me, however, that during this period he gave any great promise of those especial intellectual gifts which were afterward so conspicuously developed. It is entirely probable that he gave the years to earnest culture of the less showy, but more solid and abstruse, of his mental endowments; thereby laying the ground-work of that logical power which gave emphasis and efficiency to his eloquence.

CHAPTER IV.

Outlook in Life—Property—Profession—Marriage—Study of Law—Removal to Kentucky—The Military—Abandonment of the Law—Climatic Fever—Dr. Lewis Marshall—Recovery—Return to Virginia—Colonel McDowell's Illness—Colalto.

Outlook in Life.—Property.—Profession.—Marriage.

As the last words of his Latin salutatory died amid the applause of that September commencement, "tutors and governors" faded with the towers of old Nassau Hall out of sight, and, confronted by his twenty-first birthday, October 13, 1816, McDowell finds himself at the very starting-point of manhood; his life's history entrusted to his own hands.

The young student, in good mental training, with intellectual tastes that dominated all others, had his eye turned to the profession of law. At this moment, however, his father, aglow with pride at his college success, coupled with pleasure at the attainment of his majority, put into his hand a deed for two thousand acres of land—splendid acres—in the blue-grass region of Kentucky. The

care of the property was, of course, the burden of its ownership, and all the future was colored by the inauspicious gift. The powerful incentive to make the profession solve the problem of a livelihood was at once lessened, and the hope he indulged of acquiring a profession, which was not to be a factor in practical living, but largely a literary ornament in his life's outfit, amid the distractions of a farm was of all hopes the most illusory. He found it so. But the idea that large inheritances must be graced and dignified by one of the learned professions, has always been afloat in the atmosphere of ambitious wealth, despite the fact that eminent jurists and doctors spring from a different class; from that class, indeed, which Powers, the great sculptor, represented when, in answer to the question, "What do you find to be the great inspiration in your art?" he replied, "the need to make bread for my family." And so, at this end of the long years, we wish the gift had not been made. Perhaps, however, it was not to be expected that one of those old McDowells, with his baronial hospitality, and his great stretches of territory, should, for a moment, yield to the idea of a long waiting for practice in some stewed up lawyer's office, as preferable to a wide and free domain, of his own, for his only son.

Under this gift other hopes pressed upon the young man for realization, and wider plans opened before him.

Almost from their childhood there had existed an attachment between himself and his cousin, Susanna Smith Preston, the daughter of his uncle, Gen. Francis Preston, of Washington county, Va., which he now urged with such vigor that, September 7, 1818, they were married—an extraordinarily handsome couple of twenty-three and eighteen.

Although of the same Preston blood, there never were two characters whose singular differences were dove-tailed into a more helpful and harmonious union. The strongly marked Preston peculiarities of the husband the wife supplemented by traits of the old Campbell clansmen, inherited from her mother, a daughter of Gen. William Campbell, of Revolutionary fame, and Elizabeth Henry, the sister of Patrick Henry. To a strong mind and almost unerring judgment, she united thorough unselfishness and a practical kindness which sowed its benefactions broadcast in her journey through the world. No soldier of her blood could oppose to danger, whether

moral or physical, more calmness of purpose or cooler intrepidity of spirit; and yet few women possessed a more tender and sympathetic nature. Not seeking society, for which, however, she was well fitted, she gave herself, with intense fidelity, to the claims of duty within her own family. And her children, who took pride in her rare personal beauty, embalm in grateful memory that greater loveliness of character, which enriched to them the happiness and training of their early home, and of their young lives.

The interest of her husband, at every turn in their history, was an instinct and inspiration to which she consecrated her best energies; whilst he, in absolute fulness of trust, turned to her not merely as his *alter ego*, but his better self. And thus, from the beginning to the end of their married life, it is easy to see that each was the stronger and the happier from their marked individuality, as each in love and respect drew from the other the counsel and support necessary to the guidance of a large household, and the exigencies of a varied life.

*Study of Law.—Removal to Kentucky.—The Military.—
Abandonment of the Law.—Climatic Fever.—
Dr. Louis Marshall.—Recovery.*

Happily married life had begun in earnest, with every incentive to energy brought to bear upon it. The desire for a profession, as meeting his intellectual needs, again came to the front, and, doubtless, under the sagacious counsel of his wife, the study of law under Chapman Johnson, one of the most eminent lawyers of the State, then residing in Staunton, was diligently prosecuted. The license to practice had already received the signature of two of the three judges, then required in Virginia, when McDowell decided to cut loose from his native State, and establish himself on his own property, known as "The Military," in Bourbon county, Kentucky. It was twelve miles from Lexington, and had upon its fair acres only a small, rude log-house. Nothing daunted by that fact, the tenant was moved out, and the young couple, with an infant son, moved in. They were not unwarned of the style of their new quarters, for on a visit to their tenant he had, with undisguised hospitality, lifted a plank from the floor, and produced from under it some extraordinarily fine watermelons for

their refreshment. No matter for that, however. The house would answer for the experiment they were making; for the question as to the law *and* the farm, or the law *or* the farm, was for the moment settled by the attempt to unite the two, that is by making a home on the farm, and a law office in the town, with a pair of fleet, blooded bays to bridge over the twelve miles every day. Experience would soon have brought this plan to an end, by the abandonment of one or the other of its parts. But long before it had the chance to do it, the whole thing was destroyed by a sort of spontaneous combustion; for on one fatal day the embryo lawyer walked up to his wife with the astounding avowal that the profession was finally given up:—"Other men may be, but I do not know how *I* can be an honest man, and a lawyer," was the only explanation. Her disappointment was intense; her pride, her estimate of his ability, and her clear judgment, all disapproved his decision; but as it was a matter of conscience with him, she forbore to bring her batteries to bear upon it, and accepted with all the grace she could, which after all was not a little, the overthrow of her professional ambition for her husband. Thereafter they concentrated their hopes and energies upon the farm.

But in a short time the young farmer was stricken with the fever of that region and after long prostration was brought to the edge of the grave. Dr. Louis Marshall, the husband of a kinswoman and his own attached personal friend, was his physician-in-chief. The neighbors and countryside generally had conceived a warm regard for the young comers at The Military; but having, in common with a wide range of the county people, a growing fear of Dr. Marshall's advanced theories and practice of medicine, the conduct of this case was watched with most jealous scrutiny, and a grave determination to hold the doctor to account for the life of his patient.

Dr. Marshall had been educated in Paris in the days of the French Revolution; but having forfeited his safety by a too free use of his American right of speech, a price had been set upon his head which necessitated the speedy return to his own home. He brought with him, however, the French views of the value of calomel in the treatment of fever, and had boldly introduced it into his practice, using it in this particular case. The life of the patient

hung in the balance for many a day. The lookers-on, outside the anxious family, grew excited. The doctor himself left his home and patients in Versailles, and devoted his time, night and day, for a whole week to his apparently dying friend. At last, to the amazement of all, faint signs of strength returned; a mere glimmer of hope deepened; and the young life was saved! The skill of the heroic physician, with youth as his great ally, under a kind Providence, had won the day!

No doubt this test of Dr. Marshall's medical treatment did much to abate the wide-spread prejudice against it; and, at the same time, brought about more tolerance of what was deemed his affectation in changing the *e* in his English name of Lewis into the *ou* of the French orthography. But whatever others may have thought, his patient acquired himself and indoctrinated in all his family the warmest gratitude to the physician whose devotion and skill had saved his life.

Return to Virginia.—Colonel McDowell's Ill Health.—Colalto.

The return to Virginia, in search of more favorable conditions for a thorough recovery from this long illness, resulted in the entire abandonment of the Kentucky home. For, during what he intended as a temporary sojourn there, Colonel McDowell's health was so shattered by a stroke of paralysis, as that his son yielded his personal plans to what he regarded as the paramount claim of filial duty. In recognition of this decision, the father, with excellent judgment, though possibly with some degree of self-denied feeling, accompanied with some financial strain, purchased from the Hoffmans a tract of five hundred acres, a mile from Lexington, and ten miles from his own residence, and gave it to his son for a new settlement. The young people lived in the old farm-house for a few years. Then a new dwelling was built on the crest of the hill, having the town of Lexington full in view, and commanding a prospect which, for range and variegated beauty, was, perhaps, without parallel even in that picturesque region. Much of household convenience was sacrificed to the loveliness of this view. The owner, however, never tired of the exquisite scene; but, under all the changes and cares and sorrows of life, down to its very end, would, as he gazed upon it in worshipful admiration, draw from its beauty



COLALTO,
RESIDENCE OF GOVERNOR McDOWELL.

new supplies of refreshment and delight. He called it Colalto, as describing the position ; and it became the homestead of the family.

But, for all this, The Military was never forgotten. It was the koh-i-noor of the family ownership ; and about it hung a romance that clung to no other possession. The wife, who most approved of the Kentucky home, and had, perhaps, the clearest vision of its promising outlook, was destined never to see it again. The two years' residence there, however, marred by sickness and narrow quarters as it had been, were lived over in our fireside stories with genial warmth. But none of the children ever saw the scene of these memories, till the parents, whose young lives had consecrated it to them, rested quietly in their graves. Then my brother and myself made a pilgrimage to it, and I saw with an eager, though pathetic interest, the little log hut, flanked on either side with patches of scraggy, old bushes, in which I had been born ! Transplanted too early for any memory of it, Colalto became the dear home of my life. Still the mention of The Military strikes a chord in my heart that nothing else ever reaches ; and the traditions of the singular value and verdure of my birth-place have always been to me a pride and pleasure.

CHAPTER V.

Permanent Settlement in Lexington—Drifts into Politics—Is Identified in all the County and Town Interests—Instrumental in Securing "Jockey Robinson's" Gift to Washington College by Writing his Will—Extract from the Will—Made Trustee of the College—Is in and out of the House of Delegates—Struggles and Personal Asperities in Local Affairs—Town and County Improvements—Roads and Highways.

Permanent Settlement in Lexington.—Drifts into Politics.—Is Identified in all the County and Town Interests.

Now, permanently settled under circumstances and in relations widely different from all his previous planning, Mr. McDowell finds himself once more at the beginning of things, and, unfortunately, with his talents and his condition in strong opposition.

He could not give himself to farming, as an occupation ; for the bent of his mind was not in that direction ; and even if it had been, he could not consent to harness his taste to the plow, and satisfy his ambition with the most skillful of husbandry, when the necessities of a livelihood did not demand it. As he had said of the law : “ others might do it ; he could not.” Outside of professional and mercantile life at the South, the structure of sectional society at that day imposed to a greater or less degree upon all large land-holders the burden of overseers and negroes ; but, at the same time, it opened before them inviting fields of labor, in literature and in public affairs : and the cultivated man who aspired to nothing beyond a dalliance with books for his own pleasure in his own library, had abundant leisure for his gratification ; whilst others, scorning so dilettante an existence, drifted into politics under the irresistible power of intellectual gravitation. My father was no exception to this latter, almost universal, tendency. And he lost no time, after his permanent settlement in Lexington, in identifying himself with the material, educational and political interests of the town and county.

Instrumental in Securing “ Jockey Robinson’s ” Gift to Washington College by Writing his Will.—Extract from the Will.—Made Trustee of the College.

At the instance of his father, an ardent trustee of Washington College, he had, even in so prosy an affair as writing a will, captured for the institution the entire, and, for that period, most handsome endowment of the large estate of John Robinson, an Irish soldier of the Revolution, an old bachelor, living some miles from the town. We quote the few well-turned sentences which roused new patriotic ambition and lured him into the half-pathetic attempt to fill his empty heart by a provision for the intellectual growth of the future sons of his adopted State :—

“ Having forborne to gratify the partialities of friendship in the bestowment of personal favors, I look for my reward to the diffusive and abiding benefits which must follow the judicious application of the legacy that I leave to the public. By adding to the

means of public instruction, I hope that some facilities have been given to the march of improvement, and some contribution made to the peace and welfare of society, in having its members inspired at an early age with the salutary and conservative lessons of knowledge and virtue. Though a foreigner by birth, and without a child to provide for, I rejoice in the trust that I have done something to protect the sons of others from ignorance and vice ; and something to confirm the political institutions of the country by enlightening the public will upon which they rest. For these ends I cheerfully give up the earnings of my life, and entreat, as my latest wish, that they may be so husbanded as to carry forward the beneficent results which I contemplate."

Subsequently Mr. McDowell was made trustee of the college, and was ever afterward thoroughly alive to its best welfare.

Is in and out of the House of Delegates.—Struggles and Personal Asperities in Local Affairs.—Town and County Improvements.—Roads and Highways.

But, for a span of six or eight years, he was busied in the endlessly arising questions of a local kind, which would divide the county into parties, and engender a strife, at times, of bitter public and personal rancor. In these contests the broad principles of State and national politics were lost sight of ; and sometimes an election to the House of Delegates would turn entirely upon these neighborhood issues. As far as I can gather, the prolific cause of discussion and dissension was found in the projecting and keeping in order of the town and county improvements and roads. Bringing the water into Lexington may have been upon this list ; but the highways gave the most trouble. The bare suggestion of a road would set the whole region in a blaze. Every body wanted a good road to the county-seat, to the post office, to the church, to the nearest market for farm produce, and the best for the purchase of dry goods and groceries ;—of course they did ; and the honors of the legislature awaited the man, be he Whig or Democrat, who was so lucky as to run his way in the direction of the greatest clamor. I could but be amazed at the passion and eloquence and venge-

ance displayed in the running of the road known as that to the boat-yard,—namely the one from Lexington, through Colalto, to the then terminus of the James River and Kanawha Canal, a distance of fifteen or twenty miles, in the midst of a fine agricultural part of the county. No Indian trail ever seemed older, or more truly the result of simple need and expedience to my forefathers than did this dusty road to me. And yet there were angry suspicions and charges in regard to it, which called from my father reiterated assertions that his advocacy of the line was for the public good, irrespective of his own; for every foot of it, which ran through his property, he would meet the expense out of his own private means.

The Covington turnpike especially makes the old records bristle with its bayonets of words, and, doubtless, there were other improvements having a similar, though subordinate, history. But the battles safely over, the old fighting grounds soon grew green under the harmonious advance of all the county's interests, abundant evidence of which poured in increasingly, from every quarter; attesting fully the need of the heated agitations that had secured it. Indeed, so great was this very question of, to put it plainly, roads and highways, that at the moment that Rockbridge, in her own borders, and a narrow circuit of adjoining counties, was squabbling about her lines of travel and of traffic, all the States of the Union were discussing, in Congress, the engineering of national thoroughfares for the great public, both freight and passenger.

CHAPTER VI.

Formation of the Whig and Democratic Parties.

After a comparative lull in national affairs for some years, there now appeared a general bubbling up of political interest throughout the land. The second war with Britain was triumphantly ended; the Missouri Compromise had been effected,—the first enactment by Congress in regard to the extension of slavery being carried out in it;—and the old Federal party had gone to pieces. It had left behind it, however, the germs of strife which eventually blossomed into two bitter political parties: one for the strict construction of the Constitution in the imposition of taxes and the use of the public money in defence and in the development of the resources of the country by works of internal improvement; the other for a free construction of the powers granted in all these directions. In due process of time, and after much manipulation, these parties took shape and name as Whig and Democrat.

While they were yet in embryo, great leaders, from all sections, divided the public mind into individual partisanships, and Clay, Calhoun, Crawford, Adams, Jackson and some others, had their own especial adherents; so that in 1824, when a Presidential election occurred, all these were candidates in the field, and each received a distinct vote.

The country presented at this moment, 1824, the anomalous spectacle of having no arbitrary political lines; no defined party platforms; but men with their sectional distinction ruled the hour. Henry Clay, by his personal magnetism and eloquence, Calhoun, with his intellectual subtilty, not to say mysticism; Crawford, with his circumscribed Southern advocacy, and John Quincy Adams as representing New England,—each brought into the game his own individual strength,—while Andrew Jackson, under the irrational halo of military glory, won the acclamation of the people, far and near, and received an overwhelming popular vote. But the requirements of the Constitution were not met by the divided electoral vote sent in; and Congress being made arbiter in the case, John

Quincy Adams was declared President. Jackson, who played no rôle but that of the victor, could not be expected, with the voices of the people ringing in his ears, to submit patiently to this award ; and forthwith he rallied his forces for another trial.

In the four years of Adams's administration the limits of the country expanded, and new interests in both its home and foreign relations, with their intricate political combinations, and exciting questions of new measures, and methods and means of governmental policy, arose, demanding wider attention and better concerted plans of action. The public mind consequently reached clearer views and more pronounced doctrines in statecraft, and uttered them in better formulated political creeds accepted by the opposing parties, known thereafter, as I have said, under the names of Whig and Democrat ;—Clay being the great exponent of the one, and Jackson, with amazing equipment for mustering men into civil as well as military service and leading them into action, though with far less accomplishment and experience in government and the intricacies of national affairs, became the arbitrary head of the other ; while John C. Calhoun, as genuinely and perhaps more profoundly ambitious of power than either of these, abandoned all idea of immediate leadership, and, with the full sweep of his Southern influence, fell into line with Jackson. And thus the Democratic party, bearing upon its ticket the associated names of Jackson and Calhoun, in 1828 rode into power upon a victorious presidential election !

Careful students are inclined to go back to 1820 as a critical era in our national politics, professing to find in it the germs of those agitations that characterized the four or five immediately following decades which issued, at last, in a war between the States and a temporary dismemberment of the Union.

In this view of the subject it may not be amiss, at this point, to go back to some historical facts that seem to bear upon them. It is no part of the plan of this sketch, however, to trace political events to their sources, any more than it is to argue party questions and discuss their influence upon the welfare of the commonwealth or of the country. But the historical facts to which I refer, and to which I will devote some paragraphs, relate to the presence of African slavery in the American Union ; for this, more than any

other public interest of his time, shaped the political destiny of the subject of this memorial.

CHAPTER VII.

The African Slave Trade—Introduction of Slavery into North America—Act of Emancipation in United States—Slavery Abolished in West Indies.

The African Slave Trade.—Introduction of Slavery into North America.—Act of Emancipation in United States.

The first colonists of North America were all white men, nerved to expatriation and suffering by the highest impulses known to men,—namely, the love of religious and civil liberty, and the purpose to enjoy them in the new country to which they were going. They were, for the most part, from Britain.

Half a century before they came, there appeared in the old world the beginning of a trade in negroes, instituted by Portuguese mariners, whose daring seamanship had made them familiar with the west coast of Africa, where they found natives, suffering the cruelest bondage at the hands of their own countrymen. It is claimed that sentiments of humanity, quickened, we may believe, by that ardor of religious propagandism for which at that era they, with their Spanish neighbors, were so noted, led them to capture these wretched creatures, and transport them to Europe. There they were delivered from bodily torture, and doubtless received, in their heathen darkness, such spiritual illumination from their captors as they themselves possessed; but we do not learn that the great gift of personal liberty was ever bestowed upon them:—indeed, the trend of the old story is decidedly the other way. The experiment, whatever the result aimed at, did not succeed. There was a sprinkling of blacks in some of the kingdoms of Western Europe, but they took no root anywhere, either as bondmen or freemen; and, after a trial of fifty years, the whole scheme was on the eve of abandonment. It would have been entirely given up had not two

new continents, with an archipelago of a thousand beautiful islands lying midway between them, bordering on the one side the warm stream of the Gulf of Mexico, and on the other the cool waves of the Atlantic, contributed by Columbus and other bold navigators to the world's geography, risen so far above the horizon as to catch the eye of the slave traders on the old continent. They responded promptly to the call. And so early as 1620 an ill-wind wafted a Dutch slaver up James river to Jamestown with a cargo of twenty negroes. These were sold as slaves to the colonists, a poor, disheartened set of men, diminished in numbers and in means of living by their long tussle with the Indians, with an adverse climate, with disease, and every other disaster. Utterly disheartened, they were now glad enough to bring into their battle for subsistence, from which there was no escape, since return to the old country was impossible, a new band of laborers to cultivate the soil. The next year a cotton crop was planted and a fresh impulse was given to the struggling settlement.

This same year the Puritans landed at Plymouth, and slowly at first, but rapidly afterwards, there followed other religionists seeking liberty of conscience, and other restless adventurers in quest of booty or of bread, till in a century and a quarter all the old civilizations of Europe, with every sect in Christendom, were represented along the Atlantic shore from the rocks of New England to the reefs of Florida; and indeed further still; for, penetrating the interior, and beyond the great Appalachian chain, they had taken possession of a wide and beautiful country, and brought into it the social traits and political aspirations of the most enlightened nations upon earth. Yet, however diverse the nationalities that appeared in this new land, the States into which they, ultimately, resolved themselves were all provinces of Great Britain,—appendages to the throne of England.

But these same restless transatlantic powers had not confined themselves to the northern part of the new world. Hungry for conquest and for gold, they had sought Eldorado in a southern latitude and had unfurled their national emblems over many of the sun-lit isles of the far-away Caribbean Sea, and of that wonderful continent which they found to be adjacent; becoming, in time, owners of its lands; masters of its singular peoples; and

custodians of the amazing relics of the past civilization of a race of men whose name and story are alike wrapped in mystery.

These discoveries waked the dying embers of the experiment of Spain and Portugal; and the shocking commerce, now stripped alike of humanitarian and of churchly zeal, drew, one after another, all the Christian kingdoms of western Europe into its service. At every fresh opening of the new regions beyond the sea, there went up the wail of the poor negro torn from his home on the Dark Continent, to be quickly followed by the appearance, in Christian ports, of the slaver, packed with its cargo of suffering, despairing, manacled men, to be sold under the weight of intolerable anguish into perpetual slavery to a foreign master. Alas, alas, that a trade inhuman in conception, more inhuman still in execution, should stand an indelible blot on the history of nations who, wherever in this weary world the winds of heaven could catch the signal, had unfurled the banner of the Cross, with its life-giving legend—"Peace on earth—good will to men!"

The traffic in slaves became a most successful and most popular business enterprise. Companies were formed, and large sums of money invested in the prosecution of it. Europe, herself, had no need of the services of the negro, and no excuse for his presence within her bounds. Nevertheless she was an active participant in his enslavement, and a most eager sharer in its profits. England, however, became the acknowledged leader in the business. Nobles and men of high degree, great commoners and rich merchants lent themselves to it. And, after a time, her Great African Company became the monopolist of the trade. The Stuart kings, always an easy prey to bribery and corruption, gave it their royal sanction, and such efficiency as the placing of James II., when Duke of York, at the head of one of its corporations, could contribute. And indeed this patronage of the crown passed down, till even with the literary aroma of Queen Anne's day there mingles the foul vapor of a revenue from this diabolical merchandise.

Meanwhile the growing States in the western hemisphere became allies of the mother-country in her lucrative importation of slaves. They did more; for in presenting a climate and soil singularly well suited to this complexion and capacity, they furnished something of an apology for a business so much befriended and fostered

as this had been. And soon from American ports American ships and seamen sailed off upon the same mercenary and merciless errand. How strange the spectacle of men, instinct with the love of liberty purchased at the cost of every earthly pleasure, men suffering at the very moment the pangs which forfeiture of home and friends and country had brought, yet stealing away their defenceless brother, and turning unheeding from his agony, as they bind the shackles upon his quivering body and sell him into lasting bondage.

These people were distributed, in larger or smaller numbers, throughout the Colonies, and were, in some way or other, recognized by their governments; but, on every hand, and in every place, they were only slaves. Indeed, they came to be looked upon as an inferior race, destined to servitude.

Being a product of the tropics, the transplanted negro found his natural home under the hot sun and on the light soil of the South; where, as laborer in cotton fields, and rice grounds, in cane-brakes and tobacco lands, he became eminently useful, and rapidly increased in numbers. But there was a universal sense of insecurity on the subject of the negro, who, while embedded in the very frame-work of our domestic and industrial life, had yet no legal status in our political system. And what that should be, agitated, alike profoundly, the politician and the philanthropist. Each approached legislation upon it with the gravest deliberation; both esteeming it a problem in statecraft full of threatening and destructive elements. Many of the Colonies—those in which slaves were most numerous and necessary, together with those where a black man was scarcely to be seen, and had no encouragement to live—made earnest attempts in their legislatures to have the slave trade abolished. But they could not obtain the approval of the Royal Colonial Governors, nor the sanction of the Throne. Indeed, the shocking commerce had become such a source of revenue to England, that she encouraged it at home, and urged her distant provinces in like manner to foster it.

But the Anglo-American in the west, like his ancestor in Britain, had a mind of his own, and was now rapidly approaching a crisis in public affairs in which he would express and maintain it. With a population of three million of whites and half a million of blacks,

October 20, 1774, the first Continental Congress met, and signed and promulgated the Articles of Association. In that bond of union, which laid the foundation of the new nation, the pledge was made that the "United Colonies" would "neither import nor purchase any slave," and would "wholly discontinue the slave trade." This union of the thirteen British Colonies thus making one people, was begun with a solemn pledge wholly to abstain from all participation in a traffic then supported by the commercial nations of Europe. "The Articles of Association containing these explicit pledges, were adopted by colonial conventions, county meetings, and lesser assemblages throughout the country, and became the fundamental Constitution of the first American Union. . . And Congress itself on the 6th of April, 1776, resolved, without opposition, that no slaves be imported into any of the thirteen United Colonies."

Thus this young nation—nation in embryo, one may say,—was the very first, in those two centuries of violence, to utter its governmental edict against the African slave trade.

These strong deliverances, however, did not give the death blow intended to the traffic in slaves. In the greed of the merchant, and need of the planter, it found powerful allies. And when the Revolutionary war ended in victory, and the colonies met in solemn assembly for the formation of a federal compact that would bind them into one empire, the hydra-headed subject of slavery created the most excited discussions and prolonged delays. The wisest and most brilliant men of the country—statesmen and jurists, patriots and philanthropists, clergymen and soldiers—were all alike enlisted in the debates; and the whole matter, in all its aspects, political, financial, commercial, social, and moral, was ably and exhaustively handled. Already a line of sectional demarcation ran between the Northern and Southern States, and there seemed no possibility of any change of opinion, still less of any surrender of it, the one to the other, on either side. The federation of the States, the supreme object of the conventions, and paramount desire in each portion of the country, trembled in the tremendous crash of conflicting interests. The fathers of the constitution, aghast at the spectacle of defeat, paused, took afresh their bearings of the situation, and determined to bring new tactics into

play. They could not manage, they saw, to take the bull by both horns; but, by gentle approaches, adroitly made, they hoped to throw a noose skillfully and take him by one.

The pages of the old histories glow with heated discussions upon this subject, not only as to the traffic in slaves, but as to the status of the negro in the representative department of the government. Those States that held off the longest and with greatest determination from signing any articles of federation which did not prohibit the African slave trade, were those in which the slave interest was largest. "The feeling," says a contributor to Appleton's *Cyclopedia*, Vol. XIV, p. 710, "in the United States was generally averse to slavery at the time that their national existence began, and in some of the Southern States that feeling was stronger than in most of the Northern ones. The ordinance of 1787 excluding the institution from the northwestern territory was supported by Southern men, and some of the Southern States abolished the slave trade with Africa, while Northern States continued to carry it on."

The same writer, on page 708, says:—"In 1776, it was resolved by the continental congress, that no more slaves should be imported; but when the American constitution was formed in 1788, congress was prohibited from interdicting the traffic before 1808, at which time it was abolished."

Notably Virginia, from the earliest period, had regarded the presence of the negro slave within her borders with grave distrust, and was opposed to the trade that brought them to her shores. Her climate and soil were eminently suited to the labor of the tropical negro, and presented great temptations for his importation. Soon they became very numerous. And soon, her best statesmen, in their prophetic wisdom, regarding the slave, even in the ratio of his natural increase, as a dangerous element in her social structure, uttered remonstrances and protests against the continuance of the African slave traffic. In 1772, this feeling culminated, as I have heretofore said, in an emphatic enactment against it by the Colonial Legislature, coupled with an earnest appeal to the Crown of England to sanction the Act. The denial of this by the King was accompanied with an injunction upon the Colony for increased energy in furthering so lucrative a business. Subsequently, in reciting the

reasons for separating from England, "there appears in the first clause of the constitution of Virginia, among other acts of misrule, the inhuman use of the royal negative in refusing us permission to exclude slaves from us by law." (Brock's Va. Historical Col., Vol. VI, p. 14).

"And," this same author goes on to state, "for several decades after the solemn protests in 1776 of Virginia, against the continuance of the African slave trade, fresh importations were thrust upon her and her Southern sisters, by vessels largely fitted out in the New England States."

Virginia strengthened her protests by imposing a fine of £1,000 upon the seller and £500 upon the buyer from these "fresh importations." She went further, and in 1782 authorized the manumission of their slaves by some of her own private citizens, among whom were Washington and other eminent men;—with necessary limitations, however, against the imbecile and helpless being left as burdens upon the community. And in all cases of manumission, a sufficient provision beforehand was required for the prompt transportation of the freed negroes out of the country.

When the war was over, and the commonwealths were met in convention to frame a Union of the States, Virginia came early to the front with the resolution for the immediate abolition of the slave trade, as an essential measure in the Federal compact. Georgia and South Carolina, whose products demanded the labor of the negro, and New England, whose enterprising slave merchants were pursuing a thriving business in the poor wretches on the coast of Guinea, united in opposing it. After a prolonged struggle, it was finally agreed that the trade should be continued twenty years—till 1808. This action was a choice of evils, Mr. Madison himself saying:—"Great as this evil [the slave trade] is, the dismemberment of the Union is greater."

As this period was drawing to an end, under counsel of Jefferson, then President, and chiefly through the agency of Virginians in Congress, a law was passed in 1807 to take effect in 1808, summarily prohibiting the slave trade in the American Union.

The original clause in the Constitution in 1788 ordered that the existing slave trade, that is, the importation of African slaves into the slave-holding States, should continue until 1808; but the trade

in negroes by American citizens for foreign markets should immediately cease; that no slavery should be introduced into the national territory northwest of the Ohio; and that the slave States should regulate their own servile population without the intervention of Congress.

Out of these fundamental concessions the new Republic emerged, with a thin coating of peace spread over this dangerous topic, which, however, but poorly concealed the thorn left rankling in the flesh of the body politic. Savannah plied her traffic in negroes, all the more industriously that its existence was limited to twenty years; and Newport, "the slave mart of New England," kept abreast of her with the utmost activity, verifying the cool thrust by Mr. Madison, in a heated debate on this feature of the Constitution:—"That, although the Northern States have few slaves within their own bounds, they are the carriers of considerable numbers of them into other commonwealths."

The slave trade had come to an end; but slavery, with its tangle and turmoil, was left to the bitter struggle of new generations of public men, in the on-coming half century. How much better to have swept it away then!

But the temporizings of those early days gave us the Union, for which we must ever be thankful; even though they left palpitating in its bosom, and underlying every interest of the government, the fatal octopus of slavery, ready to clutch in its withering clasp the very vitals of the nation. The new ship of State was not yet out to sea, when individuals and abolition societies uttered their protests against these clauses of the Constitution, or proffered methods of relieving them; while acts by the State legislatures of, as in New York and Pennsylvania, gradual, or, as in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, of direct liberation of their slaves, continued the dangerous polemic. Especially, the coming in of each new State furnished ever-recurring occasions for rekindling and fanning the antagonisms of our "brotherhood of States,"—until the family hearth became the scene of vengeful riot and unreason. The timbers of the house gave way under the tremendous pressure. The hope of the oppressed all over the broad earth sank before the hand-to-hand fight of brother with brother in bitter enmity; and the

world stood astonished and appalled at the spectacle of the American Republic in ruins !

In this terrible juncture of affairs ; in utter denial of the old Federal compact, and in supreme defiance of the rights of the States most deeply concerned in the question ; as well as by the assumption of unconstitutional power on the part of the President, the gordian-knot of slavery was cut by the act of unconditional emancipation !

Slavery Abolished in the West Indies.

The United States were not alone in the struggle with this momentous evil. At the same time, and almost keeping step with their movements, England, and all the old powers of Europe from Sweden to Italy, were wrestling with the same problem. In their dependencies in the West Indies and South America they were diligently devising schemes for the liberation of their negro slaves, either by direct or by gradual emancipation ; either by some plan of apprenticeship that would lessen the financial loss to the master, while it secured some education in self-support to the slave, or by a sweeping manumission at the cost of the Government. Many years were consumed in legislating on the complicated question ; but, at length, one after another, the Caribbean Islands secured the enfranchisement of their negroes, some of the South American provinces following their example. But the great and most persistent leader in all this terrible business was the very last to abandon it. Her record for weary centuries bristles with the remonstrances and pleadings against it of the noblest of her sons, whether in Church or State. But it was as late as 1833 that England, who had proclaimed from her housetops "that a villain might live in Britain, but not a slave," paid out of her own coffers a hundred millions of dollars as a ransom for her enslaved subjects in the island of Jamaica.

CHAPTER VIII.

Exciting State and National Political Questions from 1824 to 1851—Southampton Insurrection—Nat Turner.

*Exciting State and National Political Questions
from 1824 to 1851.*

So far as the materials in hand are reliable, the political life of my father began near the close of the administration of John Quincy Adams. Continuing for twenty years and more, questions of Federal policy in regard to the revenue of the country, the methods of raising, and objects upon which it was to be expended; the episode of nullification in South Carolina; and the alarm of the insurrection of the negro in Virginia; the formation of new states out of lands originally belonging to the Union, or out of other territory acquired by treaty or by purchase; great schemes of State and national internal improvements; the system of banking; and the ever-recurring discussion upon the political ethics of States-sovereignty and the right of instruction, were all embraced in this period. There were also included in it active military movements against the Seminole Indians in Florida; and a war with Mexico, created by the admission of Texas, a revolted province of Mexico, as one of the United States, in 1845. And peering through all these agitating topics, with remarkable punctuality and insistence, is the dusky face of our colored co-inhabitant. A tiller of the soil, developing the rich resources of Southern agriculture, yet without wages; recognized in the basis of the country's representation, yet with no voice in the law framed by his own legislator, he became, with cumulative power, from early colonial days till this present writing, in singular reality, the *bête noir* of American legislation. For although the problem of negro *slavery* was solved by the act of emancipation, yet, pose as he may, under the comfortable word of the fourteenth amendment, our Afro-American citizen, as he delights to call himself, is still without the ascertained and established status amongst us enjoyed by other nationalities.

Careful students, digging deep below the surface for the source of many of the political questions in the above-mentioned schedule,

have traced it to the presence of the negro, and the problem of his slavery bequeathed to us by England. In all our national existence it has been an omnipresent evil, hindering at all points whatever has been most vital to the harmonious progress of the country. And, despite all that we have suffered, danger from it still exists. A shadow of evil falls upon the attitude taken by some of the educated negro leaders of derision and discouragement of all schemes to remove them to their fatherland. They feel no inspiration to avail of the arts and learning acquired in and out of their bondage here to build up a nation in Africa, and to lift their race to a respectable position among the other races of the earth. Indeed, so far from doing this, these leaders turn in the opposite direction, and inflame their brethren with the hope that, by patient waiting, the color-mark will fade away, and the day will surely come when the banner of the Union will float over *one* mighty people, *one* great American race! Doubtless, the millennium, in which all human antagonisms fade away, will come first.

But I must not stray outside the limits of my sketch.

The Influence of National upon State Politics.

During the earliest years of Mr. McDowell's service in the legislature, while there were any number of merely local concerns and of State schemes of great value before it (and the State's *Journal* bears honorable testimony to his care and attention to them); yet the politics of the nation swept over and controlled all more circumscribed interests; and that to such an extent as that the test questions of the whole country came to be the great issues in every precinct and town election throughout the entire Commonwealth. But I must confine myself to the events of a historic nature, in which he was actively interested. The first and most remarkable of these took place in the summer of 1831.

Southampton Insurrection.

The clouds of nullification, rising in 1827, were banked high and dark on the political horizon of the nation, when Virginia was suddenly called to concentrate her whole mind, and every power of her

government, upon an outbreak and alarm within her own borders. For this was the year made famous in her annals by an insurrection of negroes in Southampton, an eastern county bordering North Carolina. The blacks in that section largely outnumbered the whites;—in some counties, in the ratio of two to one;—and, on wide plantations, contiguous to one another, stretching for miles along the river banks, there was nothing easier than the congregating of large numbers of negroes at almost an hour's notice. There was, indeed, scarce any hindrance to it. The white men were very few, mainly those of the planters' own families; and their dwellings were far apart. There were no large towns in that region; only, scattered here and there, villages and hamlets. There was no arsenal for arms and ammunition nearer than Richmond; and no means of defence other than fancy fowling pieces for gentlemen's sport; a few swords, kept as heirlooms, or some rusty old muskets, of historic value in skirmishes with the Indians or in the Revolutionary war. The old Virginians of that day had no pistols under their pillows; in many cases no bars to their doors; no police making their rounds about the negro quarters in the dead hours of night, the master sleeping among his slaves in peaceful security, as amongst his children. But, without a note of warning, the scene changes.

Nat Turner.

A slave on the plantation of a Mr. Travis of Southampton, named Nat Turner, a man of inflexible purpose, of, it would seem, good character, and of great influence among his people, was the leader in the outbreak. From his childhood he had had an impression, such as Napoleon confesses had been an inspiration to him, of being "a child of destiny." His fancy was early filled with dreams and signs, pointing to a great mission before him. He seems, however, to have had no definite idea as to what that mission was; and formed no plan for carrying it forward. Yet for three years his mind brooded over it. In his confession he said the spirit had told him in May, 1828, that the serpent was loosened; that Christ had put off the yoke he had borne for the sins of men, and given it to him, that he might fight against the serpent; "for the time was fast coming when the first should be last, and the last first;" and,

that by signs in the heavens he should be told when his work must begin. Till then he must be profoundly silent. But while waiting and watching for the signal, if one of the accounts of him is reliable, he was busily working upon the superstitions of the negroes about him. "He traced with blood on a sheet of paper mystic numbers and the figures of a sun and a crucifix; showed the paper mysteriously to the negroes; informed them that great events were near; and the whole black population thrilled with vague excitement. He is said to have travelled with his bloody hieroglyphics through the whole south side of James River, though the subsequent rising was confined to Southampton." (Cooke's Virginia, p. 486.)

Months, even a year or two, passed on; but no supernatural sound or sight was given him until in February, 1831, there came an eclipse of the sun. Accepting this as the long looked for signal, he now, for the first time, sought accomplices to whom he might safely reveal his designs. Among his immediate associates he selected four, and they, after repeated conferences, and the rejection of a number of schemes, finally appointed the approaching 4th of July as a fitting day for them to begin. But his mind, filled with the hideous deeds before him, so wore upon his physical strength as that when the day came he was too sick to lift an arm. However, he rallied his strength, and on the morning of the 22d of August, while it was yet dark, crept into the house of his master, with his band of five men, and in a few minutes came out, leaving four of the five members of the family dead in their beds. So true were their blows, that no dying groan or cry of agony waked any one of them from their profound sleep.

After going a short distance from the house, remembering that a baby had been left sleeping in its cradle, one of them returned and hushed its tell-tale voice forever. They then hurried on, killing all the whites they found, gaining recruits as they went, to the number of fifty or sixty, all mounted on the horses and armed with the guns and swords and axes and clubs they had stolen from the houses of the dead. But before the night came on, the community had been alarmed, and sent a party in pursuit, who fired upon the rebels, defeated and drove them to seek a safe retreat for the night. They were now a bloodthirsty gang of forty men. Early the next day news of the wholesale massacre spread far and

wide. The homes of the neighborhood were deserted ; women and children crowded the villages and hamlets within reach. Squads of men and militia companies hastily gathered, attacked the insurgents ; while the call for arms and ammunition, for soldiers and tents and rations was, with the utmost speed, sent up to the governor at Richmond. Panic and horror swept over the entire commonwealth ; for in our Southern country, no word was ever spoken that brought with it such frenzy and despair as that terrible word *insurrection*.

The bloody mutiny of a few negroes, without discipline or a concerted plan of action, was soon quelled ; but not until they had gone a distance of twenty miles, augmenting their numbers from five to fifty, and had killed sixty-one white citizens. In the skirmishing, some of Turner's men escaped, and were never more heard of ; others were wounded and many killed ; till, at last, the ringleader himself was left alone of all his company. A solitary fugitive, hotly pursued, he found refuge in a cave, hollowed out by his sword in the earth, under a pile of fence-rails in a field. In this he would hide all day, and emerge from it at night in search of water, and the provisions, which he would bring back long before daylight, and secrete for further use. Venturing out from it on one occasion, a dog scented his hidden supplies, and went in search of them. Alarmed at this, he sought another retreat in a sunken space under the thick branches of a fallen tree. But the same dog, his relentless pursuer, this time gave warning by a bark, that attracted the attention of some negro men strolling innocently near to his hiding-place. Supposing them to be in search of him, Turner discovered himself to them, and begged that they would conceal him. Upon finding who he was they fled. Further concealment was now impossible. He was taken and thrown into prison, and on the 11th of November his execution on the gallows put an end to his wretched existence.

But death put no extinguisher upon the excitement created by this rebellion of slaves. Far otherwise. Time but increased the sense of insecurity ; until the public mind demanded that, in the on-coming meeting of the legislature, the subject of her slave population should be taken up by the State as her first and most imperative duty.

CHAPTER IX.

Abolition Discussed in the Legislature—Committee of Twenty-one—Handsome Attitude of the Western to the Eastern Members—Petitions, Appeals and Memorials Poured in upon the Legislature from all Parts of the State—Opinions of the Press—The Great Debate—The Subject Dismissed without Legislative Action—McDowell's Part in this Historic Debate—Extracts from His Speech—Contemporaneous Critics; and Judgment of Later Historians—Hon. George W. Summers' View of the House of Delegates on the Question of Slavery.

Abolition Discussed in the Legislature.

Perhaps never since the House of Burgesses, with its struggles against colonial bondage, passed away, had the State of Virginia, in her legislative capacity, been called, under a higher sense of responsibility for the good of her entire population, to originate measures of defence, or plans of relief, in the face of dangers more real or more imminent than those she confronted now. The excited public looked with impatient anxiety to the meeting of the legislature, in the hope that something might be done to give safety and quiet to the aroused community. Consequently, when it came together on the 5th of December, 1831, the Governor, Dr. John Floyd, in his message, after detailing the horrors of the Southampton insurrection, asserted that there was reason to believe that the spirit of insurrection was not confined to the slaves, but that the plans of treason, insurrection and murder had been designed and matured by unrestrained fanatics in some of the neighboring States. He stated his belief of the need of silencing the negro preachers, as promoters of a spirit of rebellion among themselves; and suggested a revision of the laws to preserve due subordination among the slaves. He also pointed out as a supreme necessity the removal of the free blacks from the State, and urged "that the deliberations of the Assembly be first turned to the melancholy subject which has filled the country with affliction, and one of the fairest counties in the Commonwealth with mourning."

The subject was immediately taken up, and on the second day of the session the following order appears upon the *Journal*:—

“On motion of Mr. Fisher (the same being modified on motion of Mr. Brodnax), ordered that, so much of the Governor’s message as relates to the insurrectionary movement of the slaves, and the removal of the free persons of color beyond the limits of the Commonwealth, be referred to a committee, . . . with leave to report by bill or otherwise.” General Brodnax of Dinwiddie, chairman of this committee, had had command of the militia sent to the protection of the people of Southampton at the time of the insurrection, and was fully posted as to the wishes and mind of that region. Indeed, he was said to be the exponent of Southside Virginia at the time on most questions of public interest.

This important committee was freighted with the most momentous interest of the period—an interest which had lost nothing in magnitude since those trying days prior to the formation of the Federal Union, when the fathers of the Republic failed to push it to an issue for the sake of what seemed a superior need.

Committee of Twenty-one.—Handsome Attitude of the Western to the Eastern Members.—Petitions, Appeals and Memorials Poured in upon the Legislature from all Parts of the State.—Opinions of the Press.

This committee consisted of sixteen, but was afterwards enlarged to twenty-one members; viz: Messrs. Brodnax of Dinwiddie (chairman), Fisher of Northampton, Cobb, Wood of Albemarle, Roane of Hanover, Moore of Rockbridge, Newton, Campbell of Brooke, Smith of Frederick, Gholson, Brown, Stillman, Anderson of Nottoway, Witcher of Pittsylvania, Booker, Keller, Faulkner of Berkeley, Bryce of Goochland, Smith of Gloucester, Bruce and Marshall; sixteen east and five west of the Blue Ridge! The disproportion exhibits the great difference in the slave population in these sections of the State. That they were in thorough sympathy and accord with each other on the matter in hand can be gathered from the records of the time, and is made plain in a speech of Mr. Williams of Harrison, one of the western members of the committee, who, as he said, “rose to state, that on this important topic, western members would give their eastern brethren a *carte blanche*, with the sincere hope that some efficient measure might be adopted towards

which they (the western members) would give their most hearty co-operation. They had often been indebted to the liberality of eastern gentlemen in carrying objects in which the west alone was interested; and they would reciprocate the good will they displayed, by going the whole way with the east in any measure they might devise on this subject."

While the committee of twenty-one, as it was called, was engaged upon its report, Mr. Roane (afterwards U. S. Senator) presented a petition from the county of Hanover, "praying the Legislature to take into consideration the propriety of providing means for the removal of the free people of color from the commonwealth, and such slaves as may be liberated by individuals;

"Also, a petition from the Society of Friends, in the county of Charles City, *for the emancipation of the slaves by some gradual scheme* which may be adopted, and the removal of the free negroes and slaves from the commonwealth."

Mr. Goode of Mecklenburg instantly moved that this last petition be rejected, which sprung upon the house an animated debate, that finally ended in the loss, by a very large majority, of Goode's motion, and the reference of the petition to the special committee. The door now opened, memorials and petitions flowed in upon the committee, stronger in language and just as explicit in purpose as that of the Society of Friends.

While this discussion was under way, on December 17th, a meeting was held in Leesburg, Loudoun county, which drew up resolutions, and, through a committee, sent up a memorial to the legislature. I quote one of the resolutions, and some sentences from the memorial, to show the tendency in public sentiment towards *emancipation* as the only solution of the slave problem; and the pressure brought to bear upon the House to concoct some plan for the securing of this one end. And I must not forbear the comment, that the most clamorous appeals, and the most pronounced advocates of this view of the subject came, not from Virginia beyond the mountains with its few slaves, but from the black belt of the Old Dominion. Here are the extracts:—

"*Resolved*, As the opinion of this meeting, that a gradual emancipation and removal of the slaves of the commonwealth is practicable and, upon that assumption, that the continuation of slavery

is forbidden by the true policy of Virginia; repugnant to her political theory and Christian professions, and an opprobrium to our ancient and renowned dominion."

And the memorial is in keeping with this:—

"Your memorialists forbear to argue this subject. They hold these propositions to be fully proved by sad experience:—first, that the labor of slaves in a community like ours is the most expensive that can be used; secondly, that slavery tends to lay waste the region in which it subsists; and, thirdly, that it fills with apprehension and inquietude the bosoms of those who employ it. Is not all this literally and mournfully true. . . . Is it not clear, then, that the public interest, and the safety of individuals call aloud for energetic but prudent measures, having for their object the *ultimate extinction of involuntary servitude, and the removal of a race irreconcilably antagonistic to ours.*

"Your memorialists will not dwell upon those high topics of republican consistency which address themselves to the understanding, the pride and the consciences of this people; nor presume to show that the law of God is, upon this all-interesting subject, strikingly coincident with the welfare of men."

General Brodnax, chairman of the special committee, speaks in a like strain: "It is evident," he tells us, "that something must be done; and although measures for the removal of this evil might not, perhaps, be arrived at immediately, *yet some plan for the gradual eradication would probably be hit upon;—a system might be concocted by degrees to embrace the whole subject; and it was necessary, therefore, to consider it in all its bearings. The people tell us that some measure must be taken. What that measure is, they do not say. They have not formed an opinion. . . . Let us discuss it coolly and fully, and compare opinions, that some beneficial results may arise from our deliberations. . . . Perhaps the legislature might do something which might form a nucleus or . . . an entering wedge, towards the ultimate emancipation of the slaves at a distant period.*"

John Thompson Brown, a most able delegate from Petersburg, "was in favor of referring the petitions, but wished it understood that he had no expectation that the object of them would be

attained. *He admitted that slavery was an evil—the greatest, perhaps, that an angry Providence could inflict upon a sinning people. . . . He was willing to hear all that could be said on the subject, and would be happy to find that he was in error, and that abolition was expedient and practicable. . . . It was desired by the people that the subject in all its relations should be examined, and that the general assembly should decide—not to do something—but whether anything could, or ought to be done.*”

The press, so often the creator and moulder of public opinion, at this period was fully employed in *expressing* the will of the people, and bringing it to bear upon the great debate going on in the House of Delegates. The Richmond *Enquirer*, and the Richmond *Whig*, the State organs of the political parties, printed the most impassioned editorials; and used their great sheets to influence the feeling and direct the action of the House. From the former, the leading journal and autocrat of the Democratic party of the State, in its issue of January 7, 1832, I must be pardoned a long quotation, that a fair presentation of its views may lie before us. “It is probable,” it says, “from what we hear that the committee on the colored population will report some plan for getting rid of the free people of color. But is this all that can be done? Are we forever to suffer the greatest evil which can scourge our land, not only to remain, but to increase in its dominions? ‘We may shut our eyes and avert our faces, if we please,’ writes an eloquent South Carolinian on his return from the North a few weeks ago,—but there it is—the dark and growing evil at our doors; and meet the question we must at no distant day. God only knows what it is the part of wise men to do on that momentous and appalling subject. Of *this* I am very sure, that the difference, nothing short of frightful, between all that exists on one side of the Potomac, and all on the other, is owing to *that cause alone*. The disease is deep-seated—it is at the heart’s core—it is consuming, and has all along been consuming our vitals, and I would laugh, if I *could* laugh on such a subject, at the ignorance and folly of the politician who ascribes that to an act of the government which is the inevitable effect of the eternal laws of nature. What is to be done? Oh, my God, I don’t know, but something must be done.’

“Yes, something must be done—and it is the part of no honest man to deny it—of no true press to affect to conceal it. When this dark population is growing upon us—when every new census is but gathering its appalling numbers upon us—when within a period equal to that in which the Federal Constitution has been in existence, these numbers will increase to more than two millions within Virginia—when our sister States are closing their doors upon our blacks for sale—and when whites are moving westwardly in greater numbers than we like to hear of—when this, the favorite land of all this continent for soil and climate and situation combined, might become a sort of garden-spot, if it *were worked by the hands of white men, can we, ought we* to sit quietly down, fold our arms and say to each other, ‘Well, well, this thing will not come to the worst in our day. We will leave it to our children, and our grand-children, and our great-grand-children to take care of, themselves, and to brave the storm.’ Is this to act like wise men? Heaven knows we are no fanatics; we detest the madness which actuated the *Amis des Noirs*. But something ought to be done. Means *sure* but *gradual, systematical* but *direct*, ought to be adopted, for reducing the mass of evil which is pressing upon the South, and will still more press upon her the longer it is put off. We ought not to shut our eyes nor avert our faces; and though we speak almost without a hope that the committee or the legislature will do anything at the present session to meet this question, yet we say now, in the utmost sincerity of our hearts, that our wisest men cannot give too much of their attention to this subject, nor can they give it too soon.”

The Great Debate.

The consideration of these slavery petitions had already consumed nearly six weeks of the session, and the special committee was still busy with its investigations when, on the 11th of January, Mr. Goode, a strong opposer of the whole proceeding, startled the House by submitting a resolution that the “select committee, raised on the subject of slaves and free negroes, be discharged from the consideration of all petitions . . . which have for their object the manumission of persons held in servitude under the existing laws of the Commonwealth, and that it is not *expedient* to legislate on the subject.”

Jefferson Randolph of Albemarle promptly moved as a substitute, "that the committee be instructed to inquire into the expediency of submitting to the qualified voters of the Commonwealth the propriety of providing by law, that the children of all the female slaves who may be born in this State on or after the 4th of July, 1840, shall become the property of the Commonwealth, the males at the age of twenty-one, and females at the age of eighteen, if detained by their owners within the limits of Virginia until they shall arrive at the ages aforesaid ; to be hired out until the net sum arising therefrom shall be sufficient to defray the expense of their removal beyond the limits of the United States ; and that said committee have leave to report by bill or otherwise."

This started anew a vigorous debate, and while it was in progress the chairman of the committee, General Brodnax, made his report, "that it was the opinion of the committee that it was *inexpedient for the present* to make any legislative enactments for the abolition of slavery."

The ball once more set in motion was vigorously bandied about, when William Ballard Preston (afterward Secretary of the Navy under General Taylor) moved to amend the resolution by changing the word "inexpedient" into "*expedient*" and making it read thus:—"that, in the opinion of this committee, it is *expedient* to adopt some legislative enactment," etc., etc.

"Then," says Vice-President Wilson, in his *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power*, "commenced an elaborate and exhaustive debate, which continued without limitation or restriction for several weeks. It was one of the ablest, most eloquent and brilliant debates that ever took place in the legislature of any of the States. Most of those who participated in it were young and rising men who afterward achieved high positions and commanding influence."

The Subject Dismissed without Legislative Action.

Although so much time and talent and learning had been brought into this debate, the one important thing of a well-defined, clean-cut method of relief was never reached. It was very late in the session when Mr. Randolph laid before the House what had been the plan of his grandfather, Mr. Jefferson, so far as it could be

called a plan, which was known as the "*post-nati*" scheme. Inasmuch as it embodied a purpose of gradual emancipation, it was acceptable to many of the delegates. But the discussion, after all, confined itself largely to the *expediency* of legislating on the subject. If that point could have been affirmatively settled, systems and plans would have inevitably followed. An overweening majority acknowledged, and, in the strongest terms, depicted the evils of slavery, and reiterated the wish that *something* should be done in regard to it; but, at last, the legislature, narrowing its action to the single point of *expediency*, finally decided that it was not expedient to legislate upon it, and summarily dismissed the subject.

The State allowed no question as to her jurisdiction over her own institution, and was jealous of all intermeddling from the outside with her regulation of her slave property; but, feel as she might, she could not entirely disentangle it from her federal relations to the Union, nor from the dangers incident to her proximity to other States whether slave or free.

*McDowell's Part in this Historic Debate.—Extracts
from His Speech.*

In this discussion, that had all Virginia for an audience, Mr. McDowell's constituents, and a large number of near relatives gathered that winter in Richmond, importuned him to take a part. He was not without ambition to do it; and to do it well. Although a young member, much was expected from him, and the subject called for the best exercise of all his gifts. He stood awe-struck before the expectations of the public, and the magnitude of the matter in hand, and allowed one after another of his compeers to take the floor till nearly all had spoken. His friends closed around him with renewed urgency; and my mother, ever wide-awake to his interest, and confident in his ability, added her entreaties. He consented; got the material he had carefully collected into shape; and was ready. But day after day passed on, and he was silent still. His friends, disappointed and anxious, feared that the debate, so long protracted, would wane in interest, and that some day, when he had nerved himself for the effort, he and they would be mortified by empty galleries, and a listless, scattered audience below. But,

suddenly his resolution was taken; and, one morning, he gathered up his papers, paused a moment at the door, and turned round to say to his wife: "Well, Susan, you would not let me off from a speech on the abolition resolutions. I am going to make it this morning. In an hour somebody will come back to tell you that your husband has disgraced himself by an ignominious failure."

The poor lady sat alone in the parlor of The Powhatan for three weary hours, waiting for news from the capitol. At length it came in a tumultuous rush of ladies back from the crowded galleries, to tell her that the speech was over, and that her husband had done something very unlike "disgracing himself."

In his introductory sentences Mr. McDowell speaks of the importance of the subject before them; of the grave consequences of their measures upon their own, and upon millions of another race, whose destinies were folded in with theirs, and of the elevated circumstances that associated them with the future fate of the commonwealth. "I am, for one," he says, "deeply sensible both to the responsibility and the distinction of the posture; deeply sensible to the anxious call which Virginia makes in this trying hour of her fortunes, upon the calmest wisdom of her public men; and am gratified,—nay, am proud,—that, as one of these, it is permitted me to respond to that call by uniting with others in the indication and support of a policy, which, however startling at first sight, is the only one in which a sure guarantee can be found for the great interests of the State, or for the permanent security and happiness of the citizen. This policy, which has long been repressed by unmanly apprehensions, or smothered as the dream of impracticable benevolence; discoursed of by the statesman only in his closet; and breathed by the Christian only in a silent prayer for his country; this policy, I thank heaven, can, at last, be debated in the face of day, in the face of assembled multitudes; can be brought for judgment to the bar of reason, and searched and decided by the lights of truth.

"Your committee, Sir, declare that legislation '*at present is inexpedient.*' The amendment proposed, and now under discussion, declares the contrary. Believing that the amendment takes the true ground, I shall endeavor to sustain it: and in so doing, will present the considerations which I have to submit without refer-

ence to method ; and without limiting myself to the only point which is strictly before us, that of expediency, I will, under the sanction of the general example, look a little to the *mode* of legislation also, and see whether there be any principle on which it may be justly and rightfully exercised.

“Whatever it may have been, it is no part of our legislative duty at this day to inquire, whether slavery does or does not consist with the first and leading principle of a republic ; nor is it necessary to determine whether the permission of it here does not form one of the most striking instances upon record, of a people resolutely violating towards others that principle of absolute freedom on which they erected their own independence, and which they were the first to proclaim to the world as the only just and admissible rule of popular government. Forbearing inquiry into the coherence of slavery with the abstract *principles* of our government, I shall not make the question of its coherence with the abstract principles of morality, and will not, as some gentlemen have done, consider the position, whether, morally, we have any warrant for it or not. Upon this point angry controversies have long been maintained.

“The absence from the Bible of any direct reprobation of the practice of slavery ; the qualified admission of it, under the Mosaic law ; the double reference which is made to it in the Decalogue itself ; the recognition of it by St. Paul in a specific case (the case of Onesimus), and the identity of the words, servant and slave, in the etymologies of the Greek language of the Testament, are all of them so many points of argument on one side, rebutted on the other, and powerfully rebutted, by the fact of man’s original equality of rights ; equality of responsibility as a moral agent ; and by the great canon of the divine law, which enjoins upon all to perform to others the duties which we exact for ourselves.

“But, sir, whether the slave, as the descendant of Ham, suffers under a primitive curse ; whether he is graduated in his intellect, by Providence, for the post which he actually occupies in the labors of the world ; or whether he belongs to another family of nations, the family of Cush, and has sprung from ancestors illustrious in history, the reformers of Egypt, the authors of art and learning, nay, of the very alphabet itself,—whichever of these suppositions be the true

one, and curious and instructive as may be the learning by which they are respectively maintained, they may yet be decided either way without in the least affecting him as he is known to our laws, in the least affecting him as the proposed object of practical legislation. It is only as such an object, and not because of any speculative matter connected with his history, or with our right to his services as a slave, that I intend to regard him now."

Rejecting as mere assumption the idea that legislation upon the emancipation and removal of the slaves was impracticable, and all attempts towards it unwise and dangerous, he acknowledged that the case was encompassed with difficulty, but called attention to the fact that that very body "was employed for no other end than that of adjusting difficulties as they arise in the public business." That for this purpose they received from the State its whole constitutional power in the express confidence that, by devoting their time and talents exclusively to the trust, they would apply it to whatever purpose the situation of the community might require. "We have a problem," he urges, "a practical problem, to discuss and to settle, which demands this laborious process of thought beyond every other one on which the mind can be employed; which takes continents and ages into its scope of operation, and which, thereby, involves an influence on the sum of human happiness so immeasurably greater than any with which the results of speculative science could affect it, that all the problems of all the schoolmen and philosophers seem, in comparison with this, to be little more than the day-dreams of a profitless and visionary abstraction. Let us but give our minds patiently and laboriously to some plan of gradual emancipation and removal, and we need not fear the result—need not fear but that some one will be devised which shall be just in its principle, and, for the most, satisfactory in its details. Several have been already presented . . . showing more or less imperfection; but, nevertheless, refuting the idea that any one was impracticable, being principally repugnant to those who, believing that all schemes are improper, can the more easily imagine that all are defective. Enough has been prepared to show that the subject is practicable: enough has not, and never will be prepared to satisfy predetermined hostility."

With this clear statement by Mr. McDowell himself, of his own views, I need not burden my sketch with the range and variety of the arguments with which he sought to support and enforce them. I must satisfy myself with a few closing sentences; and with the picture, at once graphic and prophetic, which he draws of the situation of affairs, both State and national, which must arise, should this question of emancipation pass unsettled away from the law-making power of Virginia, then invoked to its consideration. It may drift on and on, but the day of settlement, however long delayed, he plainly sees, will surely come, and, with all the benefits it seeks to give in one direction, will, in another, bring in its train wider desolations from sectional rupture and enmity than any threatening them then.

"Let us, Mr. Speaker," he says, "examine for a moment our relations with the Federal Government, and see whether they are not such as to afford an auxiliary argument for the policy which I have been endeavoring, on other grounds, to establish. This view was glanced at, upon yesterday, by my friend (Mr. Randolph) from Albemarle. I beg leave to expand it a little.

"I will not enlarge upon the fact, that the existence of slavery creates a political interest in this Union which is, of all others, the most positive; an interest which, in relation to those who do not possess it, is adversary and exclusive; one which marks the manners of our country by a correspondent distinction; and is sowing broadcast unkindness and suspicion. On this interest geographical parties have been formed—and on its maintenance or restriction, the bitterest struggles have been waged in another body (Congress), and as it contains an ingredient of political power in our Federal Councils, it will always be the subject of struggle—always defended by the most vigilant care and assailed by the most subtle counteraction. Slave-holding and non slave-holding must necessarily constitute the characteristic feature of our country—must necessarily form the broad and indivisible interest upon which parties will combine, and will and does comprehend, in the jealousies which now surround it, the smothered and powerful, but, I trust, not the irresistible causes of future dismemberment. To all of its other evils then, slavery superadds the still further one, of being a cause of national dissension; of being a fixed and repulsive element

between the different members of our Republic ;—itself impelling with strong tendency and aggravating all smaller tendencies to political distrust, alienation and hostility.

“Should the dismemberment of our Union ever occur from this or other causes, let us look, for a moment, at the probable consequences which would result from it—not on the elevated ground in which these consequences might be considered as affecting the oppressed of other countries, who, directed by the light of our example, have committed themselves to a last and devoted struggle for their rights—but solely as they affect the case of slavery and the public security which that case involves.

“Suppose the federative tie to be broken ; suppose that the Union, which, in despite of occasional errors, has been a beneficial bond of political amity, should have passed away, and the States which compose it be thrown into the attitude of separate and independent governments,—suppose this to be the case, and it is evident that their new relations to each other must be maintained under circumstances the most inauspicious to their peace, whatever be the motives of rivalry and counteraction ; those which make them hostile in interest, hostile in feeling—prone to insult and aggression and war upon each other—whatever these motives be, they would be aggravated here by the unappeasable bitterness of a family quarrel, by the vindictiveness of a ruptured brotherhood. Yes, sir, these motives, thus specially inflamed, would urge on to their objects, and shew themselves in instant activity at the very first moment of our Federal dissolution.”

“Let this dreaded event but occur—let this Union which, above every other political blessing, is worthy not only of the loyalty of our principles, but the loyalty of our affections, too ; let it be given up, and the peace which it secures and the bountiful prosperity which our citizens have reaped under it, be handed over to separate and disunited States for their care and preservation, and what, I ask you, is to be the consequence ? Are we to remain as perfectly secure and prosperous as at present ; as perfectly free from danger from each other as now ? No, sir ; that is impossible. When we part, we part in anger ; we shall live in anger or in jealousy with each other ; hatred and revenge and suspicion and mutual scorn at mutual differences of habits and institutions will rankle in our

intercourse ; will interrupt our peace ; will eternally keep us in the act or attitude of border hostility. The past picture of England, Scotland and Ireland, will be renewed in America, and the fell spirit of feud and foray and border war will be domesticated here. The boundary lines, which now imperceptibly blend with each other, in token of our family kindness, will speedily exhibit the evidences of a family rupture—of a departed confidence—and, like the frontier lines of foreign nations, will be marked by the array of military equipment and military defiance. Our new and petty principalities will put on the whole panoply of empires—will furnish forth their armies and navies and cordons of posts and all the etcetera of a precautionary and jealous defence.

“In this state of things, what is to be *our* situation ?—how are we likely to be placed ? Sir, do you not see under the event supposed, that it would be a situation of peril ? Do you not see, at a glance, how enfeebled Virginia and the whole South would become by that alien and insurrectionary population which they nurture in their bosom ? Do you not see that any emergency which would concentrate their disposable force on the subjects of external defence, would lay open the whole interior to devastation, and would expose every family to the most unutterable of catastrophes ? Nay, sir, do you not see, as a last and crowning result, that the very form and principle of our government might be lost—that no patriotism and no devotion might be able to sustain it under the double shock of servile and foreign war ; and that we—yes, sir, we to whom the humbled and oppressed of the world look with hope and rejoicing of heart as being the most favored of men—might sink into the darkness and despotism, whose very horrors had long been illustrated in contrast with our happier example ? If gentlemen do not see nor feel the evil of slavery whilst this Federal Union lasts, they will see and feel it when it is gone ; they will see and suffer it then in a magnitude of desolating power to which the pestilence that walketh in darkness would be a blessing, to which the malaria that is now threatening extinction to ‘the Eternal City,’ as the proud one of the Pontiffs and the Cæsars is called, would be as refreshing and as balmy as the first breath of spring to the chamber of disease.

“Let it not be said, sir, that the political contingency supposed, the dismemberment of these States, is a visionary one, an improbable presumption, and of course, that that is one for all the fancied and possible results of which no legislative discretion requires us to provide. It is but too unhappily the contrary. Whether we look to matters of fact or to the results of reasoning, the event adverted to is anything but visionary. No man who looks to the posture or prospects of our federal relations, and understands the grounds on which they rest, but well knows that this very event at this very hour is lowering over the otherwise sunny face of our national fortunes. No man, who sees at all, but must perceive the gathering auguries which premonish us of its approach. And when it does come, who can tell the political coalition which may follow it? Who can tell but that dictatorships and dynasties may spring up as the inevitable but monstrous product of a disorganized confederacy?”

And summing up all he concludes:—“As a Virginian, then, no less than as a Western man, I would implore this assembly to begin the work of safety and protection now. A definite and positive law is not sought for—only let the object be resolved upon; only let the ‘expediency’ of it be established by your decision, and you will, for the present, have made progress enough—you will have laid the corner-stone on which the better fortunes of your country may be built.”

Contemporaneous Critics and Judgment of Later Historians.

In testimony of the effect which this effort produced on the public of that day, I make a full extract from an editorial of the *Richmond Whig*, January 23, 1832, that the place assigned to Mr. McDowell, in a debate which the editor describes as one of such transcendent ability, may be estimated at its true value. It reads thus:—“On Saturday, Mr. McDowell addressed the House in favor of Abolition, in a speech which has at once placed him in the front rank of the talent and eloquence of Virginia. Friend and foe of the cause which he supported, agree in its high merit. We are conscious that those who have not heard the debate, consider us as merely puffing, when we speak of it in terms of such high commendation. . . .

Nevertheless, the truth has warranted all we have said, and would have justified far stronger eulogy. A frequent attendant at Washington, and a constant auditor of the debates in convention, we declare most sincerely that we have never heard any debate so eloquent, so sustained, and in which so great a number of speakers have appeared, and commanded the attention of so numerous and intelligent an audience. The debate is in process of publication, and the world can partly, though not fully, judge of its merits. The occasion has, no doubt, imparted vigor and expansion to the intellect of those who have by accident been called to think and act upon it. The mind has risen to the level of the question. Mediocrity has been spurred up to ability; ability has expanded into greatness."

The press of Virginia was thoroughly recognisant of the talent enlisted in the handling, by her legislators, of the gigantic problem of her slave institution. But, after her hour of peril had passed, and slavery itself had been swept away, it is worth while to notice how the historians of the present, looking backward from a new political dispensation, refer to the abolition debate in that epoch of her history, as one of masterful power and eloquence; recalling the names and presenting the views of the debaters with singular fairness and warm encomium. Von Holst, in his *United States*, gives to the subject of my sketch his tribute of admiration in these words:—

"But the palm of the whole debate was carried away by James McDowell, by the calm lucidity with which he endeavored to follow the essential nature of the struggle to its lowest depths. The dirty subterfuge which was as old as the slavery question itself, that a more favorable moment must be awaited, he met with the assertion that, unless the evil were now attacked by legislative means, its removal would have to take place amid convulsions. For that slavery had ultimately to come to an end in the one way or the other, there could be no question:—because it is impossible to reconcile the slave to his fate. The inflexible *non possumus* with which it was thought to oppose an unsurpassable limit to every attempt at a rational and legal solution of the question, was completely worn out; the right of property cannot be an absolute one, but must find its limitation in the higher demands of the universal good."

And, turning again to Wilson¹ in his account of the same debate, I meet this passage:—

“But the most eloquent and effective speech of this great debate was made by James McDowell, afterward governor of the State, and a representative in Congress. It was a masterly portrayal of the ruin and demoralization wrought by slavery in his native State. Its wonderful and almost magical effect upon the convention is a matter of tradition in Virginia to this day. In describing the panic and terror wrought by the Southampton insurrection, and in reply to a member who had characterized it as a petty affair, he declared that it drove families from their homes, assembled women and children in crowds, in every condition of weakness and infirmity and suffering that want and terror could inflict, to escape the terrible dread of domestic assassination. ‘Was that,’ he asked, ‘a petty affair which erected a peaceful and confiding portion of the State into a military camp; which outlawed from pity the unfortunate beings whose brothers had offended; which barred every door, penetrated every bosom with fear or suspicion; which so banished every sense of security from every man’s dwelling, that, let but a hoof or a horn break upon the silence of the night, and an aching throb would be driven to the heart? The husband would look to his weapon, and the mother would shudder and weep upon her cradle! Was it the fear of Nat Turner, and his deluded, drunken handful of followers, which produced such effects? Was it this that induced distant counties, where the name of Southampton was strange, to arm and equip for a struggle? No, sir, it was the *suspicion eternally attached to the slave himself*,—a suspicion that a Nat Turner might be in every family; that the same bloody deed might be acted over at any time and in any place; that materials for it were spread through the land, and were always ready for a like explosion.’ ”

*Hon. George W. Summers’ View of the House of Delegates
on the Question of Slavery.*

The subject of slavery, exhaustively discussed by the legislature, did not, however, result in any determinate action. Indeed, it seems

¹ Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America, Vol. I, p. 205.

that no such decision was expected, according to the statement made by Hon. Geo. W. Summers of Kanawha, in a letter that has survived the crash of national affairs and all the personal vicissitudes of the last forty years. He was a member of the legislature in the historic period of 1831-32, and an able participant in the great debate upon the abolition of slavery ; and I am glad to give the letter in full as presenting the most reliable view of the situation of the public affairs of the day within my reach.

Referring to a review which he had given, when a member of the State convention in 1851, of the debate in 1831-32, he says :—

“ You will perceive that no immediate legislative action was contemplated by any one. The proposition of Mr. Randolph simply was that the committee which had already been appointed by Mr. Fisher should be instructed to inquire into the expediency of submitting to a vote of the qualified electors of the State Mr. Jefferson’s plan of *post nati* emancipation. If it had met favor with the people, and had been ultimately carried out, it would not have disturbed, in the slightest degree, the condition of a single slave then in being, or of any who might be born previous to the day specified in the year 1840.

“ The whole discussion and subsequent agitation of the question was brought about by a premature motion of an eastern member (Mr. Goode of Mecklenburg), to discharge the committee, while they yet had the subject under consideration ; a very unusual parliamentary movement, and which produced much excitement at the time. That committee consisted of twenty-one members, sixteen of whom were from the counties east of the Blue Ridge, and yet they were not willing to trust them. If the committee had been left undisturbed, and had reported it inexpedient to legislate on the subject, that report would have been acquiesced in, and there would have been no discussion of the subject.

“ It must be remembered that, at the time of this debate, there was no such state of things, in the non-slaveholding States, in regard to slavery as has since sprung up. This was previous to the birth of that abolition fanaticism which has annoyed us so much. It was an examination by Virginia herself, into the condition of one of her most important institutions—an examination forced upon her by a then recent and calamitous insurrection—an examina-

tion to which the legislative mind was invoked by the solemn appeal of the chief magistrate of the Commonwealth, by the entreaties of an anxious and alarmed people through petitions and memorials, and by the combined voice of the public press of the State.

"The slave population was then increasing with fearful rapidity in Virginia and the Southern States. We had not then acquired Texas, and no one looked forward to its acquisition. The minds of many of our best and wisest citizens were filled with apprehensions as to the future in contemplation of a swollen and pent-up negro population, with no outlet to drain off its surplus numbers. Indeed, it is scarcely practicable, for one only familiar with the state of things and with the public sentiment of the South as they now exist, to realize the force of the circumstances and opinions under whose influence the members of the General Assembly of 1831-2 found themselves placed.

"Your father's speech on the occasion referred to (the debate on abolition) produced a deep and powerful impression.

"He made another speech at the same session as chairman of the Committee on Internal Improvement; upon a proposition to construct, upon State account, a work connecting the tide-water of James river with the Ohio. This, I think, was the greatest speech I ever heard him make. I do not know that it was reported. The proposition failed, and the bill incorporating the present James River and Kanawha Company was passed in its stead.

"His was a melting, persuasive eloquence that I have never known excelled. He poured forth the most beautiful and elevated conceptions, clothed in the richest drapery which our language affords.

. . . "It would afford me sincere pleasure to dwell more at length upon events and incidents which would serve to illustrate the character and worth of one between whom and myself the relations of friendship always existed, and for whom I entertained the warmest regard and admiration."

CHAPTER X.

Religious History.—First Death in the Family.

It was probably in the Spring of 1831, in the midst of the political excitement of that time, that Mr. McDowell came to a crisis in his personal feelings which shaped and colored his whole after life, and the lives and characters of his children. At this period there was great religious interest in the Presbyterian church at Lexington, of which Dr. George Baxter, one of the ablest preachers of the State, was pastor. The interest was widespread, affecting other denominations, and reaching beyond the town and the neighboring villages into counties adjacent to Rockbridge. It was, indeed, a very great "awakening," as the old divines most truly and graphically call it. So universal and profound was it, that the Presbyterians arranged a protracted meeting, for a series of services, after the manner of a Methodist camp-meeting, in the neighborhood of Lynchburg. It was widely attended; it brought life and hope to many homes scattered throughout that region; and the precious fruits of it appeared on every hand, for many and many a year that followed it. My father resorted to it; and doubtless the blessings it brought to him, have come down to me. The friendship between him and the Rev. Peyton Harrison had its origin in these meetings; and was so strongly associated with them in my mind, as to give a peculiar accent to my own regard for him. Dr. John Leyburn, in an obituary notice of my father, mentions, at some length, this important era in his life:—

"All his gifts," he writes, "however valuable intrinsically, and delighted in by others, Governor McDowell laid at the foot of the cross. What was his gain he counted loss for Christ. He was a true and humble follower of the Lamb. In the midst of a political campaign, in the year 1831, when the minds of most men similarly situated would have been absorbed with the exciting circumstances; and when the plea 'Go thy way for this time' would have seemed to many specially appropriate, he first publicly evinced a personal interest in the great salvation. A revival of religion was in

progress under the ministry of the venerable Dr. Baxter, in Lexington, and the very day preceding the election at which he was one of the candidates he appeared amongst a band of inquirers asking what he should do to be saved.

"After a season of spiritual distress, lasting for weeks, he at last found a good hope through grace, and so expressed himself in the happiness of his first love during a meeting of great interest in the neighborhood of Lynchburg, and to attend which he had travelled forty miles from his home."

Having made a profession of religion, he promptly assumed its observances and duties. The first of these was his establishment of family worship. It was a severe trial to him; but, as delay did not make it easier, he seems to have grappled it at once. The oldest of us were little children then; and being called together one morning to an upper chamber for prayers filled us with awe; and my father's agitation in conducting the service made upon our young minds an indelible impression. I do not think we exchanged a word with one another as we left the room.

But soon it grew into a regular custom, carried about with us to all our different homes.

It must have been about this time that an incident occurred which subjected the vitality of the religion he professed to a very sharp test.

On an occasion of a communion service, my father had gone with his parents to their church at Timber Ridge. In those days the sacrament was served at a table running across the church below the pulpit; communicants coming to it from all parts of the building. As my father left his pew to go to the table, he saw, advancing from the opposite direction, a young gentleman with whom he had had a severe quarrel, amounting, indeed, to a personal collision. So unexpected an appearance, at such a place, of course, startled him very much; but, without hesitation, he went straight forward; offered his hand to his opponent; and the young men sat down together. I know there must have been some of those good Scotch-Irishers who looked approvingly on the scene, though their eyes were not altogether clear, for the mist that had spread over them.

Not long after this, occurred the first death in the family; that of a lovely little boy,—which produced a great and lasting impres-

sion in the household, and no doubt deepened and strengthened my father's religious life. He mourned over the child, and never recovered from a sense of the severe loss he had sustained by his death. Years afterward he wrote this note about him:—"Of exceeding beauty, docility, manliness, and mental promise, he was very much—far too much—the idol of his parents and family. Young as he was (he was nearly three years old), he had long known all the letters of the alphabet; could form many of them; and, otherwise, gave many and remarkable proofs of an active and awakened mind."

Although not a free talker to us on the subject of religion, my father carefully sheltered and advanced our spiritual welfare; and encouraged us to Christian activities in every direction. When the older children were little, he made, considering the smallness of his endowment as a teacher, quite a commendable attempt to help us with our Sunday school lessons. Among his papers there has come to light a book in which he made some entries relating to the lessons with the evident purpose of making his instructions clear to us. But he seems not to have made much headway in a service to which he was so unsuited; and doubtless it was soon abandoned, to the great relief of all parties. Nevertheless he kept an eye upon what we did on Sunday; and with much significance asked me, after I had reached the great age of thirteen or fourteen,—that self-asserting period in a girl's life,—whether I was "not keeping, as near as possible to a novel on Sunday, when I read 'The Lady of the Manor?'"

But he was far more express in laying down the law to us than this would imply; and I call to mind an incident to prove how much his religious faith and principle were wrought into the affairs of the family.

I remember a grave interview to which he summoned me to receive his opinion and counsel on some important point of difference. There was not a single fault-finding word spoken; not even an inflection of his voice to rouse within me a spirit of opposition or resentment. He was kind and gentle and thorough and, of course, carried his point. Of this, however, he gave no sign that could wound me, and as I was leaving the room he kissed me, and said in a low voice, as though to apologize for the pain,

and yet enforce the counsel he had given :—"My daughter, your mother and I have made this a day of prayer for our children."

CHAPTER XI.

Nullification—Tariff Legislation Upon Southern Interests—The "Woollens Bill" in South Carolina—John C. Calhoun Leads the Way to Nullification—Doctrine of Nullification in Virginia Politics—Fatal to McDowell's Official Advancement—His Position Upon It—Excitement in Rockbridge Upon the President's Proclamation.

Nullification.—Tariff Legislation Upon Southern Interests.—The "Woollens Bill" in South Carolina.—John C. Calhoun Leads the Way to Nullification.

The Adams administration signalized its closing months by the bequest to its successor, in a measure of protective tariff, of a dainty bit of trouble, popularly known as the "Woollens Bill."

The South was the great producer of the Union. Vessels laden with her "staples," cotton and tobacco, sugar and rice, unfurled the stars and stripes on every sea as they headed towards all the marts of civilization in the eastern hemisphere. And she was proud of introducing our new land to the hoary old kingdoms, with their effete monarchies on the other side of the globe, by carrying to them the testimony which her products bore to the rich quality of her soil; and of inviting them to come and witness for themselves the benign influence which her great political venture of free institutions under the sovereignty of the people had achieved in the world's history. Her export trade had increased at so rapid a rate at the period of which I am speaking (1829), that, adopting the estimate of Prof. Woodrow Wilson of Princeton, "three-fourths of the agricultural exports of the country came from the South; and very nearly three-fifths of all the exports. The value of the exports of manufactured articles reached only about six millions." The total return of the manufactures of the whole Union was less, by one-fourth, than the export trade of the single

State of South Carolina ! For, in that year,—I am quoting from the same authority,—“ the exports from South Carolina reached the sum of \$8,175,586.”

Thus enriching, in money and repute, the country at large, the Southern section felt her liberties infringed by the heavy tariff imposed by Congress upon imports ; thereby curtailing to it the advantages of foreign merchandise, for the protection of Northern manufactures.

South Carolina demurred to this unequal legislation. She could not brook the idea of being coerced by it to forego her usual purchases of broadcloth and blankets, from foreign markets, and, by a sort of forced patriotism, content herself with the much inferior and scarcely less expensive woollen productions of the Northern looms. She chafed under such exactions ; and soon the whole State was ablaze with indignation and discontent. In July, 1827, some of the most prominent men of Columbia called a meeting of citizens, the governor presiding, and formulated a solemn protest against the specifications of the “ Woollens Bill ” passed by congress ; and appointed a committee to open correspondence with other Southern States, and invite their co-operation in resisting it.

In the summer of 1828, when *in transitu* as vice-president between the Adams and Jackson administrations, John C. Calhoun, the corypheus of the whole movement, prepared, and widely disseminated in his “ South Carolina Exposition,” a full statement of his doctrine of Nullification, foreshowing the consequences to which it must lead. Smarting under a sense of ill-usage from the general government, this paper soon gained entire ascendancy over the minds of the people of Carolina ; and when, by a series of tariff measures in congress running through the years '29, '30, and '31, of a type more severe and exasperating than the original one, there seemed to this aroused and embittered community nothing left for it but to pass a legislative act annulling, within the commonwealth, the oppressive imposts laid upon it at Washington.

The doctrine of Nullification gained credence and support in others, perhaps in all of the Southern States ; but nowhere did it gather a party of sufficient size for organization and protest as it had done in South Carolina. Wherever the leaven spread, however, it was among high class politicians. The doctrine was “ too

abstruse," Alexander Stevens long afterward said, "to be popular." It was far too subtle to capture the common sense of that majority of plain minds which holds the casting vote in public affairs. "Hoi polloi," a large class in every community, who delighted in the fun and frolic of the annual general muster of that day, and who implicitly believed in all that the fourth of July orators told them of the liberty and equal rights they enjoyed in the great Republic of the United States, were in no humor to be dragooned into an immediate surrender of them by the inflammatory appeals of the upholders of these new ideas. Neither was that powerful, responsible body of citizens, the owners of the land and producers upon it; the merchants also, and mechanics, the very bone and sinew of the people,—under the dispassionate leadership of able minds, ready to turn away, at any call but that of the profoundest necessity, from the Federal compact, whose faults, in their experience, had been outweighed by splendid benefits. They were not prepared to listen to arguments too fine-strung for them to grasp; nor to accept the proposal of changes whose practicability and efficiency, not yet subjected to trial, lost the value of their promised relief by the fact that the chiefs in the movement, though agreed as to the nature of the evil pressing upon them, utterly disagreed as to the *modus operandi* of their deliverance from it. Agitation on the subject grew in the four or five years it was under discussion, and spread far and wide; every enactment by congress of a protective tariff accentuating the danger of collision between the State and the general government, till at length the Union, to her utmost limits, felt the quickened pulse of the impending crisis. The suspense was not long.

The legislature of the State of South Carolina met in Columbia in October, 1832, scarcely five years after the famous citizens' meeting held there, which had issued its protest against the "Woollens Bill" and thereby inaugurated the whole nullification difficulty. It called a convention for the next month. Without loss of time it was appointed. It assembled November 19th, and "on November 24th passed an ordinance of nullification declaring the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832 null and void within the jurisdiction of South Carolina, and prohibited the payment of duties under those laws within the State after the first day of the following February."

Jackson returned a prompt reply by his proclamation of December 16, 1832, demanding the payment of the revenue tax in the usual way, to the authorized United States collectors, at the port of Charleston; which, if omitted or resisted, he would enforce by every power vested in him by the Constitution. "And a 'force bill' to enable him to maintain the supremacy of the laws was passed through both Houses of Congress."

"Hers not to reason why;
Hers not to make reply;
Hers but to do — or die;
Thundered old Jackson!"

Little Carolina, however, plucky and proud, whether right or wrong, proceeded to meet the issue she had raised by all the small means of resistance belonging to her. "Troops were organized; large supplies of cannon and other weapons of war, with the necessary munitions, were bought; and a call made for volunteers." Meantime the United States revenue collectors were in the city of Charleston and the Federal fleet was sent down to protect them. How the State was to conduct a naval conflict the histories do not relate. But a very fiery nullifier, a distinguished participant in all these excitements, when time had cooled his blood and the drama of nullification had passed off the stage of public events, would tell me with genuine amusement of the "one propeller with which his enraged State meant to storm the city of New York." If this was the sole provision for her battles on the sea doubtless it was on duty now, riding the sunny waves of Charleston harbor, and keeping in check the Government squadron anchored there!

In the staples-growing region of Virginia, the doctrines and *pronunciamenti* of South Carolina met most sympathy, and made most headway. Not a few veteran statesmen, and quite a number of the so-to-speak undergraduates in politics of that quarter, professed a warm allegiance to them, and together formed that wing of the Democratic party then known as the Calhoun Democrats, and since described as "the most intense type of Virginia Democracy."

The Valley men, and men beyond the Alleghanies, with their cereals and grass ranges, and their cattle upon a thousand hills, with equal patriotism, but less impulse—as far apart in character,

indeed, as the Cavalier and Calvinist must be expected to be,—looked at the situation from a different standpoint; and made their moves on the board of State legislation with great deliberateness. They refused to accept Nullification as the shibboleth of the Democratic party; and, with all honor and loyalty to the State, refused to bring it in conflict with, or to run its sovereignty above, the binding force of the Federal law. These were Jackson Democrats, and strict constructionists of the constitution.

The Virginia Legislature, on the alert for action, the moment the decision of the contestants had been declared, appointed a committee to take prompt and vigorous hold of affairs in the pause after the ordinance of South Carolina and before the proclamation of the President had appeared, and before hostilities had begun. Upon the committee's docket appeared such subjects as these:—

“Shall Virginia offer to mediate between the hostile parties? And what shall be the nature, the extent, and the method of her mediation?”

“Shall a commissioner be sent to ask Carolina to postpone her ordinance until a new congress can act upon the tariff; or shall he go, with instructions setting forth Virginia's position in the matter?”

The first was the suggestion of the moderate men in the House of Delegates;—the other, that of the ultra State-rights men, or Nullifiers.

Great excitement prevailed in the legislature, in the city of Richmond and throughout the State. The senate chamber, where the committee held its sessions, was crowded with an almost tumultuous throng, with the bad effect of tempting a grave, deliberative committee to become an inflamed debating society. In the aroused country-side every man who held a vote (fortunately the right of suffrage was not universal), felt at liberty to pelt his representative with private letters of menace and advice; and to gather public meetings, that might more emphatically convey to him instructions as to the course he must take when the time for action came. The mail was full of this kind of dynamite; and when I watch the adroit yet bold seamanship of those men, as they worked their passage through the narrow and perilous channel, between State-rights and Nullification, the Proclamation and Federal law, my wonder grows that any one should appear with either life or limb

at the other end. But if, by a sort of miracle, some did get through with whole bones, their constituents instantly faced about, and flung at them jeers and reproaches in the very teeth of their former counsels and commands:—"Well, after all, you were much too warm for State-rights not to be a Nullifier." Or, "far too strong for the President and the Union to be truly alive to the sovereignty of the State."

And so,—and so, history is ever repeating its story of the unreliableness of the people, and of their opinions. Happy is the public servant who does not make of the people's favor the compass by which to steer his course; but who consciously contributes to their service the immutable decrees of truth and duty.

The intervention of Virginia, however, was not needed. For at the exigent moment, when each of the unequal contestants was athirst for blood, the friends of the Union, mainly under the leadership and influence of Henry Clay, interposed; and a compromise was effected by the passage of a tariff law so much modified as to conciliate, or, at any rate, "to furnish an excuse for the suspension of all further hostilities."

Doctrine of Nullification in Virginia Politics.—Fatal to McDowell's Official Advancement.—His Position upon it.—Excitement in Rockbridge upon the President's Proclamation.

In this crisis as in all the subsequent crises of his public career, we find that Mr. McDowell never adopted as his rule of action the common watchword, "Our party, right or wrong," nor even the higher standard, "Our country, right or wrong;" but his political acts were governed by his Christian integrity, under a sense of responsibility to a nobler Power than that of country or party; and to a mightier accountability than that of the will of the people. Though an ardent Democrat always, believing in Democratic doctrines, and adhering to the party polity, yet he was not under moral bondage to any platform; and whenever the demands of the party clashed with the dictates of his conscience, whatever the cost, the party was surrendered. An avowal of this ruling principle we find in a sort of opening of his heart to his wife, his confidential friend, in an unobtrusive communication to her in the

excited period of December, 1832, in such sentences as these. "Our debate on the resolutions of that committee¹ comes on to-morrow, and I have been busy gathering up preparation for it—a preparation which I am ashamed of, but feel too deeply the crisis of the country to hold back."

"How I shall succeed, heaven only knows. Whether I shall do my country a service or not, it were vain, just now, to conjecture; but I *will* do what I can, and do it as under the scrutiny of Him whose eye is always upon me."

The four or five years of the Nullification period decided the fate of many an old and many a new aspirant for political honor and preferment in Virginia, and gave a trend and color of its own to a wide range of Southern action and thought for many a year thereafter. Politically, no man felt this at the time more than McDowell himself; and, without doubt, the ricochet from it proved fatal to his prospects in the closing years of his life.

By the introduction of letters from him and to him during those critical weeks when the ordinance of Carolina and Jackson's proclamation were held in suspense, I hope to give something of a picture of the aroused feeling of the people of Rockbridge, and the attitude of all parties under these great events; and, at the same time, to afford my father a chance to express, for himself, his own views on these agitating questions.

The absence of his name from this important committee on South Carolina affairs occasioned much indignation among his friends in the House of Delegates, and gave occasion for unpleasant criticism amongst his constituents. The simple reason for it was that, overmastered by anxiety for his sick family, he had, upon hearing that he was to be upon it, gone to the speaker, and urged that he be excused from the service. However, he gave much time to the study of the case, and, early in the debate, delivered a carefully prepared exposition of his views upon it.

Through the few previous years of his public service he had gained such repute as to have received most gratifying mention for the highest offices in the gift of the legislature. This winter of 1832–33, the Carolina difficulties furnished a test of the relative

¹ Committee on South Carolina Affairs.

strength of the parties in the assembly, by the need to fill both seats in the United States Senate. Early in its sessions, December 10th, 1833, William C. Rives was elected successor to Governor Tazewell, without opposition. But before the election of the other Senator came on, the Carolina trouble had reached its climax, and the President's proclamation had caused so serious a division in the Jackson party as to defeat its candidate, Mr. McDowell, for the United States Senate, for when the vote was called on the 15th of February, it stood John Tyler, 81; James McDowell, 62; scattering, 18.

Under date of December 18th, 1832, immediately after the Jackson proclamation reached Lexington, Mr. William Taylor writes thus to his brother-in-law, Mr. McDowell, in Richmond:—

“The President's proclamation meets with general approval. The Clay men are loud in its praises. The *Union* [the town paper] thinks it ought to be placed along side of the Declaration of Independence.”

And in another letter, post-marked January 2nd, Mr. Taylor mentions a meeting of citizens in Lexington, in which great excitement prevailed over the South Carolina ordinance; and described its proceedings as follows:—

“There was great unanimity and a fixed determination to sustain the President manifested by all parties. All were against Nullification, although there would have been a difference of opinion on the subject of State-rights if any attempt had been made to give an analysis of the principles of our government. This exciting subject was, however, prudently avoided.

“I was sorry to see the strong feeling of hostility to Carolina manifested by some of the people. I believe volunteers could have been obtained at once to go out against her. I hope you will manage the matter in your house with prudence and forbearance. The people look with intense interest to your proceedings.

“As far as I have heard the resolutions of the committee¹ spoken of, they do not meet with approbation. They are considered as partaking rather of the character of partisans than mediators. If you go in the latter character, where is the necessity of publishing a

¹ Committee on South Carolina Affairs in the Legislature.

manifesto of your principles? Is this a time for contending about theories that are merely speculative? I hope you will make an effort to modify them."

Enclosed in the above letter are the resolutions passed in the meeting it refers to:—

"*Resolved*, That the ordinance of South Carolina nullifying the tariff laws of the United States is unauthorized by the Constitution; is at war with the existence of the Federal Government, and destructive of the peace and prosperity of the United States.

"*Resolved*, That the attitude in which South Carolina has placed herself justified the President of the United States in issuing his proclamation.

"*Resolved*, That we consider it the duty of all good citizens to support the President in his efforts to enforce the laws of the Government of the United States.

Committee:

S. S. Baxter,
William Taylor,
Colonel Blair,
Robert Campbell,

P. P. Burton,
Colonel Jordan,
S. McD. Reid,
Hugh Barclay.

(Written by Baxter)."

Men of greater poise and strength of mind and character could hardly be found to serve on an important committee in any public exigence than those mentioned above.

I quote again from a man of uncommon intellectual power, of singular intelligence and information in politics, and of wide observation of the people of the county and of their ways of thinking—Dr. Archibald Graham, who sends to his friend and delegate at Richmond his views on the aspect of affairs in a letter dated—

"LEXINGTON, *January 1*, 1833.

. . . . "The old General's proclamation seems not to have been relished much by the Virginia politicians. In this region it has

been received with loud and almost universal applause. The old Federal and Clay party hail it as the harbinger of better times that are to settle forever the principles that they have been contending for. The Jackson party receive it favorably, because it is *Jackson's*. A few, and a very few, cannot swallow its high-toned Federal doctrines; look upon it as a surrender of the fundamental principles of the State-rights party, and, of course, to terminate in a consolidated government, when the interests of the minority are to be sacrificed to those of the majority whenever they come in collision. A meeting was held yesterday in the court-house, Reuben Grigsby in the chair. I am told they adopted resolutions approving the proclamation. There is a strong feeling in this county against Nullification, and a very general disposition to put it down *vi et armis*. I believe a strong volunteer company could be raised here, at a moment's warning, to march against them."

Here is another view of the situation, outside the boundaries of the State. I make no apology for inserting a paper so characteristic of its writer—Thomas H. Benton:—

"December 23, 1832.

. . . . "I see you are to have a contest about the right of secession. I had as lief myself argue the question of transubstantiation. I am so much in the habit of looking at everything practically, and estimating its value by its effect on realities, that I cannot consider this right of secession as worth anything, except for the military force that backs it. Let it be granted; say a State has a right to secede; and does so; that moment she is foreign territory, and the right of acquisition attaches. If necessary to us, we conquer it; if dangerous to us, we conquer it; and as it will not remain with us as a *state*, it must be held as a territory. Suppose Louisiana went out; the West would whip her back again, and hold her fast afterwards. The right of secession is nothing except in States strong enough to maintain their independence by force of arms; and then it becomes a mere question of power. There are objectionable things in the proclamation; but I do not think it is for our friends to dwell upon them; it is sufficient to make a reservation of the bad, and dwell upon that which is good.

“We hope to hear from you on the debate on Brodnax’s resolutions, and we doubt not but that Virginia will bring South Carolina to a halt, until the new Congress can sit and do her justice.”

And now, upon the appearance of Judge Barbour in the convention, as one of the candidates for the Vice-Presidency, Mr. McDowell precedes his vote by inquiring as to the status of the nominee on the all-absorbing question of Nullification.

“Permit me, sir, to ask of any of the gentlemen who have supported Judge Barbour, and may best understand his opinions, whether he is, or is not, a Nullifier? whether he holds the opinion that any State in the Union has the (constitutional) reserved right of interposing through its legislature or other authorized department of government to suspend or avoid the execution of any regularly enacted law of Congress which that State may decide to be unconstitutional? . . .

“It is not enough to say that Mr. Barbour is no more a Nullifier than any other State-rights politician in Virginia. This, in point of explicitness, is equivalent to saying nothing; for it is well known, that State-rights in our party vocabulary means a genus which comprehends several specific varieties of politicians. It is perfectly notorious that both Nullifiers and anti-Nullifiers claim a common origin—claim to belong to the same paternity, and dispute with one another the legitimacy of their respective descent.

“Do you not find men who maintain the right of a single State to arrest or vacate an act of Congress which she may think unconstitutional, as being perfectly consistent with State government; and others again who consider such assumption of power by a State as utterly inconsistent both with those principles and that theory. And, differing as they do on this great canon of political faith, they nevertheless wear the same badge, rank and size in the same corps, and take the field against all other political sects under the same banner. The present Governor of South Carolina, a noble specimen of a Southern gentleman, maintains Nullification as the rightful progeny of State-rights doctrine, and supports himself upon our text-books—upon the written dicta of Jefferson and Madison. Does Judge Barbour belong to his side of the communion? Madison and others enter their disclaimer to the doc-

trine as extra-constitutional, and repudiate it as but the counterfeit presentment of the true faith. Does Judge Barbour belong to their side? Sir, this name State-right has become deceptive. It does not define opinion with sufficient exactness. It substitutes a title for a creed, and has been equally assumed as the appropriate designation of two parties, who, agreeing indeed in many things, yet, in the most important and fundamental points, are in utter discordance with each other."

In *The Union*, January 16, 1833, over the signature of "A Subscriber," Mr. McDowell was so strongly criticised in regard to circumstances relating to the Senatorial contest just ended in Tyler's favor, and subjected also to such misrepresentations as to his bearing on Nullification—the furor of the session—as to draw from him a personal letter to General Dorman of self-defence and explanation. I will let the "dead past" bury whatever of merely individual bitterness was shown in it, and make extracts of parts of a more public nature:—

"I am represented," he writes, "as waiving the doctrine of secession upon the ground that it was not in issue, and thereby 'suppressing' the knowledge of my opinions upon it at a time when the sentiments of the State were doubtful. This is not so. I did not *argue* the doctrine, indeed (for reasons which I will presently give); but my opinions upon it were not suppressed—they were fully uttered in the House and out of it; were fully known to members, and were also embodied in several votes in which this doctrine was either directly or indirectly involved. I send you some leaves of our legislative journal which exhibit the ayes and noes upon this point. In pages 88 and 89 of this journal you will see the exact party vote of the House, as given directly and singly on the principle of secession. The Senatorial election turned upon this principle almost exclusively; and not a seceder, east or west, voted for me.

"I spoke on the subject of our Federal relations on the 1st of January, Mr. Moore and Mr. Wallace of Fauquier only having preceded me. At the close of my speech I stated that I was fully prepared to discuss the doctrine of secession then, but would reserve what I had to say to a time when the House was less wearied;—that I considered the principle assumed in the report of the com-

mittee of twenty-one, that each State had the right 'peaceably to secede,' was wholly unwarranted by the Constitution, and that I would endeavor to establish that position by reasons which, though they were perfectly satisfactory to myself, yet might not be to others. . . . We have much cause, I think, for uneasiness in the political tendencies of our public men. There can be no doubt that Nullification is at work upon them, and that if they dared, they would declare in its behalf. South Carolina's Nullification is understood by the public, and pretty generally, though very far from universally, condemned; but the principle of it is taking a new form in the hands of Virginia politicians, and one which, to my apprehension, is greatly more exceptionable. South Carolina admits that when she nullifies, her act may be controlled by the decision of three-fourths of the States assembled, but it is here contended (if I understand aright) that a State may, at her will, and in the mode which she shall elect, discharge her citizens from their obedience to the laws of the general government; and that, therefore, it is not constitutionally competent to the authorities of that government to carry these laws into execution against them.

"This principle is broader and more general than that asserted by Carolina;—it is immediate and unconditional Nullification. Carolina refers her act to the decision of her sister communities, but this principle nullifies without any reference whatever. Those who maintain it do not put its exercise upon a case of extreme practical oppression from the General Government; for then it would be more than revolutionary; but they claim it as constitutional; as always existing; and always open to a State for any application which its will may direct. If this be true, then it is idle to be talking of the *powers* of the General Government; for those only can, with any propriety, be called 'powers' which can be carried into execution."

CHAPTER XII.

Jackson's Administration—Van Buren Able but Unsuccessful—The Failure to Meet all Party Requirements Issues in the Loss of Party Preference—Virginia Military Institute.

Jackson's Administration.

The Jackson administration marked a stormy period in American politics. Eminently our chief magistrate was a law unto himself, and tried to the utmost the elasticity of the Presidential prerogative.

A strict constructionist, he looked askance at expensive national internal improvements; and, as representing all that department of congressional patronage, his veto fell upon the Maysville road. He was, himself, inclined to a moderate tariff; but, as a high tariff law had been passed, he forced Carolina to submit to it at the point of the bayonet. Congress gives the United States Bank a new charter: presto! he wheels his guns into line, and opens fire upon it with a prompt denial. In 1832 the presidential election for a second term is coming on; and the Bank with Clay for it, and the Bank with Jackson against it, is the great issue put before the people. Jackson won; and accepted the result as full confirmation by the people of his entire Bank programme.

Thus seated in power, Jackson loses no time in pushing forward his schemes. In his first message to Congress his rancor against the Bank is revealed by his suspicions of its solvency and consequent unfitness to be custodian of the Federal funds. Congress replies by overwhelming testimony to the Bank's integrity! No matter! he determines that the national deposits shall be withdrawn.

But the right to do this is not an executive function. The Constitution nowhere gives the Chief Executive control of the nation's exchequer; but it clothes the head of the Treasury with plenary power in regard to it, under a direct responsibility for all his acts to the Congress of the United States. This interposed no difficulty; for in his first term, by some skilful changes, and a series of delicate manipulations, the President had succeeded in reducing his political

family to the same complexion with himself, and felt entirely sure of their support. Before his entrance into the cabinet, Mr. Duane was known to be an anti-Bank man, and, therefore, to order him, as Secretary of the Treasury, to remove the deposits, was simply a matter-of-course. But no! Duane, as a matter of principle, as well as of expediency, was opposed to the measure; and declined to carry it out. He went still further. Having, in high conscience, written above his official responsibility the words *not transferable*, he would not delegate to the President, who was willing and even anxious to assume it, a responsibility he dared not bear himself. This was a trying moment to Jackson, who greatly esteemed his inflexible Secretary. But he must not flinch, through personal attachment, from his severe decision. The guillotine was set up within the very cabinet circle, and Duane's most honorable head rolled into the basket!

Without much parley the vacant seat was filled; and with an officer already made to hand. Attorney-General Taney was advanced to the office the very day in which it was vacated. His views in regard to the proposed measure were coincident with those of his chief. He believed in the fairness and need of the theory and policy of the President, the carrying out of whose wish, therefore, was, in effect, but the expression of his own individual judgment. Immediately he issued an order withdrawing ten millions of the public revenue from the United States Bank, and had it placed in certain State banks selected to receive it. The new secretary paid a high price for his boldness; for, when Congress convened, his cabinet appointment was not confirmed.

In spite of this despotic assumption of power, Jackson obtained for his measures the support of the lower branch of Congress, with its large Democratic majority, and seems to have held firmly the enthusiasm of the people. The Senate, however, being angered and outraged beyond endurance, pursued a very different course. Its mighty trio, Clay, Webster and Calhoun, headed a party which, by a vote of ninety-six to twenty, entered upon its Journal a resolution censuring the President's whole action.

Under these extraordinary measures financial embarrassment ensued. But by degrees this passed off; a partial hard money currency came about; Benton's "mint-drops"—clean and comely,

rather than convenient little coins—worked their way into circulation, displacing the small paper bills; and, although a full monied confidence was not universal, yet the question of finance took a short rest from its intense agitation.

The President's term was coming to an end, and with it would close his turbulent public career. But, in the last weeks of the session, the persevering efforts of his warm personal friend and political ally, Thomas H. Benton, were successful; and he had the pleasure of seeing the Senate Journal formally brought out and laid upon the desk of Asbury Dickens, Secretary of the Senate, who, by a vote of twenty-four to nineteen, was ordered to draw "heavy black lines around the resolution of censure passed in 1833-34, and write across it, "EXPUNGED, by order of the Senate, this 16th day of January, in the year of our Lord, 1837."

Van Buren Able, but Unsuccessful.

The incoming administration fell heir to many of the unsolved money problems and practical difficulties which had convulsed the one just going out. And much of a "magician" as Van Buren was reputed to be in some lines of statesmanship, and as he undoubtedly was in all the accomplishments of social life, yet neither his statecraft, however much supported by intellectual ability, nor his necromancy, was adequate to the demands of the financial situation in which he found himself. Jackson had overthrown the Bank, it is true; and, after a time, a partial suspension of the business troubles that had ensued, came about; but the short respite seemed but to afford opportunity for the gathering of forces for the pecuniary crash that fell before the last echo of the inauguration bells had died away. The new President, thus at the very beginning caught in a labyrinth of moneyed perplexities, could devise no charmed way through its intricate windings to a safe currency and the restoration of the people's confidence in the security of the government in all its arrangements as well for the public funds as for those of individuals. He took an early opportunity to announce his scheme of an "Independent Treasury," as his only remedial measure in the deposits difficulties; and clung to it under rebuffs and discouragements till it was finally adopted.

But he did not establish the hard money currency he desired, nor could he relieve the universal moneyed distress of the country ; and, after a disappointing period of four years, in which the Democratic party steadily lost, and the Whig rapidly gained ground, he had, under a mortifyingly large majority, to pass over the presidency to William Henry Harrison.¹

Of course the great crises and jangles at Washington were repeated in the legislatures of individual commonwealths. Virginia had her full share of them. The convulsions of abolition and Nullification seemed to qualify her to deal with further spasms in the body politic ; particularly now that the people were so skilful in working the party enginery by their very free use of the right of instruction. All the Macs and Smiths and Joneses of Rockbridge wanted no better fun than to be called, all begrimed by sweat and dirt, from the tail of the plough, to a meeting, if not at the county seat, certainly at some convenient precinct, that they might send up to their delegates in Richmond their supreme dictum, on, it may be, the most abstruse political subject :—for, unquestionably, the people were sovereign, and had sovereign rights, whatever might be said as to the State and its sovereignty.

In 1832 Mr. Rives was elected to the Senate as successor to Governor Tazewell ; but, refusing to obey the instructions of the legislature to vote for the restoration of the deposits, he resigned, and Benjamin Watkins Leigh, the Whig candidate, took his place. In '34-'35 Rives and Leigh again became contestants for a seat in the Senate. In the interval, party heat had greatly increased throughout Virginia, developing the strength of each of the parties,

¹ Mr. McDowell took an active part in the Presidential election of 1840. He supported Mr. Van Buren warmly, and canvassed southwestern Virginia in his behalf. He was accompanied by John Warren Grigsby, a rising young lawyer, who was subsequently appointed by Mr. Van Buren, at the request of Mr. McDowell, to the consulship of Bordeaux, where it was thought the mild climate would be conducive to his health. He remained there several years, and upon his return to the United States settled in Danville, Kentucky, became a member of the Kentucky Legislature, and Brigadier-General in the Confederate States Army. It was the privilege of the writer of this, then a mere boy, to hear Mr. McDowell, in the closing days of the campaign, deliver at the Rockbridge Baths an address which enchained his audience for more than three hours with its wit, humor, anecdote, pathos and eloquence.—W. McL.

and bringing them more nearly abreast of one another. In no county of the State did the party war wage with more warmth than in Rockbridge, and Mr. McDowell found himself and his colleague in the House of Delegates perfectly pelted by instructions as to their duty in the impending election.

Mr. McDowell was a warm Jackson Democrat. He was against Nullification; against the re-charter of the Bank; and in favor of many of the measures of the administration: but he was, in no sense, subservient to public schemes, simply as the decrees of his party. In all his service of the country he demanded full play for the exercise of his own individual right of conscience; and on the question of the removal of the deposits he held and expressed views counter to those of Mr. Rives and to the wing of the party represented by him. But in the attitude which the Whig and Democratic parties had come to bear to each other at the period of this Senatorial contest, it became necessary to the support of the general policy of the administration that there should be compromises of special points of difference.

The people of Rockbridge, much stirred, industriously gathered meetings and sent up to Richmond the instructions to which I have referred. The identical bulky package, with its many signatures, varying from rude scrawls up to quite handsome script, lies before me, a pathetic memorial of the long-forgotten hostilities of the silent past. Our world has moved on into wider spheres of thought and action since then, but we must always remember that the nation's glory to-day is largely due to the patriotic struggles and political wisdom of its earlier epochs.

In January of 1835 the election came on, and Leigh was elected by a small majority. A member of the House at the time says, in writing of it,—“The election was a bitter one and gave rise to far deeper resentments than I have ever seen in the legislature. The equipoise of the parties—the importance of the result to national politics—the accumulating interest produced by delay—the violation of instructions—all contributed to keep us in a fever with one another until it was over. Leigh has nothing to boast of, and all parties consider his seat as virtually dependent upon the spring elections. If they go against him, it is thought he will resign.” The elections did go against him, and he did resign.

Mr. McDowell availed of the circumstances of this election to give his views upon the "Right of Instruction," and delivered an argument in favor of it, so powerful in logic and clear in analysis as to obtain, in the judgment of the day, a high place upon the record of his political addresses. At the close of it he pauses to explain the vote he was to cast in favor of Mr. Rives, while differing from him, so widely, on one point in their party creed:—

"Were my course," he says, "in no respect affected by the matter of instruction, I should vote for Mr. Rives. . . . Mr. Speaker, were this election to rest wholly upon the deposits question of last winter, I could not sustain Mr. Rives. That measure of the administration I considered as unsustainable upon policy or right; resisted it as a member of this body; resisted it in my character of candidate in the spring, and have seen no reason whatsoever, after the lapse of a year, to modify, to alter, or recall my opinion upon it. To me it is now, as it has ever been, an obnoxious measure of the present executive; and one upon which no party or personal considerations whatsoever shall ever restrain me from expressing my honest judgment. But we know that the present election stands not exclusively upon that ground, but that it is comprehensive of other grounds; and that it looks more to the *future* than to the *past*. The election is for the opposition or for the administration—principles, policy and purposes of each collectively estimated and considered. It is the purpose of the opposition to crush politically, as far as this election can aid it, the present administration, and all in anywise connected with it; and to this one end the broadest differences of abstract opinion upon government and of general policy have been harmonized and brought into concurrence. The administration must be defended as it is attacked, and special disapprobation of principle or policy in a given case must be compromised and yielded to the general object. Where there are but two sides, one of which must be taken, general considerations and not special ones must decide. I act as every other man must act upon this rule, and upon it I decide in the present case. If my mind is not as thorough, as undoubting, as fiery hot as that of thousands, it is still strong enough and broad enough to furnish forth the ground of satisfactory and conscientious decision."

*The Failure to Meet all Party Requirements Issues in the
Loss of Party Preferment.*

Mr. McDowell was not an "up-to-the-hub" party man. He would not consort with the ultra State-rights Democrats, in Nullification times; nor, in the Bank-war, did he endorse Jackson in the removal of the deposits. His friends, for his own sake, and the sake of the political doctrines they held in common, were anxious that their cause should win the control of the high national and State offices in the gift of the legislature. Western Virginia had had no representative in the United States Senate for more than half a century; and the Democrats of Rockbridge were ambitious to bring up the arrears due their section in the person of their own delegate. Mr. McDowell's influential friends, anxious for his political preferment, wrote, calling his attention to the iron despotism of mere party dogma. One of them thus warmly presents the case:—"Party contests will in future be waged with more acrimony than they have ever been heretofore; and he who wishes to sail prosperously should take *party* for his compass, and throw that old fashioned thing, honesty, overboard. This, I fear, is the breaker upon which you are to be wrecked."—And, in regard to the Senatorial contest between Leigh and Rives, already spoken of, another friend uses still stronger language. After adverting to his divergence on the deposits, he says: "Your friends cannot surely expect that you are to give up any opinion that you have expressed or entertain about it. I do not—and I claim to be your friend. It is a question about which thousands honestly differ—and he is a despot who is unwilling to tolerate an honest difference of opinion. But what *do* your friends and constituents require of you? That alone which I am sure you are disposed to do:—to be *their* champion—to fight *their* battle—to do *their* will, right or wrong. This is the line of duty—this is the battleground on which you may gather never fading laurels. And when once enthroned in the affections of the people, you may think as you please, and do as you please;—they will go with you, and for you. But I hope you will not understand me as desiring or expecting that your great effort is to be made in a nomination

speech in which the least want of candor may be suspected. Not at all. Be candid,—say the man you are to vote for is not your personal choice. But let it be known that he is the choice of your constituents; and, laying aside your own feelings, you must take up those of a people *resolved on victory*. You admit the right of instruction, and its correlative obedience. And this is the battleground on which you are to make your great effort.”

Such representations and admonitions of course roused with Mr. McDowell the question of giving place to some other, more out-and-out party man; but, notwithstanding his aberrations, when the time came he was returned to the legislature, year by year, until the last year of Van Buren's presidency. He supported him warmly in his sub-treasury scheme, which (so thoroughly had national usurped the place of State politics) had become the test question in the county elections in Rockbridge; and advocated his measure of specie currency. But the Van Buren administration failed to draw towards it the full Jackson Democracy. The Whigs steadily gained ground, and party promotion for a Van Buren man was not to be expected. It is not strange, therefore, that neither of the offices of senator or governor, both of which were filled during that administration, fell to McDowell, though he was prominently before the Democratic party for each of them.

But he did good work for the State in those years in advancing her own especial interests. He was zealous for her internal improvements; working for them as chairman of the committee, and advocating them by some of his very happiest efforts on the floor. He gave due attention to the James River and Kanawha Canal, with varied results. This improvement was a chronic feature on the legislative programme, appearing regularly every year for—perhaps, half a century;—it may have been, even more. I fancy that every new delegate, along its line, tried his “prentice hand” in a speech for or against it. It was a work splendid in design, but in some unaccountable way it never came up to its own promise, or to the hope of the people.

Besides this long and expensive water-way through the heart of the State, from east to west, some railroads were built and others projected in Eastern Virginia during the years between 1830 and 1840. But especially was this period signalized by philanthropic

and educational enterprises. The Western asylum for the insane at Staunton, and one for the deaf and dumb and blind, in the same city, mark the State's care for her suffering and unfortunate people. But the most remarkable of her undertakings, at that day, was an educational one.

Virginia Military Institute.

Once upon a time,—that being a convenient phrase to indicate a period to which no date can be affixed,—with the best prudential motives, Virginia built, upon one of the beautiful hills near Lexington, a little brick house, from which every architectural beauty was scrupulously excluded, but in which were placed arms and ammunition for the use of the scattered peoples of that mountain region, in case of exigence. A Captain, with a small number of very unformidable looking soldiers, and the usual accompaniment of military music, were sent there to guard it. But unpretentious as it looked, doubtless this was far from being an inexpensive nursling. However that may be, it stood there, accepted as a matter-of-course, for many a long year, awakening no attention, and creating no interest; unless, indeed, some pious people of the town felt a religious interest and did some work for the spiritual welfare of the soldiers.

But after a while a young lawyer of Lexington, John T. L. Preston, conceived the idea that this ammunition depot was capable of more honorable and efficient service than it was then giving. Gradually he formed a plan of using the Arsenal as the foundation of a State Military School, after the pattern of the United States Military Academy at West Point. Thus the State would spend her money, not only to protect her military stores, but to train soldiers, who, scattered throughout her entire domain, would take into all the peaceful avocations of life an experimental knowledge of military tactics. And, should peril come, the State, in her "citizen soldiers," had her corps of officers on call, who, from the pulpit and the platform; from the plough and the shop; from the student's cell and the teacher's desk; from the merchant's counter and the lawyer's office, in a moment, became drill-masters to her undisciplined troops, and captains to lead them into action. It

was a brilliant conception ; and subsequent events bear full testimony to its value.

Mr. Preston matured his scheme and confided the advocacy of it, before the Virginia General Assembly, to his kinsman and representative, Mr. McDowell. He warmly adopted, and zealously promoted it, but it encountered some delay in the Senate, and he did not have the pleasure of seeing the measure completed. The next year, however, when he was not in the legislature, the bill passed ; appropriations for the necessary buildings were made ; three professors were appointed—Francis H. Smith, John T. L. Preston, and Thomas H. Williamson—and on the 11th of November, 1839, a small company of seventeen cadets, in full uniform, answered the first roll-call, and kept step to the first drum-beat of the “ Virginia Military Institute.”

CHAPTER XIII.

Oration at Princeton.

Left out of the legislature in the spring election of 1838, Mr. McDowell was free to look after his own wide-spread private affairs, and to accept invitations for other than political addresses. Of these addresses the most prominent were at Amherst College, Massachusetts ; Princeton College, New Jersey ; and at the opening of the Deaf, Dumb and Blind Asylum in Staunton.¹ They were all able efforts, and were much eulogized ; but I will confine my notice to the one at Princeton. This was, undoubtedly, one of his greatest oratorical efforts ; and reminiscences of it lie plentifully on every side.

He had a warm feeling to Princeton always :—in his student days, and ever afterward. And, apparently, Princeton warmly responded to it. A young friend, who did me the very great favor to search into the old records of the Clio Society, to which he

¹ Upon the death of President Madison in 1836, at the request of the citizens of Lexington, Mr. McDowell delivered a chaste and eloquent oration on the character and public services of that illustrious statesman.—Eds.

belonged, brought out gratifying testimony to the work he had done in its secret cloisters, and to the esteem in which that work had been held. His college life, in every feature of it, had been most agreeable ; and it was with glowing pleasure that he came back, in September, 1838, to speak from the same platform on which, twenty years before, he had delivered the Latin salutatory.

The theme of this alumni oration was well adapted to so conspicuous an occasion ; and the interjection into it of a picture of the dangers of sectional strife, the grumblings of which were already heard, and the flames of which had even then risen above the political horizon, only gave emphasis to his appeal for love of country and preservation of the Union.

It is not necessary to reproduce the whole address. I will give only the concluding paragraphs of it, which figured for a long time afterward on different platforms, and on more conspicuous occasions. So much did this become its history that in our inner circles of family and friends it was constantly referred to in the simple phrase of "West Augusta." I transcribe a part of the long extract, which the *Richmond Compiler* furnishes to its readers under this announcement :—

"We have not had the pleasure of a perusal of Mr. McDowell's address before the alumni of Princeton College in September last. It was pronounced to have been most eloquent. A distinguished gentleman present on the occasion said that he doubted whether Patrick Henry, in his palmiest days, ever made an effort surpassing Mr. McDowell's on the occasion. . . . The following is the whole of the conclusion. . . . It will give the hearts of all who read it one additional glow of patriotism at least :—

"Let those amongst you who choose, bewail the existence of slavery as a maelstrom in the bosom of Southern society ; if they but touch it with pragmatism, with forbidden and infatuated hand, they render it a maelstrom to engulf the Union. . . . Leave this subject of slavery, with every accountability it may impose, every remedy it may require, every accumulation of difficulty or of pressure it may reach—leave it all to the interest and the wisdom and the conscience of those upon whom the providence of God and the Constitution of your country have cast it. . . . Stop, before stop is impossible, the furious headway of that destructive

and mad philanthropy which is lighting up for the nation itself the fires of the stake, which is rushing on, stride after stride, to a strife and a woe that may bury us all under a harder and wickeder slavery than any it would extinguish. . . .

“ ‘ Why abet the growth or the daring of the power of a spirit which wisdom and mercy plead to you with all their tongues to silence and to stop? Will any daughter in this assembly, the cherished and defended of a parent’s love, blessed to the uttermost with the holy peace of perfect security, sheltered to the uttermost from the apprehension and the approach of every wrong, with no enemy to dread, no hand to injure, no terror to affright, safe in her repose, safe in her innocence at every hour and in every place, will she do that which, all-valueless for its objects, will yet be all-powerful to send wakefulness and watching and danger and anguish perchance, to the days and the nights, to the summer shade as well as to the barred and bolted chamber of her Southern sister? Will any mother here, as she soothes her infant to its rest, and looks upon its balmy sleep, and pressing it to her heart bows in gratitude to God for His mercies to her child, thanking Him that its life is safe; safe from harm, from the hand of violence and revenge, and that all its slumbers are guarded by a nation’s power; will she—oh! can she, as the consequence of her acts, bear to behold the Southern mother startling and shuddering at every foot-fall, and at every noise which breaks upon the silence of the night, and flying from her pillow of wakefulness and wretchedness to kneel and crouch upon the cradle, weeping and sobbing in the anger of her soul, over the murder and horror that surround it? Will the father and the citizen hail us and greet us and press us to their bosom, as better brethren and better men, when we shall come up with our hands all red and reeking with the blood they have made us shed? But if not, then abjure the cause which involves the crime, and the disciples who support it. Friends of the slave! they are stripping him of the wretched remnant of liberty he has left. Friends of humanity! they are cruelly and recklessly staking it upon means of massacre and convulsion. Friends of the country! they are rapidly becoming its iron homicides, cleaving down its institutions with murderous hand, and tearing it limb from limb. If you would see the practical working of the spirit that is spoken of, the woe and the

ruin it can occasion, go to the quiet and passive slave of the South, pour insurrectionary sentiments into his ear, parade the worst of his condition in artful and in pictured horror before his eye, then trace the progress of the poison; trace it through his murmurs, his resentment, his resistance, his passions growing deeper and darker at every step, under the discipline he provokes, until anger and ulceration and agony of spirit have done their work, and revenge and murder have become the companions of his bosom—then see him leagued and banded with others as fell and as furious as himself, the vulture at his heart, the dagger and the torch in his hand, scaling into the silent and midnight chamber, and standing with horrid and uplifted weapon over the parent and the child, as they slumber, for the blow. See him! let the shriek, the gasping struggle, the gory blade, the blazing dwelling, tell out the deed that is done. For one moment, one palsied moment, a shivering and convulsive horror seizes upon the hearts of millions of our people; in the next, a dreadful wrath drives on to a dreadful retribution. But if the blood of our people is ever thus to stream in our dwellings and ooze from the very bosom of the soil that feeds us, it will cry from the ground like that of Abel for vengeance—vengeance against the brother hand that shed it—and vengeance would be had, though every drop that was left should be poured out in one anguished and dying effort to obtain it. Nothing, no, nothing but Heaven could prevent a people so lashed up to frenzy, by rage and suffering and wrong, from pouring back upon the fields and firesides of the guilty, that visitation of calamity and death which had been sent to desolate their own. Spare us! oh, spare us the curse of a ruptured brotherhood, of a ruined, ruined country. Give up your happy and united country; give it up to the madness of some factious hour, to the frenzy of some fanatic spirit; let it sink overwhelmed in some horrible struggle of brother with brother, and you will recover its liberties and its blessings again—when the sun shall “slumber in the cloud, forgetful of the voice of the morning.”

“When earth’s cities have no sound nor tread,
And ships are drifting with the dead,
To shores where all is dumb.”

‘Here upon your northern fields it was, at some dark and dismaying period of our revolution, when army after army had been lost, when, wretched and dispirited and beaten, the boldest quailed, and the faithfulest despaired, and all, for an instant, seemed to be conquered except the unconquerable will of our glorious chief; here it was, that rising above all the auguries and the terrors around him, he exclaimed to the despairing of his followers, as if inspired of Heaven for his work, “Strip me of the wretched and the suffering remnant of my soldiers; take from me all I have left; leave me a standard; give me but the means of planting it upon the mountains of West Augusta, and I will yet draw around me the men who will lift up their bleeding country from the dust and set her free.” That “West Augusta” stands here to day pleading through me, who am a son, for the individual and unbroken heritage of Washington and his comrades. Loyal to the result as to the struggle of the revolution, devoted as when her devotion was counted upon as equivalent to fate; true, as when you were grasped and bound to the bosom of each other in the hour of distress, it is her hope and her wish to finish with you the destinies of the nation; arm in arm to share with you in a common glory, and perish, when perish she must, only upon a common field: thus testifying, through all time, to a fidelity which there was nothing in life that could shock, and nothing in death that could destroy. Turning her eye and her heart upon no other banner than the proud one which floats from the capitol of the Republic, she prays as she looks upon it with its “stars and stripes,” that the glad shout which centuries hence may hail it in the land of the Pilgrims, may be echoed back from the waves of the Pacific Seas. Heaven grant that generations and ages hence some future son of the South, honored and welcomed and greeted as I have been to-day, may stand upon this consecrated spot, praising and thanking God, as I do, that he also can say, *these are my brethren, and this, too, is my country.*”

Col. William C. Alexander was so kind as to give me, in the following letter, some idea of the impression which the speech made upon him as he *listened* to it.

THE EQUITABLE LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY,
92 Broadway, New York.

August 7th, 1860.

MY DEAR MRS. MILLER:—

. . . “I was so fortunate as to hear the speech of your valued and lamented father at Princeton in 1838, and I have always considered it one of the signal events of my life that I was permitted to do so ; but I am embarrassed by the request to give any description of it, or of the effect which it produced. Every attempt to do so would be abortive. I have in the course of my life listened to many speakers who were called great and eloquent, but it has never been my good fortune to listen to any man who possessed in combination so many of the attributes of the real orator. His noble and commanding presence, his intelligent bearing and expressive countenance, his clear melodious voice, his distinctness of enunciation, the perfect grace of every attitude and gesture, united to an energy of manner which gave additional emphasis to every syllable he uttered, combined to make him one of the most interesting, impressive and eloquent speakers of this or any other country. I wish it was possible to give you some idea of the effect produced by his address at Princeton. I can only say that no such effect has been produced on any similar occasion. And this is perhaps saying everything, when I tell you that he had been preceded on that stage between 1826 and 1838, by Southard, Mercer, Berrien, Ingersoll, Frelinghuysen, Dallas, Sergeant, Gaston, Biddle, Forsyth, and other men famed as orators and statesmen.

“It must be remembered that Governor McDowell was then in his primal vigor, in the very plenitude of his strength and manhood ; that he was standing where he had stood just twenty-two years before, to receive the highest honors of the Institution, visiting, for the first time since, the scenes of his youth, standing in all the maturity of his honors, on the very spot where he had laid the foundation of so pure and lasting a fame. Who would not have been eloquent in such circumstances ! And how eloquent must Governor McDowell not have been !

“The effect of the address was intense and electrifying. Old men applauded. Strangers wondered—while students exulted, and spoke with wild enthusiasm of the gifts and eloquence of their distinguished older brother. That feeling still survives at Princeton. The fame of that speech has been handed down by tradition, and is still talked of and quoted, and boasted of. The late Professor Dod told me that Dr. Carnahan, who was a phlegmatic man, was so excited by the address, that he declared to him that he did not believe that it had been exceeded in eloquence by any effort of Patrick Henry.

“The effect produced by the delivery of this speech cannot be conceived of from its perusal. He had thrown himself upon the tide of his feelings, and was tender and resistless. Still I think that a better idea of his eloquence than any other could be given by citing a few of the remarkable and nervous passages of that speech, and letting some one who knew him well, and heard him often, and who has the intellect and the heart to appreciate his gifts and powers, and is competent to describe them so far as they can be described, try to show how they must have been delivered. . . .

“With great respect and esteem,
Most truly and faithfully
Your friend and servant,

WILLIAM C. ALEXANDER.”

I know I may be indulged in tributes to this oration, of a kind entirely different, and quite as forceful and gratifying, as any that have ever been put up in type.

My uncle, Gen. John S. Preston, of South Carolina, himself a most noble speaker, would rehearse with no small dramatic effect, and a great deal of heartiness and vim, a little experience of his own in regard to this address. As the grandson of Gen. William Campbell, the victorious commander at the battle of King’s Mountain, General Preston was called upon to make the address on the centennial celebration of the event. Of course he put all his strength into his oration, and he needed nothing more than that to make it one of commanding power. But, for some reason or other,

he bethought himself of the "West Augusta" peroration and (it being all in the family, you know) he determined to weave it into his speech. "And," said he, "I managed it superbly. It could not have been rendered in grander style. Your father, himself, could not have done it as well. But, after it was all over, my old friend — came up to speak to me, and, after his congratulations, tapped me on the shoulder and exclaimed, 'Preston! "West Augusta" was just splendid to-day; but I tell you, you were not anywhere near McDowell as I heard him get it off at Princeton!'"

After I came to Princeton to live, I heard much warm encomium of my father, and vivid descriptions of this alumni oration. Colonel Alexander told me that, for years afterward, the imprint of the manner and style was noticeable in the platform exhibitions of the students. And, such was the demand by them for the address, that a printer in the town had issued, for his own benefit, several editions of it. Strangely enough a copy from his second edition lies on the table before me now.

I know, too, that with steady regard for him, the College of New Jersey, in 1846, bestowed upon him the degree of LL. D.; and selected him as orator on the celebration of her hundredth anniversary, in 1847. The literary decoration he was too modest ever to append to his name, though our own Hampden-Sidney had familiarized him with the idea of it, by having given him the distinction two years before. The further honor of the centennial oration he was not able to accept.

Years swept along,—decades passed over the grave of the honored speaker upon that long ago Commencement; and his name and his fame, embalmed in the archives of the past, had no place in the interests of the present. But although relentless time had piled up a half century of years, and resistless progress had transformed simple, plain Nassau Hall into the sparkling Princeton of the present, yet the spirit of the voiceless speaker yet lingered in the college of his youth; and in a new guise came again upon the scene of his manhood's triumph.

One evening of, I think, the last spring of Dr. McCosh's presidency, I went into the old chapel to hear one of the course of lectures he was delivering on philosophy. We had mistaken the hour, and were too early; and, to while away the tedious waiting, as I sat

near the platform, I busied myself in reading the stencilled panels which the Professor of Elocution used in that room with his class, and had left hanging on the wall in the rear of the speaker's desk. I soon grew interested in the sentences; and, as I read, they grew more and more familiar to me; and almost before I could frame the question—where have I seen all this? “West Augusta” flashed out before me!

Able as Dr. McCosh was, I doubt whether I heard much of his lecture that night.

I saw Dr. Raymond afterwards, and asked where he found the paragraph on his panel. “Why,” said he, “I got that out of my book, and I have considered it the best in it.” “But, who wrote it?” “I don’t know,” said he. With no little pride I told him; and he responded with gratifying warmth.

CHAPTER XIV.

New Complications in Politics.—Annexation of Texas.—War with Mexico.—Acquisition of Oregon.—Formation of Free Soil Party.

Meantime, although the dividing line between Whigs and Democrats was as broad as ever, new subjects were presented on which to array their antagonism, in the territorial expansion of the nation.

Texas, for a long time, had been an uneasy and refractory province of our neighbor, the empire of Mexico. Her semi-tropical climate and soil had attracted immigration from the United States; particularly the Southern States, which had contributed largely to the population in planters with their slaves. The American immigrants soon became masters of the situation; and, seizing upon an auspicious moment of disaffection, under the military generalship of Gen. Sam Houston of Rockbridge County, Virginia, routed the Mexican army; threw off the yoke of the Empire, and declared itself a republic; inserting into its constitution an article for the protection of slavery. France, and of course England, who always

had an eye out for conquest or control, soon recognized her as a nation ; and Jackson, *somehow*, at the close of his term in 1837, succeeded in establishing diplomatic relations with her.

But, I need not go through the successive steps by which at last, in 1845, she came into the Union. Suffice it to say, that each advance produced fresh altercations among the great statesmen and political rabble on both sides in the discussion. And the great question underlying all others, now openly acknowledged and fought for, was the question of slavery. Texas, in extent, was an imperial possession. She had territory enough for the formation of eight or ten large States, which, as a matter of course, must become slave States ; and, as such, must arouse all the bitterness of sectional strife. The wrangle and rancor of the parties were extreme. Tyler, "His Accidency," as he was called, disappointing, by his unsteady course, the Whigs who had put him in office, without conciliating the Democrats, towards whom he seemed to make a nearer approach, at the very close of his administration surprised both parties by the annexation of Texas. This precipitate action gave prominence to the Texas question on both party platforms ; and made it potent in determining the on-coming presidential election. After endless ballotings in the convention, in which, one after another, the most distinguished men of the party were dropped, in order to secure a more thorough union of sentiment in the Democratic ranks, Jas. K. Polk received the nomination, and was elected President, mainly upon his well known attitude in favor of Texas. In the first year of his term, 1845, she was admitted to the Union.

While these moves were taking place, others were in agitation. Oregon was suing for adoption with all her large belongings. Polk, bending to her a ready ear, was willing to accept her, if for no other reason than as a "sop to Cerberus" in the prospective free States she would furnish, as equipoise to the slave States already in view in Texas. Thus a territorial balance might be obtained in the national legislation which should pacify each section and restore tranquillity to the whole country.

But the authorities at Washington were far too busy in completing the arrangements with Texas, to give much attention to the overtures of Oregon. They, therefore, just laid a detaining hand upon

her till they had time to take up her case. The boundaries of Texas were yet to be determined. Mexico denied her claim, and was ready to uphold her denial of it by armed resistance. War between Mexico and the United States ensued. Which of the two was the aggressor it is hard to say now; perhaps, equally hard then. But, in his message of May, 1846, Polk says, without the slightest faltering, "Mexico has crossed the boundary-line of the United States, . . . and shed American blood upon American soil. War exists, but exists by the act of Mexico herself." Whether this was an *ex parte* statement or an ascertained fact, matters little at the present time. The war was short, lasting only two years, and closed with a treaty "in which the United States agreed to pay to Mexico fifteen millions of dollars for the provinces of New Mexico and California, which Mexico ceded; Mexico gave up all claim to Texas; and the Rio Grande was established as the southwestern boundary of the United States."

By this treaty we acquired all that Texas had ever claimed, and as much more. We were, indeed, a magnificent nation; especially when, not long after, Oregon was acquired, and our Northern line was run, not, indeed, at the "54° 40' or fight," as was planned, but, at the 49th parallel of North latitude, which became the Northern boundary-line between us and the British possessions westward to the Pacific Ocean.

In this series of years and their changes, the germ of a new party appeared, and soon attained sufficient size to defeat either of the two existing great parties by allying its strength to the other. This party declared that Congress had the right to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia; that it had no right to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States in which it already existed; but that it had every right to prevent the extension of it to territories that were free from it. Adopting, Colonel Benton says, some catch phrases as watch-words, such as "Free Soil;" "Free Speech;" "Free Labor;" "Free Men," its adherents were called "Free Soilers." It rapidly took shape as the "Free Soil Party," and exerted a tremendous influence in our subsequent history.

CHAPTER XV.

Governor of Virginia.—Steam Navigation of James River and Kanawha Canal Fails.—Requisition on Massachusetts for a Runaway Slave.—Excitement that Followed.

This short outline of political affairs, from 1841 to 1851, covers the last decade of my father's public service; and of his life. And I give it in this compact way, that my task in showing his connection with the striking events of that progressive and spirited epoch of national history, may be easier to myself and more intelligible to my readers.

In January, 1842, he became Governor of Virginia. Immediately grappling the internal improvements of the State, he devoted much time to a personal survey of them, driving, in the summer intervals of the legislature, with competent engineers, through the regions of the already existing or projected lines of road either for freight or passenger use. He went, also, to Norfolk and Portsmouth to visit their ship-yards and docks. The inevitable James River and Kanawha Canal gave a little variety to its monotonous existence by making a small spurt in a new direction. Some enterprising young men, enamoured of the success of steam navigation on the Erie Canal, proposed to introduce it on the long and important water-way through interior Virginia. The Governor encouraged them to make all proper investigations, and the necessary soundings and measurements, and report them. They did so with alacrity and zeal; and declared that the Canal in its breadth and depth, throughout the length then reached, was capable of steam navigation which would, by increasing the comfort and speed of passenger travel and freight transportation, soon enable it to become a most valuable possession, both to the State and to its stockholders. Under these assurances a beautiful iron steam barge was built, which was to run, in some parts six, in others ten miles an hour; was furnished; was named in honor of the Governor and launched, with the fairest promises of success

on one side, and the very best of good wishes for their fulfilment by the travelling-public and market men on the other. It was the daintiest little craft that had ever sought acquaintance with our Western mountains; and its appointments were of the neatest and most attractive kind. I had personal experience and enjoyment of them. But this one trip, in which everything was at its highest notch of elegance and comfort, for Cæsar and his household were on board, gave sad presage of a coming failure. My pleasure, in our quiet journey, was marred by observing that the banks of the State's venerable pet—an antique even then—were ruinously washed by the dwarf of a steamboat that was running between them. The iron horse too, showed itself as capable of accident and delay as the packet-mule on the old line. A part of the engine gave way in the James River bottoms, and treated us to a wearisome waiting of eighteen or twenty hours. Almost, if not all, of the passengers accepted the Captain's advice to abandon him, and get on by such means as they could procure. My father, however, would not listen to the proposal, but stood by the officers and crew, giving them such encouragement as his presence and pay (I never heard that there were any dead-heads in our large party) could contribute in their annoying dilemma. But the heat of that day burnt it into my memory. It was one in July or August, and the blazing sun which bore upon us was intensified by the glare from the water. Our quarters were narrow and hot; there was no shade anywhere near;—not a single tree to spread a friendly awning over us, or to refresh us by the sound and play of a gentle breeze among its green leaves. But its dank borders seemed very capable of poisoning the atmosphere with their miasmatic vapors. My only diversion that long day was to watch the glistening face of our black cook as he raided a convenient corn-field for our dinner, on one side of the boat, and the convulsive efforts of a flat-boat man, as, standing in the water, he alternated between shovel and pole, in digging and prying his boat out of the muddy bottom of the canal. But we moved off at last, and steered along safely to our destination.

The steam enterprise after a long trial was abandoned, no doubt to Governor McDowell's keen disappointment; and the mule packets returned to their undisputed right-of-way. The

conception of that canal in uniting the Ohio river with Richmond and the tide-waters of the East, was a superb one, and we cannot wonder that such pertinacious effort and so much money were used to make it succeed. The miracle about it is, that it did not succeed.¹

Always a friend to education, Governor McDowell sought to advance its more general diffusion under the patronage of the State; that every child in Virginia should be able to read for himself the "confession of his faith and the constitution of his country." But he failed to carry out his wishes! The day had not yet come for the widespread beneficence he had pictured. Time rolled on its three or four decades, and all our conditions as a people had encountered a fearful upheaval before the free school system became a part of the state enginery of our ancient commonwealth. And its inauguration and establishment and wonderful development is due to the enlightened labor and untiring energy and devotion of Dr. William Henry Ruffner, whose name in the person of his father and himself will always be associated with profound learning and high and wide schemes of education.

When Mr. McDowell came into the executive office of Virginia, he found upon the docket of the acting-governor who had preceded him a threatened broil with Massachusetts, in regard to the recovery of a fugitive slave. George Latimer, a runaway slave of James B. Grey, of Norfolk, had been found in Boston, and, at Grey's request, had been put into jail to await his coming to recover and bring him home. The city was thrown into a tumult of excitement, and a writ of *habeas corpus* for Latimer was taken out by some anti-slavery men. This was before the days of the fugitive slave law; but a United States judge—Chief-Justice Shaw—decided that, under the statute of the Federal Constitution, Latimer should be

¹ Governor McDowell, in one of his messages to the General Assembly, recommended the abandonment of the canal above Lynchburg, and the construction of a railroad from that point to the Ohio river, characterizing it as—

"That Serborian bog
In which millions vast were sunk."

If his advice had been followed, we would have had a great highway to the Ohio nearly thirty years sooner, and millions would have been saved to the State in the construction of works which were subsequently abandoned.

W. McL.

kept safe in jail, subject to his master's action. Upon this the neighboring towns and cities called meetings of indignation against the United States courts and judges, and of sympathy for the captured and imprisoned slave; while in Boston on Sunday evening, October 30, 1842, a meeting was held in Faneuil Hall, in which four thousand people came together in a wild uproar of excitement to hurl anathemas at the authorities who had been brave enough to execute the law of the land in maintaining the right of the slaveholder to his slave.

No sooner had Governor McDowell taken the reins of office well in hand than he gave full attention to this business. He studied the case with great care, and, under the statute of the United States, made requisition of the Governor of Massachusetts for the slave Latimer, a fugitive from Virginia, found in the city of Boston. Governor Davis's refusal to meet it produced great exasperation in Virginia. The public press teemed with inflammatory representations and appeals. But Grey, the owner of the slave, let it be known that he would settle the matter by receiving compensation for him. Consequently, a Northern clergyman, fearing lest Latimer should be smuggled out of jail and remanded into slavery, put into Grey's hands four hundred dollars, and obtained in return the free papers of both Latimer and his wife.

But this was not the end of the matter. It was but the match which set aflame the smouldering fire of Northern abolition. For this same George Latimer headed a petition of fifty thousand signers—the first ever gotten up—to Congress for an amendment of the Constitution restricting representation to "free persons" alone. This was given to John Quincy Adams, to offer to the House of Representatives, and to advocate before it. How it was received, and what a train of evils and agitations it dragged along with it, is too much a matter of common history for me to repeat here.

Around this episode, in the history of slavery, rallied the most noted New England men of that day, whose zeal for the negro, political as well as philanthropic, we cannot but think, clouded their minds and warped their judgment, as to a fair consideration of the claims and feelings of the master. Certainly it produced some of the most exciting scenes in our annals, which, as time rolls

us farther and farther away from them, will come to be regarded, not only as perils in our growth and progress, but as curiosities in our national story. I will, therefore, say something more of that occurrence now, as I find it portrayed by Vice-President Wilson, in his book on "The Slave Power."

At the meeting in Boston, above alluded to, Samuel Sewall presided, and Joshua Leavitt brought in strong resolutions protesting "by all the glorious memories of the Revolutionary struggle; in the names of justice, liberty and right; in the awful name of God; against the deliverance of George Latimer into the hands of his pursuers." These were seconded by a speech from Edmund Quincy which I give in full, forbearing all remark:—

"Latimer," he said, "had not sought his deliverance from a system, the vilest beneath the sun, by an appeal to arms, as did the men who thronged that hall in early times to create the Revolution; but he had resorted to the simplest natural right, the right to escape. "He turns," he said, "his face to the North Star, which he had been falsely told hung over a land of liberty. He threads the forest; he hurries by night across the green swamps; he lies concealed by day in the tangled cane-brake; he dares the treacherous morass; he fords rivers; he scales mountains; but he shuns the face of Christian man, as his deadliest foe! At last he reaches the Free States; but he rests not from his pilgrimage until he has taken sanctuary in the very birth-place of liberty. Here he places his feet on our hearthstone, and demands hospitality and protection. And with what reception met this demand upon the humanity, the Christianity, the love of liberty of Boston? The signal for the chase is given; the immortal game is on foot; a pack of blood-hounds, in human shape, is put upon the scent; they pursue, seize, and hold him down, with the oppressor himself for the master of the hunt, and the second judicial magistrate in the nation for the whipper in! Your police officers and jailers, under the compulsion of no law, are the voluntary partakers in this hideous case; and your streets and your prisons form the hunting-ground on which the quarry is run down and secured."

Whatever else was under bonds in Boston, incendiary speech was allowed the largest liberty!

But to continue the story : "Leavitt read at the meeting letters from John Quincy Adams, George Bancroft, Samuel Hoar and other distinguished persons. Charles Lenox Redmond and Frederick Douglass sought to address the assembly ; but the uproar was so great they could not be heard."

The meeting seems to have been of a mixed multitude ; and sometimes hisses and shouts and interruptions would assail and keep down some of the extreme speakers. Indeed "George S. Hillard made appeals for free speech (!), but they were unheeded. Wendell Phillips then, amid hisses and continued uproar, addressed the noisy assemblage. He characterized with his terrible severity and point their domineering conduct toward the slave and his friends, and their craven subserviency to the master and his minions. He branded them as cowards that shook the chains that bound them to the car of slavery, but dared not break them. 'When I look,' he says, 'upon these crowded thousands, and see them trample on their consciences and the rights of their fellow men at the bidding of a piece of parchment, I say, my curse be upon the Constitution of these United States.'"

In addition to these half-mob assemblies a newspaper was brought out called the "Latimer Journal and North Star," still further calculated, by the dissemination of its views and its statements of facts, to widen the breach between the North and South, and to augment the difference of feeling, already existing, into fierce sectional hostility.

But this is enough of those troublous times, which, happily for all concerned, can never appear again in the drama of our great Republic.

CHAPTER XVI.

Serves an Unexpired Term in Congress in 1846.—Retrocession of the City of Alexandria. War with Mexico.—Creation of a Lieutenant-General.—The Scheme Fails.—McDowell's Vote for it Costs Him a Seat in the U. S. Senate.

Governor McDowell's term as Governor of Virginia expired December 31, 1845. A few weeks afterward his brother-in-law, Hon. William Taylor, representative in Congress from the 11th Congressional district of Virginia, died, and he immediately succeeded him, serving the short remainder of his term.

It was during these months that the city of Alexandria made an appeal for retrocession from the District of Columbia to her natural place within the borders and under the flag of the Old Dominion. Governor McDowell exerted himself successfully in the promotion of her wishes. And I avail of a newspaper scrap, which has survived a world of change and many long, wearisome years, to tell of the impression which his advocacy made. I know the reporter has caught the spirit of the speech, though the style of it is rather too florid to be entirely true to the original. The name of the newspaper was lost, though it was probably one of the Baltimore papers:—

“Mr. McDowell of Virginia,” it says, “obtained the floor, and for some twenty minutes enchained the attention of the House most profoundly and devotedly, by the delivery of a speech full of beautiful and patriotic thought, and poetical, classical and Scriptural imagery. He defended Old Virginia warmly and affectionately, and declared that, though she had by the vicissitudes of the times and the progress of events been shorn of her power and influence somewhat, yet she had fifteen sons upon that floor, who would not falter in her defence, whenever defence was needed. She required no defence from any expatriated or renegade son. Old Virginia still was more to her sons than all the rest of the commonwealths of the earth. Though she may become impoverished;

though the canker may be at the heart while the dew is on the cheek ; yet she was the pride of those of her sons who still stood by her. Talk of Washingtons, living or dead, he said, he would not give the ashes of the dead Washington, reposing at Mount Vernon, for all the living Washingtons in the universe !

“He wanted the people of Alexandria, who desired to get back to their Mother State, to share alike, to partake equally with the people of Virginia, in the great work of enterprise and reform going on. They were freemen, and should enjoy the privileges of freemen. Whatever might be the ultimate result, he desired that the people of Alexandria should go hand-in-hand with the people of Virginia. Though she might not learn examples to shun from the downfall and crumbling of republics before us—though our Government might not last—though the pillars of that beautiful Hall, which was called the Temple of Liberty, might crumble and mingle with the dust,—yet the spirit of our institutions—the spirit of our Government—would live forever ! It was the pride of Greece that she gave her *Literature* to the world ; of Rome that she gave her *Civilization* ;—and it would be the crowning glory of America that she had given her *Liberty*.”

Here is another from the Baltimore *Patriot* of May 8, 1846.

“The scene in the House of Representatives to-day was variegated and interesting. Governor McDowell’s speech was the great feature of the occasion. He is a tall, large, fine looking man, with a bland, winning countenance, and a voice which, though not loud or deep-toned, is nevertheless pleasant and agreeable as it falls upon the ear of the listener.

“The Governor’s speech to-day, coming as it did, an impromptu effort, after the rough-and-tumble display of Messrs. Payne and Bayly, was like an oasis in the desert—like a jewel in a toad’s head, and had a soothing, salutary influence upon the usually tumultuous House. The members gathered round about the speaker, and listened so profoundly and attentively that you could have heard a pin drop upon the matting that covered the floor.

“I like old Virginia a hundred per centum better than I ever did before, simply from hearing Governor McDowell’s eulogium upon that noble old Mother of States. God bless her ! and as for

the Governor himself, he can have my vote for a fine old Virginia gentleman, who can deliver a speech with neater-turned corners and periods and fuller of unwritten poetry, than any one I know of anywhere."

Lieutenant-Generalcy and Colonel Benton.

Governor McDowell came into Congress when the Mexican War, that Jekyll and Hyde episode in national affairs, was in full blast; and just at that point of time when the President was maturing a plan for the appointment of a new military officer of superior rank to the generals in the field, to be sent to Mexico with full power to carry out a prescribed plan of military action; or, if hostilities ceased, to draw up conditions of peace. The proposed measure produced great excitement everywhere. I quote in full an account of it from Benton's "Thirty Years in the United States Senate."

"Having abandoned the idea," Colonel Benton writes, "of conquering by a 'masterly inactivity,' and adopted the idea of a vigorous prosecution of the war, the President also adopted Mr. Benton's plan for prosecuting it, which was, to carry the war straight to the city of Mexico,—General Taylor, for that purpose, to be supplied with 25,000 men, that, advancing along the tableland by San Luis de Potosi, and overcoming all the obstacles in his way, and leaving some garrisons, he might arrive at the capital with some 10,000 men:—General Scott to be supplied with 15,000, that, landing at Vera Cruz, and leaving some battalions to invest (with the seamen) that town, he might run up the road to Mexico, arriving there (after all casualties) with 10,000 men. Thus 20,000 men were expected to arrive at the capital; but 10,000 were deemed enough to master any Mexican force which could meet it—no matter how numerous. This plan (and that without any reference to dissensions among generals) required a higher rank than that of major-general. A lieutenant-general, representing the constitutional commander-in-chief, was the proper commander in the field, and, as such, was a part of Colonel Benton's plan: to which negotiation was to be added, and much relied on, as it was known that

the old Republican party—that which had framed the constitution on the model of that of the United States, and sought its friendship—were all in favor of peace. All this plan was given to the President in writing, and, having adopted all that part of it which depended on his own authority, he applied to Congress to give him authority to do what he could not without it, namely, to make the appointment of a lieutenant-general—the appointment, it being well known, intended for Senator Benton, who had been a colonel in the army before either of the generals held that rank. The bill for the creation of this office readily passed the House of Representatives, but was undermined and defeated in the Senate. . . . The plan went on, and was consummated, although the office of lieutenant-general was not created. A major-general, in right of seniority, had to command other major-generals; while every one accustomed to military or naval service, knows that it is rank and not seniority, which is essential to harmonious and efficient command.”

Lieutenant-Generalcy and Virginia Senatorship.

When this bill came before Congress, Governor McDowell voted for it. At the same time, January, 1847, the Legislature of Virginia was called upon by the then recent death of Judge Pennybacker, to fill his vacant seat in the United States Senate. Governor McDowell received the Democratic nomination. But the Calhoun wing of the party, to whom he was obnoxious on account of his course in the House of Delegates in 1831–32 on abolition and Nullification, rapidly and skilfully organized against him, and, uniting with the Whigs who objected to the Lieutenant-General Bill as a measure of President Polk to supplant the Whig generals Scott and Taylor, doing gallant service on the field (though the former, as his staunch Whig adherent, in a letter before me, says, “did sometimes take his soup in rather too much of a hurry”), succeeded in defeating him and electing a Calhoun Democrat, James M. Mason!

This was a bad day’s work in its private, personal history; for Colonel Benton was not sent to Mexico; nor Governor McDowell

to the United States Senate ! It goes without the saying, however, that no sense of private interest, and no regard to family connection, dictated Governor McDowell's course on this bill. It was to him entirely a political measure, appealing wholly to the exercise of his best political judgment.

The one real pleasure, on this disappointing day, was the warm and steady support which the Whig delegates from his own county gave my father on all the variations of the trying occasion.

CHAPTER XVII.

Canvass for Congress in 1847.—Politics and People of the "Old Tenth Legion."—Domestic Sorrows.—Ill Health.

In April, 1847, Governor McDowell entered upon his first active canvass of the district he had served the previous few months. Meetings were appointed on the court-days of the different counties, and he addressed them alone, or, when it could be arranged, met his opponent, Colonel Gray of Harrisonburg, in a discussion upon the exciting public topics of the day. Of all forms of personal public service this was the most agreeable to him. He had an enthusiasm for the political principles he held and a sincere desire to teach them to the people. He was ambitious of personal political success ; but he was anxious to obtain it at the hands of an enlightened constituency. He believed in the political honesty and patriotism of the people. He believed them capable of grasping what he conceived to be the plain doctrines of political truth, and it was this truth that he was intent on teaching them. He brought upon the stump no clap-trap ; made no display of factitious wrongs about which to wrangle and debate. He never poisoned his speech with invective against his opponent ; nor stained it by coarseness or irreverence. His high aims forbade such ignoble weapons. He loved the people, and they, at a distance from caucuses in which

suspicious of his party fealty were fomented, warmly confided in him. An earnest assembly of them was his greatest inspiration; and nothing delighted him more than to bring all his powers into their most varied and highest exercise, as he expounded to them the party doctrines and measures which he believed were essential to their well-being and the advancement of the country. Consequently he never threw towards them any slatternly effort; but always came before them meaning to do his best, after due preparation. That is, he had the *matter* of his speeches thoroughly digested and well in hand, the *method* of them being a good deal left to circumstances. His ideas were not incased in any literary armour, but were allowed to disport themselves in whatever costume the glow of his own mind and the lights and shadows of his varying emotions chose to assume. He sought to enlighten the minds of his constituents in the perplexities of national affairs, and in the political problems (I had almost said philosophy—and might, in the presence of some of the leaders of that period, have used the term metaphysical politics) of the times, by well concatenated argument and the power of clear statement and of satisfactory evidence; all of which became more effective under the charm of his wit and humor, and that singular rhythmic prose that characterized his speech. And it was, no doubt, owing to this peculiar quality that he never failed to move the hearts as well as to rouse the minds of his popular audience. Indeed, in one end of that beautiful Valley which he carried on his heart into Congress, it came to be said:—“You may trust Governor McDowell for a bit of pathos every time. If he makes a speech to you about such a hum-drum thing as running a road, just look out! he will have you in tears before he gets through.”

This eleventh congressional district, running entirely through the valley from Rockbridge to Shenandoah county, covered the most picturesque region, and claimed the largest body of fine farming land, and possessed the most salubrious climate in all Virginia. Its population was Scotch-Irish; though in Rockingham and Shenandoah there was a large German element, who, by their frugality and skilful husbandry, had made their part of the valley the agricultural pride of the State. A noticeable feature in their social life was a band of peculiar religionists called Dunkards, who,

however thoroughly one with their neighbors in all other respects, were singularly exclusive and separate in their religious doctrines and modes of worship.

The district was largely Democratic ; especially the Germans were the invincibles of the party. They reached their convictions slowly ; but when grasped, they held them in an iron grip, and in times of close elections in the State, this district would come swooping down to the polls with its overwhelming vote, and carry the day on its side ; thus re-enacting the part of Cæsar's famous tenth legion, which in the last extremity of battle won the victory for Rome. By a like history it won the soubriquet of the "Old Tenth Legion," and was not a little proud of its significant title. These North of Ireland folk in Virginia and throughout the whole course of the great Valley, from Pennsylvania into northern Georgia, still bore the imprint of the early Scotch-Irish colonists in their intensity of character due to their Calvinistic training ; and in that "genius of common sense," as Carlisle expresses it, which belongs to them as a race. These qualities, modified and beautified and softened under the change and light and advance of the nineteenth century, were yet all the same in their integrity and reliableness. Governor McDowell, himself of this race, had a sense of good fellowship and consanguinity with them which brought him into very near and most pleasant relations with his constituents. He enjoyed his campaign amongst them, and his letters home have, in their most commonplace sentences, a ring of genuine pleasure, which I need hardly say was much heightened by the successful termination of his labors.

The summer following this campaign was one of intense domestic anxiety. All outside interests were abandoned, and every energy and feeling centered in the family and home. My mother's health had been much threatened for a year or more. In the summer of 1846 a long journey northward was undertaken for her benefit. But no good resulting from it she was induced to try the effect of the mild climate of South Carolina ; and we spent the next winter in Columbia with her brother, Col. William C. Preston, then President of the College of South Carolina. Although a hot Nullifier a few years previous to this, Colonel Preston had, by some difference of opinion with John C. Calhoun, lost his seat in the Senate ;

for it seems that, when a crisis in his own affairs needed it, Mr. Calhoun's power could prove as unsalutary to his friends as to his foes. And his influence was so wide-spread and potent, that Colonel Preston would laughingly say of it, "If Calhoun takes a pinch of snuff, all Carolina will sneeze."

The mild winter did no good; but rather the contrary; and in the summer of '47 my mother came back to her own home for rest. The prospect of recovery now grew fainter and fainter, and a respite from suffering and death was all that our hope could cling to. One more struggle for life, however, was made by trying the mineral waters of our Virginia Springs. After a short, disappointing trial, by slow and careful stages, in her own carriage, she was brought home. Once more in the midst of family and friends, she rallied somewhat; but the end could no longer be kept off; and on the fifteenth of October, 1847, she died. Her life had borne full testimony to the reality of her Christian faith and hope; and in no hour had they ever seemed calmer and stronger than in the hour of death.

She was but forty-seven, and in the fullest enjoyment of all the qualities and sympathies that made her the welcome and loving companion of her older children, and the best controller of her younger ones. Originally we were ten; but the death of a lovely little boy, in early childhood, left nine strong-willed children,—because of my father's frequent and long absences in the forming period of their lives,—almost wholly to the guidance and control of our mother. And she was well suited to the task. There was no interest of any child to which she was not thoroughly wide-awake. With a clear insight into character, she knew the good and bad that was in each one of us; and with singular good judgment adjusted her treatment to our different needs. She sifted our needs, too, and addressed her best care to those that were most important. Hence, she was very careful in our religious training. There was no grim asceticism about it, but a sort of natural, wholesome solicitude and restraint. With a baby on the knee, and a toddler on the floor, it was marvelous how much personal oversight she gave, not alone to our going to Sunday-school, but to what was more laborious, our preparation of the lessons for it. Her assiduity in this direction would have been noticeable even in this period of more

advanced interest in the Sunday-school cause. She guarded our social intercourse likewise, that it should not damage what she rightly considered our best welfare. At the same time she engineered our school affairs and made bold moves for our education. She was very earnest for the mental cultivation of her daughters, of whom there were seven, as well as of her sons; and was ready to secure it at heavy personal and pecuniary sacrifice. She acted towards our educational, much as she did towards our physical, needs. If a child was sick, the doctor was sent for; but, as he was some distance away, she would coolly make her own diagnosis of the case, and give such medicine as it called for. When Dr. Graham appeared, except there was something unusual in the matter, he would find the preliminary measures energetically attended to; and would pleasantly tell her "that he believed her object in sending for him was that he might *confirm* her own treatment." Just so as to schools and teachers; heroic measures would be taken, in my father's absence, which he had nothing to do but *confirm* when he got back.

Her social grace and tact were inimitable; and in all the "sweet charities of life," flowing alike from natural disposition and Christian principle, our beautiful mother was both our preceptor and example. Her considerate kindness extended to high and low, was both judicious and prompt.

On one Sunday morning, in the long ago, when nearly all of Lexington worshiped in the old church that stood in the graveyard, a plain working-woman, foster-mother to a poor little motherless baby, got up, near the close of the sermon, and quietly walked out. My mother's eye fell upon her, and discerned her motive. Quickly and silently she moved out of her pew through the door that opened close by it; waylaid the woman, and, calling her carriage, had her driven, that hot day, a mile or more to her own home, that the nurse and the baby should, neither of them, suffer from the long walk under a blazing sun.

And so in Richmond: amid the engrossments of a thousand cares at the Government House, she made leisure, outside the run of her ordinary charities, to listen to other calls of piety and philanthropy. On one occasion a rumor reached her through her own children, who were at school in Richmond, that a young lady, personally unknown to her, but whose father, she was well aware, was very

unfriendly to her husband, was suffering quite keenly from some unjust suspicion, in the boarding school where she was placed for the winter. Immediately my mother called to see her, and her comrades and teachers needed nothing more to convince them that the strange girl had a friend who both would and could shield her from injurious aspersion or misconception. The rumor died out so completely, being thus nipped in the bud, that not a trace of it remains, even on my own mind.

In the unobtrusive efforts of a converted Jewess for the religious benefit of the female convicts in the penitentiary, my mother showed an eager interest; and once was able to go herself, and take in her carriage two or three others of the little band of Christian workers to the scene of their labors in the State's prison, where she was just as earnest and, probably, just as skilful in her work, as were her more experienced colleagues.

As silent partner, she would lend a helping hand to her husband occasionally in the incidental calls of his administration. On one sad day the community was astounded by the sudden downfall of a young man, in the upper walks of life, who up to that hour had enjoyed the full confidence of the public. His offence condemned him to five years imprisonment in the penitentiary. His poor, broken-hearted wife left no effort unmade for his release. The last, and doubtless she thought the most promising of these, was a personal appeal for executive clemency. Consequently she besieged the Governor in his private office. He had no question of the man's guilt, and not the slenderest purpose of mitigating, to any extent, his punishment. He told the forlorn little wife all this firmly, but with the utmost kindness. She would not believe him; or else she took courage from the Scripture proof of the supreme effect of "importunity;" and her visits and entreaties became unspeakably painful to him. In his emergency my mother came in, and, by her gentle sympathy and kindness, calmed the poor woman, and then went with her to her own wretched home.

And thus while the record of the past is written over with all that was tender and true, and generous and unselfish, the entries for her own recreation are few; and any extensive plans for her benefit and her pleasure are not on her programme, but her husband's.

If the loss of my mother was overwhelming to her children, it is easy to believe how heavy it was to her husband.

“The night has a thousand eyes,
The day but one;
Yet the light of the whole world dies
When day is done.

“The mind has a thousand eyes,
The heart but one;
Yet the light of the whole life dies
When love is done.”

It was just so with him. She had been the light of his life from his boyhood. The letters from the young student at Yale and at Princeton throbbed with the same feeling that dictated the last he ever wrote to her. But, I will not lift the veil from a sorrow so sacred. I need not. The consequences of it were but just ahead. Without any premonition, or assignable physical cause, only a month after her death, my father was suddenly stricken with paralysis. Our dear friend and able physician, Dr. Archibald Graham, was at his side in a few minutes. Apparently the stroke was slight, affecting only the organs of speech, and producing a little twist in the face. The doctor never left him till the immediately alarming symptoms had passed. In a few days his condition was entirely favorable;—he had recovered, in large measure, the tones of his voice; had greater ease in speaking, and the contraction in the face was less observable. But he was by no means equal to the effort of making the extensive and radical changes in the family arrangements becoming necessary by our circumstances at the moment. He, therefore, put them in charge of my brother, Dr. James McDowell, then a resident of St. Louis, and myself. We went on to Washington, rented a furnished house on the extreme eastern edge of Georgetown, and entered the younger children in the schools there, which, male and female, were among the best, if not the very best, in the District of Columbia. My father gathered strength in the interval of our absence, and was able, by making the journey slowly in his own carriages, to bring on the remainder of the family in time for him to take his seat at the opening of Congress.

Considering his condition of health, three miles seemed a great distance from his house to the Capitol. And it was. But the doctor prescribed a long walk, and every inducement to take it. It was a hazardous experiment; but we tried it for eight or nine months without any apparent bad effect upon his health;—that it did him any good I cannot imagine. But, when we returned to Washington at his next term, we took a comfortable house on G street, at a more convenient distance from the Capitol; and it became our home for the remainder of my father's Congressional life.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Death of John Quincy Adams.—Complexities in Public Affairs.—The South Hard Pressed.—The Wilmot Proviso.—Commitments for the Saving of the Union.—Slavery the Uppermost Question.

During the winter of 1847–48, Governor McDowell, although well enough to be in his seat in the House every day, and to attend to his committee work, took no active part in the exciting discussions upon the questions arising out of our immense acquisition of territory from Mexico. There was no promise of an early conclusion of them; and he could wait for his turn till his strength was more thoroughly re-established.

It was during this session that ex-President John Quincy Adams was suddenly attacked with illness on the floor of the House of Representatives. He was removed to an adjoining chamber, and every medical care given to him; but after twenty hours of a kind of half consciousness, he quietly expired, February 23d, 1848. Among the memorial tributes paid him by his colleagues, was one from Mr. McDowell. In "Reminiscences" of his day in Congress contributed by Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, of Boston, to *Scribner's Magazine*, March, 1893, he mentions this address in complimentary terms, and quotes largely from it. From Benton's "Thirty Years in the Senate," I make the following extract relat-

ing to it :—"Mr. Adams died a member of the House, and honors to his memory commenced there, to be finished in the Senate. . . . Several members of the House spoke justly and beautifully ; and of these the pre-eminent beauty and justice of the discourse delivered by Mr. James McDowell of Virginia (even if he had not been a near connection, the brother of Mrs. Benton), would lead me to give it the preference in selecting some passages from the tributes of the House. With a feeling and melodious delivery he said :

" "It is not for Massachusetts to mourn alone over a solitary and exclusive bereavement. It is not for her to feel alone a solitary and exclusive sorrow. No, sir ; no ! Her sister commonwealths gather to her side in this hour of her affliction, and, intertwining their arms with hers, they bend together over the bier of her illustrious son—feeling as she feels, and weeping as she weeps, over a sage, a patriot and a statesman gone ! It was in these great characteristics of individual and of public man that his country revered that son when living, and such, with a painful sense of her common loss, will she deplore him now that he is dead.

" "Born in our revolutionary day, and brought up in early and cherished intimacy with the fathers and founders of the Republic, he was a living bond of connection between the present and the past—the venerable representative of the memories of another age, and the zealous, watchful, and powerful one of the expectations, interests, and progressive knowledge of his own.

" "There he sat, with his intense eye upon everything that passed, the picturesque rare one man, unapproachable by all others in the unity of his character and in the thousand-fold anxieties which centred upon him. No human being ever entered this hall without turning habitually and with heartfelt deference first to him ; and few ever left it without pausing, as they went, to pour out their blessings upon that spirit of consecration to the country which brought and which kept him here.

" "Standing upon the extreme boundary of human life, and disdaining all the relaxations and exemptions of age, his outer framework only was crumbling away. The glorious engine within worked on unhurt, uninjured, amid all the dilapidations around it ; and worked on with its wonted and its iron power, until the blow was sent from above which crushed it into fragments before

us. And however appalling that blow, and however profoundly it smote upon our own feelings as we beheld its extinguishing effect upon his, where else could it have fallen so fitly upon him? Where else could he have been relieved from the yoke of his labors so well as in the field where he bore them? Where else would he, himself, have been so willing to have yielded up his life, as upon the post of duty, and by the side of that very altar to which he had devoted it? Where but in the Capitol of his country, to which all the throbbings and hopes of his heart had been given, would the dying patriot be so willing that those hopes and throbbings should cease? And where but from this mansion-house of liberty on earth, could this dying Christian more fitly go to his mansion-house of eternal liberty on high?"

As the months rolled on, there was no lessening of the turmoil in public affairs. On the contrary, it augmented and gave new complexion and form to the existing political parties. Many of the old party lines disappeared from the political arena, and the heated feeling on both sides resolved itself into mere sectional, or, as some of their leaders called it, "geographical" animosity. Of course, parties thus divided could effect nothing. There were Northern and Southern Whigs; and Northern and Southern Democrats. But they represented two distinct classes on the question of slavery, which now absorbed all others; and it soon came about, that they ranged themselves on the two sides of it. The Wilmot Proviso, "That none of the acquired territory should be open to the introduction of slavery," represented one; while the "dogma," as Colonel Benton calls it, "No power in Congress to legislate upon slavery in the territories," briefly stated the views of the other.

Conservative men of both parties, dreading disunion as a national calamity, but one which from all quarters now seemed imminent, were most anxious to ward off the collision between them which would verify their fears, by the originating of some measure acceptable to both. General Taylor thought he had been so happy as to find, if not the very remedy itself, something that would make a near approach to it. It was somewhat beyond his executive functions, yet he recommended to New Mexico and California that they step aside from their relation to the United States as her territory, by immediately framing a republican, constitutional form of

government, embodying their will in regard to slavery, and, across lots, ask to be admitted to the Union as full-fledged States. Thus they would evade both the Proviso and the Dogma, and perhaps—*perhaps*, the white dove would perch once more upon the tall dome of our great legislative temple.

But should the Mexican law, which was opposed to slavery, be retained in the constitutions of the new States; and thus shut them off as a drain to the overflow of the constantly increasing slave population of the South; and, still further, defeat their hopes of restoring the equipoise in the Senate,—disturbed then by the superior number of the free States,—and keep even the balance between them, then the South was dead set against it. At the same time she had nothing to hope in a territorial government of the Mexican provinces:—she would be outvoted on that. In fact, the South was encompassed with difficulties, and struggled against fearful odds. The only extrication from them was in the exercise of that same spirit of compromise which ruled in the proceedings of those serious-minded men of 1787 as, sinking all lesser individual difficulties for the paramount good of the whole, they signed the articles of federation that brought the Union into being.

Eminently the situation now, as then, called for mutual concession for the preservation of the Republic. Up to this time, and for some years beyond it, the express purpose on both sides was the *regulation* of slavery:—the keeping of it within its old bounds; and the forbidding of the extension of it into any new domain of the nation. As yet there was no party, calling for emancipation, simple and complete, upon the fundamental principle of morals as well as of national policy, strong enough in numbers for party organization. There were societies, scattered about, having this end in view; and the Methodist church at the North had always prohibited slave-holding to its members. The wonder is that mere manumission was so slow to enter into the plans and purposes of the public. Only one practical project respecting it has turned up in the many papers I have handled on the subject; and that was in the form of a suggestion, many years previous to the date at which I am writing, that the surplus revenue of the country be applied to the emancipation of the negro slaves; the Government being at the expense of purchasing and removing them out of this land to one

of their own. The thinker had not reduced his idea to a plan, though it was well worthy of it.

An abolition party, however, came on in due time ; and emancipation, whether according to the Constitution or not, came too. We will not fight that old battle over again. We can never forget our dear boys in gray ; but, long ago, we beat our swords into plowshares, with which to cultivate the soil of a common country once more.

CHAPTER XIX.

Opening of the 31st Congress.—Mutterings of Disunion.—Nashville Convention.—Clay's Compromise Measures.—Death of John C. Calhoun.—Death of the President.—Fugitive Slave Bill.—Admission of Mexican Territories as States.—Governor McDowell's Speech in Favor of the Bill ; and how it was Received.

The clash of hot party antagonism characterized every State legislative assembly in the land, when Congress met in the session of 1849-50.

The very opening of the thirty-first Congress bore testimony to the public excitement, and gave presage of a stormy session. The usual nomination, by each party, for speaker was done at the earliest moment. But to be a Whig or a Democrat did not meet the requirements of the period. There were slavery and anti-slavery Whigs ; "Free Soil" and slave-holding Democrats, and each party had to meet the difficulty of bringing out a candidate, who, upon the old lines of doctrine, could reconcile both sections on the one great question of slavery. Prominent men were brought out on both sides :—Governor McDowell, who received a very handsome vote, was among them ; but the majority rule in the election was not reached by any. Three weeks were consumed in the attempt and sixty ballotings were taken. At length it was resolved that a plurality vote should be decisive, and Howell Cobb of Georgia, upon a vote of 102 as against the 99 received by his competitor,

Mr. Winthrop, was declared elected. The House was then organized, and business began.

Mutterings of disunion filled the air in all quarters. Extremists of both sections were ready for it; the one threatening, the other urging it. Mississippi, through her legislature in 1849, issued a call for a convention of the slave States at Nashville, in June, 1850, for the purpose of summoning a Congress of the South whose ultimate plan was the establishment of a Southern Confederacy. Alarmed for the safety of the Union, Mr. Clay, early in 1850, brought in his first attempt to restore peace by a series of compromises. Unfortunately his programme was such a medley of incongruous propositions, as utterly to forbid action upon it as a whole. It became, therefore, the subject of prolonged discussion for several months; and after being much whittled down in its provisions, in the House of Representatives, was finally separated into parts, and voted upon seriatim, September 20th, 1850.

Meantime, bearing in greater or less degree upon these proceedings was the occurrence of some startling and significant events. John C. Calhoun, who never ceased, as long as he lived, to fan the fires of dissension which he had had so conspicuous an influence in kindling, died in March, 1850. The Nashville Convention, which was called in the interest of disunion, met at its appointed time in June, '50; but with a changed mind; for it adjourned confident in the continuance of the Union, and, so far as it appears in the record, without making a single movement towards the convening of a Southern Congress. And in July, General Taylor died suddenly, and new men came to administer the government, continuing, however, the same line of policy. California, too, had been admitted as a free State. These things tended towards a favorable result of Clay's compromise measures, which were passed, September 20, 1850. "They left the Missouri compromise line untouched; . . . opened the region of the Mexican cession of 1848 to slavery should the course of events not prevent its introduction. The slave trade was abolished in the District of Columbia; but the Fugitive Slave Law was passed, which devoted the whole executive power of the general government, within the free States, to the recapture of fugitive slaves."

A hot battle had been going on in the House of Representatives for some time upon a bill "*for the admission of the Mexican territories upon the footing of a state,*" when, on the 23d of February, 1849, Governor McDowell spoke in favor of its passage. In discussing the question of the constitutional power of Congress to admit a State, without any previous relation to it as a territory, he says:—"The government of the territories by Congress being a suspension of the great right of self-government by the people of the territories themselves, is admissible only whilst the necessity for it continues, and should be surrendered the moment that necessity—the justifying cause of it—is at an end. It is a yet further deduction from these grounds of opinion, though in a much larger and stronger sense still—a deduction from the whole scope and tenor of our representative system and representative duty—that whenever the case shall arise in which the necessity for establishing a territorial government shall be met and resisted by a stronger and intenser national necessity for pretermittting it altogether, that in that case the stronger necessity must be allowed to prevail, the territorial government be given up, and the young and expectant commonwealth instantly taken into the family of the States. Whenever, in the administration of public affairs, a smaller and a larger interest come into unavoidable conflict with one another, the smaller one must give way. And this is precisely the state of affairs before us now.

"We have, on the one hand, our national safety to protect—a duty which, of all others under Heaven, it is the most imperative upon us faithfully and inflexibly to perform: we have, on the other hand, a territory to provide with a government and laws—a duty of far inferior interest, to be sure, but not to be neglected. These are the respective duties to which we are now called; and though they have often arisen under the same classification, and have often been discharged in the past administration of the Government, yet never before, as we all know and feel, did they enter into and blend so vitally and so indissolubly with one another as they do now. In the efforts which we have made to discharge our duty to the territories, plans of government for them have been offered and discussed here which have been prolific of little else than public apprehension and alarm, which thus far have served only to array one great geo-

graphical division of the United States against another, and to stir up between them a spirit of alienation, animosity, and feud, as utterly inconsistent with the unity of their political relationship as dangerous to the continued maintenance of their common interests and common peace.

“In this gloomy conjunction of affairs a new plan of government for the territories is presented—a plan of mediation and of peace; one which has no connection with any sectional interest or sectional feeling of any kind whatever; which stands aside from all that source of heart-burning, jealousy, and disturbance, and which, having no serious constitutional objections to encounter, promises, on all these accounts, to put an immediate and pacific end to a most angry, harassing, and portentous national dispute. These are its general aspects. As to its more particular ones: what though it be new and untried and awkward—what though it consolidate into one political community a vast, unwieldy, disconnected, and half-peopled region—what though it admits to the immediate enjoyment of all rights and privileges of American citizenship, thousands of foreigners who know nothing about them—what though it conflicts with our own preconceived determinations and views upon this subject, or rubs, peradventure, against any pre-arranged political calculations and hopes which any of us may entertain,—what of all these objections and all others that can be added to them, making the most of them and the worst of them—what are they all when gathered together and piled up to their topmost aggregate, Pelion upon Ossa, but the small dust of the balance when weighed against—what it may fairly hope to accomplish—the pacification and perpetual union of more than twenty millions of freemen.”

Then looking at the other branch of the subject, its relation to the good of the whole, he continues:—“Let us remember, sir, that our business is no longer the simple and comparatively easy one of framing the best possible government for a territory, considered independently and apart from its relations to the Union. Our true business, on the contrary, is the very opposite of this: it is to provide a government for the territories which, being constitutional and sufficient for them, shall, at the same time, be best in its primary reference to the peaceful relations, and therein to the universal welfare, of the States. Our work in this matter is no longer

limited to the territories, either in its motives or effects. It goes, under the force and pressure of events, to the whole country; it goes to all those vast and unutterable issues for good or evil, which depend upon maintaining or not maintaining that country just as it now is—one powerful, prosperous, united whole. It is, therefore, eminently and above all others, a work with which no carping, nor fault-finding, nor bigoted, nor sectional, nor pettifogging spirit has anything to do. It is one which nothing less than the largest patriotism, earnestly, loyally, wisely operating for the very largest and holiest ends of public good, can ever adequately or rightly accomplish. It is a work of all for all—of each part for every part—of the entire country and of entire devotion to that country.”

Referring to the Federal Constitution, upon every clause of which the word “compromise” seems written, he begs that the same spirit shall preside over their present difficulties, in the following language:—“But it is not so much to the *extent* of the compromise in this particular matter that I would direct your attention, Mr. Chairman, as it is to the principle on which it is made—the principle, namely, of *defending the weak against the encroachments and aggressions of the strong*. ‘I will not have,’ said Isocrates, when treating with certain Grecian States about the affairs of Athens—‘I will not have,’ said he, ‘any guarantee that you can offer us but this: that you shall not be able to hurt us if you would.’ This is precisely the guarantee intended by our Constitution; the weak were to be so protected by it that the strong should not hurt them if they would. It was not enough to the equitable and just and provident spirit of our Constitution-makers that the States should, in all respects, be as safe and as well off under the Constitution then forming as they were before; they looked and labored for something beyond this, and better than this. Determined to place every State in a sounder and safer condition than ever before, they not only left it a sovereignty sufficient for all local wants, but they so labored as to possess it, at the same time, with a central head, which should be perfectly capable of defending it from all external aggression, and yet perfectly incapable of committing upon it any aggression of its own.

“But, Mr. Chairman, when I thus speak of compromise, I desire to be understood as doing it with reference only to the general repre-

sentative duty which it imposes, but with none whatever to the measure which I have been endeavoring to support, that of allowing our Mexican Territories to take upon themselves immediately the functions and the independence of a State. So far from referring to that, it would be extremely difficult, as it seems to me, to present any measure upon any great or greatly controverted subject of national policy, which, either constitutionally or otherwise, involves so little of compromise in it as that measure does. Constitutionally considered, it scarcely affords ground enough upon which the subtlest expositor could support the most shadowy abstraction; whilst as a practical measure, coming into competition with other measures, it demands only that it should be preferred, that it should be taken as a choice, and is to that extent, and that only, a compromise. It calls upon no one to disavow his avowals. It asks not that any member should repudiate or retract his opinions. The anti-proviso man and the proviso man can both support it in perfect consistency with what each of them has said of his own opinions, and what each has said against the opinions of the other. The anti-proviso member cannot and will not vote for or support any act of this Government, by which the introduction of slavery into the territories of the United States from any of the slave-holding States will be prohibited. The proviso member, taking the opposite ground, will not, and cannot, as he avers, give his vote or his sanction to any act of this Government by which the introduction of slaves from any quarter into the territories shall be allowed. Thus they stand, mutually facing and defying one another, and both calling upon the great geographical sections which they respectively represent, to stand up and support them. Here it is, at this point, that the measure now offered proposes to interfere: it proposes to step in before the contending parties, and cut off all necessity for a decision upon the questions in controversy between them: it asks the privilege of making up a new record in the matter, and going to trial and judgment upon that. It proposes, in other words, to sink the whole question of a territorial government with its long train of difficulties, doubts, and dangers, and to entertain in place of it the question of an immediate formation of a State government with its admitted rights and admitted jurisdiction. Our whole embroil-

ment with one another here, relates to the extent of the legislative authority which Congress may constitutionally exercise over the territories, whilst they are subject to its control. We have no disagreement of opinion whatsoever as to the powers and rights of these territories over their own affairs, from the moment their territorial condition is renounced, and their State condition is assumed. From that moment, as we all agree, they are absolutely and entirely independent of this Government in the regulation and control of their own internal concerns, and have the full and sovereign right of a perfect State to establish just such system of civil rights and civil institutions as may be most agreeable to themselves."

The charge hurled against the "slave power" of preventing the free action of the Government, and treading down the liberties of the people, met from him an impassioned denial. Turning back the pages of history, he displayed the acts of "beneficent legislation" by which the great slave States in the past had restricted the spread of slavery and the continuance of the traffic in negroes:—

"The free action of this Government and the liberties of our people stricken down by the 'slave power!' Why, sir, does not every one of us know, that of all the positive or governmental checks by which the spread of slavery has ever been restricted, the most efficacious and comprehensive of all others, by a thousandfold, is that which was put upon it under the lead, and with the hearty concurrence, of slaveholding statesmen and slaveholding States? Was it not the restrictive or anti-slavery article of the ordinance of 1787, which, if not prepared at the suggestion and by the hand of Mr. Jefferson himself, was certainly prepared with his assent, and sustained upon the assent of Virginia also? Was it not this which has protected the finest territory we ever owned from the approach and the presence of the slave?—a territory of larger capabilities for the growth, and sustenance, and wealth, of civilized man, than any other equal area, it is believed, upon the surface of the globe. And yet, citizens coming from that very country, no less than citizens coming from other places, rise up in the midst of us here, and brand with abusive epithets the very men and the very power that gave this magnificent empire a bridal dowry '*to free labor and to free soil.*'

“The check imposed by the Government, which is next in the order of importance and of time, is the constitutional prohibition against the importation of slaves from abroad—a prohibition which was introduced into the Constitution upon the votes both of Northern and of Southern States, but which would have gone into effect as early as 1800, instead of 1808, the time fixed by that instrument, had it not been for the strenuous and unrelaxing resistance in the convention of three of the Northern States—Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut. Virginia, the great slave power of that day, and the one most reviled by this epithet at this day, stood up for the interdict on the foreign importation at the *earliest* period, Massachusetts and her colleagues at the *latest*. Virginia, disregarding her own interest, was willing, at the earliest hour, to sweep the traffic from the sea, and to leave those ‘human cargoes’ that we hear of, to the wretched land that produced them. Massachusetts and her colleagues, baulking at an ardor so generous as this, dropped into the rear of Virginia, and clung, perseveringly clung, to the profits of the trade, to the last hour that their associates in the convention would allow. And thus, by different modes of action on this one subject of slavery—fostering it in the early days of the Government, denouncing it in the latter—our Northern friends have contrived, by a process of ingenuity characteristically *yankee* (I speak descriptively, not derisively), to make out of it pecuniary capital then, and political capital now. Never was there a more available subject in the hands of workmen more willing or more cunning to control it. The widow’s cruse, which could not be exhausted by pouring out, is but a poor and faint emblem of its value to them. *This*, though inexhaustible, never grew greater. *That* did and does. No matter how opposite the uses to which these managers have applied it, whether to those of merchandise or of politics; no matter whether they nourished their opulence in former years from the tears of the slave, or point to them now in the homes of others, to arouse the horror, and so to shape the legislation of the country, no matter what the form in which they treat, or by which they metamorphose this subject of slavery, it springs up to their hands in one never-ending, but increasing harvest of advantage.

“There is yet another restriction of law which has been placed by this Government upon the geographical limits of slavery—that which was placed upon it in 1820 by the well-known ‘Missouri compromise’—according to which all slavery was prohibited in the then territory of the United States, not embraced in the ordinance of 1787, which lay north of thirty-six and a half degrees of latitude. I need hardly say that the real author of this restriction was himself a slaveholding Representative of a slaveholding State—Henry Clay, of Kentucky. Other persons than Mr. Clay may stand upon the journals of Congress as the formal movers and patrons of this measure, but the whole contemporary history of the act is utterly false and worthless, if he was not the master-spirit that conceived, matured, and carried it through. When this act was passed, the great body of the Southern Representatives voted against it. But since then they have not only acquiesced in it, and maintained it inviolate, but have co-operated with others in applying it to Texas, and have proposed and pressed it as a ground of equitable settlement for the controversy which now embarrasses and divides us.”

To this he adds a picture of the unequal effect the exclusion of slavery from the Mexican States would have upon the slaveholding and free-soil parts of the Union :—

“I may as well advert, Mr. Chairman, at this point as at any other, to a practical question which is oftentimes asked by gentlemen here who insist upon the exclusion of slavery from our Mexican territory, and who maintain, at the same time, that such exclusion does not prejudice or impair, in the least, the full and equal right of the South and of her citizens to the use and enjoyment of that territory. We are asked to say how such exclusion can impair this equality, seeing that Northern and Southern citizens, and all others, when they go into the territory as inhabitants, go there under the operation of the same law, and live there in the possession, in all respects, of precisely the same rights? How, then, can they be unequal? This question is easily answered. This Mexican territory being a conquest of the United States, effected by the united resources of all, both men and money, is consequently the joint and common property of all. This is granted. As the joint and common property, then, of all, it is,

of course, free and open to the use and occupation of all, and that without any precedent or qualifying conditions, which, acting on a part only, would have the effect of distinguishing individuals or sections of the country from one another. But exclude slavery, and you do this: you establish conditions, and thereby distinctions, where there should be none. The Southern citizen owning slaves would be obliged, under this exclusion, to dispose of them before he could settle in that territory, and must, of course, enjoy his share of the common property upon conditions, and perhaps embarrassing conditions, first to be complied with. The Northern citizen having no slaves to dispose of, settles upon and enjoys his share of the common property without conditions. In the one case, a separate and preëxisting right, constitutionally and legally established for many generations, must be given up before a common right is allowed to be used. In the other case, that common right is laid open to immediate use, without requiring as a preliminary thereto the surrender, or the commutation, or the disposal of any right whatever. What sort of equality is there here? and how is it possible that the very pretence of it, coëxisting with such a state of facts as this, can be otherwise than offensive, both to the feelings and the understanding of the party aggrieved?

“Upon this view of the effect on the relative rights of the different sections of the country, which must necessarily result from the proposed exclusion of slavery from the territories, we, who represent the South, have abundant reasons of right and of justice to demand of our associates here, that no such exclusion shall be sanctioned; and that no territorial government shall be forced upon us by the arbitrary use of their majority-power, by which the fundamental and cherished principle of our perfect constitutional equality shall be so painfully and hazardously set aside.”

He argued at length against the non-extension of slavery, assuming and supporting the statement “that not a single human being has been made a slave by the ‘extension,’ who would not have been one—necessarily and inevitably one—had such extension never taken place,” with singular literary force and beauty.

He also discerns in the decrees of nature which, in the two centuries of their living together in such close relations in this land, have yet kept the black,—with all his African peculiarities still fastened

upon him,—as far apart as ever from the white man ; and, in the fact of his presence in this land, the indications of beneficent purposes in Providence towards the dark fatherland from which he had been so cruelly dragged. Many as my extracts have been, I venture to add that.

“That slavery has been permitted to establish itself on this Continent for purposes both of wisdom and of mercy, no reasonable man who is accustomed to look for the origin or the progress of events in a power and a knowledge higher than his own, can reasonably doubt. Neither can he doubt that these purposes, whatever they are, will in due time be made manifest to all. Meanwhile, it is not for us to lay an impatient and forbidden hand upon any of the powers of this Government for the purpose of disturbing or controlling it by any authority or action of ours. On our part, perfect abstinence in regard to it is the wisest of all policies, the clearest of all constitutional obligations, and the best of all personal humanities. *Let it alone*, is the one rational and authoritative injunction of wisdom and of duty concerning it—let it go south, still south, as it is now going ; and let its diffusion be such that the two races shall be protected as long as possible and as much as possible from all liabilities of violent collision with one another. This permitted and done, all else should be patiently left to the developments and the teachings of time.

“Some of these, as they have gradually come to be seen and apprehended, are beginning to shine forth with impressive and instructive significance. Take the color, for instance—a mark of perpetual separation from the white man, but a bond of perpetual union and sympathy with the negroes themselves. It is and ever has been prohibitory of all complete amalgamation between the races, and thus preserves amongst us all the physical characteristics of the African just as they were impressed upon him at the hour and in the land of his birth. But this separation of the races, with the ultimate and providential design, it would seem, to maintain on this continent all the physical peculiarities of the African on his own, would never have been effectual had it been left to the mere caprices of sentiment or taste founded upon varieties of color. These might have been overcome, and the peculiarities to be maintained consequently lost. They are therefore placed beyond the

law of taste, under the protection of another physical law which lies far deeper, operating independently of all human will, and enforcing itself under the sternest and severest of natural penalties. The offspring of the two races is a hybrid—an offspring whose progression, though not limited like that of some of the lower animals to the first generation, is nevertheless so arrested by lunacy, idiocy, blindness, deafness, and dumbness, and the other most crushing infirmities ‘that flesh is heir to,’ that it can never become the sound parental stock of a self-maintaining population.

“Here, then, we have, always before us, the remarkable phenomenon of one race of mankind living, and living for upwards of two hundred years, in the midst of another race, and yet incapable, by reason of natural laws, of disappearing by incorporation with it and thereby incapable also of impairing or losing any of its original and native characteristics. The final cause of this phenomenon must be looked for either in that primitive doom upon Canaan by which he was sentenced to be ‘a servant of servants unto his brethren,’ or it is to be found in some high and renovating function which the American slave is yet to fulfil in the redemption of the continent from which he came.

“Besides this physical immutability of the negro, as a race amongst us, he has in association with it another peculiarity, scarcely less striking or significant than it is; and that is his extraordinary aptitude to possess himself, as if by intuition, of all the tastes and social habits and mechanical arts and domestic intelligence and civilization of his master. You may pick up a wild negro in Dahomey, and bring him to Virginia, with his fetiches and his conjuring rod, and his sharpened cannibal teeth, and his unintelligible tongue, and give him there no other instruction but what he can catch from his fellow-slave at their common work, and in a few years he will be a civilized man. And if *he* is not, his American child in the first generation will be. This is true of no other savage man upon earth.

“In this connection, it may be stated, as one of a group of facts, mutually bearing upon and illustrating one another, that the climate of Africa is too fatal to the white man ever to become the place of his safe and permanent abode. This, our experience at Liberia, and the missionary experience of our religious societies at other

points, very fully establish. It is obvious, therefore, from this, that whatever is done for the moral improvement of that continent, must be done by those whose entire physical nature is suited to its baleful and burning sun. It must, in other words, be done by the black man himself. And here, in the absolute necessity of confiding this high mission to him, or of leaving Africa to her solitary woe, we find a not improbable solution of so much that is peculiar and otherwise mysterious in his circumstances and position amongst ourselves. Here, in the light of this necessity, we see, most probably, why it is that his perfect identity has been protected by natural laws, which rendered his incorporation with us, and, consequently, his disappearance as a distinct race, absolutely impossible. Here, too, we have, as probably, the reason of his extraordinary capacity to take upon himself the knowledge and the arts of his master. Here, too, perhaps, the reason of his presence *with us*, amongst whom the habits of private intercourse are freer, and the rudiments of learning more pervasive and universal, than amongst any other people in the world ; and here, also, may be the reason, why he was bound, hand and foot, with the iron chain of personal bondage, that thus he might be fastened to the spot of his trials and his training, until all things were ready for his final deliverance and departure.

“I offer you, Mr. Chairman, no hypothesis upon these facts. They are such, however, undoubtedly, as to encourage the hope that our country may become to Africa, as to others, the nursery and storehouse of its civilization and its freedom ; that though it has trodden upon a portion of her children, and harnessed them for long years to the yoke of its labors, yet that even thus it has been unconsciously but beneficently preparing the means by which the smitings of this very portion may be converted into the uplifting of a continent, and the superstition and cannibalism and tears of its sunken millions be wiped away. The facts, also, are such as to surround this whole subject of slavery with new motives to forbearance, and new injunctions against the folly and the wickedness of all unauthorized intermeddling with it.”

Exhausting all the facts and reasonings and persuasives and admonitory exhibitions of the danger and dread results of disunion, Governor McDowell, as a final endeavor to secure an honorable and peaceful policy, gathered all his skill into one earnest plea

from the historic past for that prompt self-abandonment and intertwining of effort, each for and with the other, for their common safety in times of danger, which should bring into force, amid the hazards of the present, that same old affection that made the peril of one of the sections the supreme inspiration to the energetic devotion to the other.

He had not much more than entered upon this entreaty when the Speaker's hammer fell, and his hour was over. However, an emphatic call of "go on!" "go on!" sounded through the hall, and he continued near a half hour longer.

I give the whole passage :—

"When I look, Mr. Chairman, beyond the forms of legislation, and consider who the real parties are to the controversy before us—that they are not individuals rushing into altercation with one another, under the fierceness of ignoble passions, excited for ignoble objects, but powerful and independent States, constituted into one for certain great ends of mutual protection and advantage, and bound, therefore, upon the first great law of governments as well as of persons—the law of self-preservation—so to administer that common government as never to endanger or overwhelm it;—when I consider, sir, who the parties are—what their relative obligations—what their reciprocal dependence—how infinitely exceeding everything else is the interest of each in the mutual justice and fidelity of all—how amazing their prosperity—how exalted their renown—how renovating their example upon the hopes and liberties of the world—how inspiring the thought that their republican banner not only waves over an empire unparalleled in all its elements of happiness and freedom and power, but is yet to wave, by its influence, over the illimitable empire of reborn and self-governing man;—when I consider all this, sir, I cannot be otherwise than cheered with the conviction that all will be well; that parties so situated will never profane their story nor their honor, through an act of deliberate wrong by either on the other; and that 'the spirit of amity and of mutual deference and concession' which united them at first, will triumph over all troubles, dispose aright of all contests, and thus continue to harmonize and unite them forever. In such a brotherhood of parties, when difficulties arise, there is no expediency upon which to settle them but that of justice; no benefit

to be sought in the settlement but the benefit of all. So thinking and feeling habitually, I almost hesitate to ask of any possible adjustment of the difficulty before us, what will our part, our Southern part, of its history be? Will it be a history of disappointment, mortification, indignity, and wrong? And your part of its history—will it be the short and the stern one of power—power—uncaring and unrelenting power? It is said of one of the very worst of the Roman emperors that he lamented with great bitterness that his reign had never been distinguished by the occurrence of any remarkable calamity, and had no other or better record by which to be transmitted to posterity than the dull and monotonous one of its prosperity and peace. He dreaded lest it should fade from the history of the world, and be lost to the gaze and the animadversion of man. Sir, if you will only push on the controversy which now disturbs us, from angrier to angrier tone, if you will only settle it here with deliberate indignity and wrong to one of the parties it involves, you will soon interweave with the richest and purest national happiness which it was ever allowed any people on earth to enjoy, a memorial of national sorrow, withering and crushing enough to have satisfied the monster wish and the monster heart of Caligula himself.

“But, Mr. Chairman, when I pass by the collective parties in this case, and recall the particular ones; when I see that my own State is as deeply implicated in the trouble and the danger of it as any other, and shares, to the full, with all of her Southern colleagues, in the most painful apprehensions of its issue,—when I see this, I turn involuntarily, and with unaffected deference of spirit, and ask, what, in this exigent moment to Virginia, will Massachusetts do?—that Massachusetts which, in the designations of our early colonial history, was known as Northern Virginia. What will Northern Virginia do, in the matter before us, for her Southern namesake and sister? Will you too (I speak to her as present in her Representatives)—will you too, forgetting all the past, put forth a hand to smite her ignominiously upon the cheek? In your own early day of deepest extremity and distress—the day of the Boston Port Bill—when your beautiful capital was threatened with extinction, and England was collecting her gigantic power to sweep your liberties away, Virginia, caring for no odds, and counting no cost,

bravely, generously, instantly, stepped forth for your deliverance. She made the day on which this bill was to be executed, the 1st of June, 1774, a day of humiliation, fasting, and prayer—thus imploring, with one voice, the protection and blessing of Heaven upon you, and thus, through a religious act, the ultimate one of national distress, rousing up her people to the fullest and most startling sense of the outrage and the peril which awaited you. She called upon you to stand up for your cause; that it was the true cause—the cause of right, and freedom, and justice; that, as such, she made it her own, and would fight it out with you, blow by blow, and, live or die, would give every faculty that belonged to her of soul and body and estate, to make it good. Addressing her through the justice of your cause and the agonies of your condition, you ask her for her heart. She gave it: with scarce the reservation of a throb, she gave it freely and gave it all. You called upon her for her blood. She took her children from her bosom and offered them to supply it. With her spirit, with her appreciation of the great principles of representative and of popular government which your case involved, and with her holy enthusiasm in their support, Virginia would have been utterly recreant to herself if she had done anything else or anything less than she did.

“But in all this she felt and knew that she was more than your political ally—more than your political friend. She felt and knew that she was your near, natural-born relation—such in virtue of your common descent, but such far more still, in virtue of the higher attributes of a congenial and kindred nature. Do not be startled at the idea of common qualities between the American cavalier and the American roundhead.

[NOTE.—At this point Mr. McDowell's hour having expired, he was about to close his remarks, when he was called upon from all parts of the Hall, with strong emphasis, to “go on”—“go on.” To this request, the committee giving its unanimous consent, he proceeded:]

“Do not be startled, Mr. Chairman, at the idea of a close and near relationship between the impetuous and haughty but courteous colonist of Jamestown, with his intense point of personal honor, and his devotion to all that is stirring in the incidents of life, and the stern, solemn, self-denying, almost ascetic pilgrim of Plymouth.

A proud but misguided legality drives the defenders of the Stuarts to the shores of the Chesapeake, that there, in privation and in poverty, if need be, they might follow out the impulses of their own honor and their own free will, without let or hindrance from human authority. A pure, exclusive, uncompromising spirit of religion, that *could* not mingle with, and that *would* not be controlled by the corruptions of earth, drives a persecuted but a precious people to the rocks of Massachusetts Bay, that there, whatever else might betide them, they could pour out their hearts as they pleased to Him whom it was the richest of all their delights to worship and to serve. A heroic and unconquerable will, differently directed, is the pervasive and master element in the character of both. Secondary differences—the differences of culture—a culture which, in the one case, was directed to train the heart for all that was gay and glad and animating in life; and in the other, to train it for a subdued, chastened, concentrated spirituality—these have thrown around our ancestors a various costume, and have long exhibited them to one another and to the world in all the glare of a pictured and dramatic contrast. But in that proud and lofty spirit which claims the human will for itself, which indignantly repulses every desire or effort to control it, as an unwarrantable and impious wrong—in that they were thoroughly and indissolubly one. The same in this master quality, so controlling in itself of all others, it was impossible for them to be otherwise than blended by it promptly, harmoniously, gloriously, at the very dawn of our national day. They were the first, as a consequence, to proclaim and to resist the aggressions of England, and never after, even in the fainting hours of the struggle that followed, were they absent from the duty or the spot where their valor or their counsels were required. Nourished by the same spirit, sharing as twin sisters in the struggle and the heritage of the same revolution, what is there in any demand of national faith or of constitutional duty, or of public morals, which should separate them now? What is there in these grounds—the sound and the true grounds of national conduct—that should induce Massachusetts to disavow the rights, disown the equality, disdain the remonstrance, or scorn the feelings and the honor of her best, her strongest, and her earliest friend? What is there in the possibilities of sectional advantage so precious

as to justify her, or any other, in risking, for a single moment, the danger of incurable family discord in order to obtain it? It is not for us as a people or as States, to stay the march of that unseen and eternal cause which sweeps over the devices and the trophies of man, and crowds whole nations, in melancholy procession, to the tomb. But it is for us, as both, to stay the very beginnings of that family quarrel which never fails, wheresoever it occurs, to hurry onward and downward the destiny of a people, and which so strips the destiny that it hurries on of every hope that could soothe, and so surrounds it with every element of utter and appalling woe, as to mark it out from all common curses for the shuddering, the horror, and the admonition of man. Shrinking from such a fate as this, and from the causes that impel to it, we cherish with the deeper fervor the just and the natural hope that here, in this honored temple of our common liberty, Virginia and Massachusetts, by whose hands and whose wisdom in chief it was reared into power, will sit and worship side by side for ever; that here, in the peace of Heaven and of each other, with clean hands and pure hearts, they will always minister in public things, doing right to all, wrong to none; that here they will carry on, to its brightest consummation, the illustrious career they have begun, comforting cheering, supporting one another through all the conflicts of the day, and mitigating, should they ever come, the convulsions of the last hour by the soothings of a last embrace: thus testifying, for the honor of our nature, to a national fidelity, which there was nothing in the power of temptation that could corrupt, and nothing but the power of death that could destroy.

“Gentlemen, Representatives of Massachusetts, what say you? Are you agreed? Your equals before the Revolution began—your equals when it did begin—confederated as your equals in 1777—united as such in 1787—coöperating with you as such in the administration of our common country from the declaration of independence to the present hour, and so confederated, united, and coöperating with you with all the local rights and institutions which are objected to us now—are you agreed that what we were and are, and ought to be and must be, we shall always continue to be, your equals—inviolably your equals still? Are you agreed to this? If so, then, in the sight of Heaven and of man, we shall

renew this day a compact, not of peace only—no, no ; not only of peace, grateful as that alone would be—but a compact of immortality for our country.

“As the powers of this Government, and, therefore, to a great extent, the destinies of this country are intrusted officially to our hands, it is our duty to give all vigilance of ear and eye and thought—to everything that can affect them. It is for us, then, to be warned by that voice that comes from all the records of all the past, and comes to admonish us, that lost republics are lost forever ; that though their spirit never dies, but abides upon the earth to enlighten, to improve, and to bless it, yet that it never revives to regenerate themselves. Look at the reptile and the tiger, as they have dwelt for ages in the habitations of the Holy City ; look at despotism, worse than either, as it has nestled and brooded with its raven wing upon the very bosom of buried republics, and be warned of that mysterious doom, that evident ordination from on high, which connects, in eternal fellowship, the privileges with the punishments of nations, and never allots the highest blessings but side by side with the heaviest woes. Let us be warned by this fated conjunction to put away all passion, and prejudice, and parricide—unacknowledged but latent parricide—from amongst us, to gather around and press to the side of our country ; to heal the chafings and wounds of her spirit by the unity and fervor of our own ; to be ready ourselves to sacrifice and suffer, if need be, that she may never sorrow or perish ; and if there is a curse in all our borders, let it abide for the overwhelming of him who cometh not up in the hour of trouble to succor, to defend, and to save ;—yes, for the overwhelming of him and such as him ;—for where, under Providence, but upon the heart—the constant and devoted heart—where but upon the patriotism and the virtue of her sons is the country to rely in the moment of adversity, or at any time to rely against the perversion of her own mighty elements of good into mighty engines of evil ?

“Give us but a part of that devotion which glowed in the heart of the younger Pitt, and of our own elder Adams, who, in the midst of their agonies, forgot not the countries they had lived for, but mingled with the spasms of their dying hour a last and imploring appeal to the Parent of all Mercies that He would remember,

in eternal blessings, the land of their birth : give us their devotion—give us that of the young enthusiast of Paris, who, listening to Mirabeau in one of his surpassing vindications of human rights, and seeing him fall from his stand, dying, as a physician proclaimed, for the want of blood, rushed to the spot, and as he bent over the expiring man, bared his arm for the lancet, and cried again and again, with impassioned voice—‘ Here, take it—take it—oh ! take it from *me* ; let *me* die, so that Mirabeau and the liberties of my country may not perish ! ’ Give us something only of such a spirit as this—something only of such a love of country, and we are safe, forever safe : the troubles which shadow over and oppress us now, will pass away as a summer cloud. No measure of unallowable wrong, no measure of unconquerable disagreement will be pressed upon us here. The fatal element of all our discord will be taken from amongst us. Let gentlemen be entreated to remove it, as the one only and solitary obstacle to our perfect peace. Let them be adjured by the weal of this and of coming ages—by our own and our children’s good—by all that we love or that we look for in the progress and the glories of our land, to leave the entire subject of slavery, with every accountability it may impose, every remedy it may require, every accumulation of difficulty or of pressure it may reach—to leave it all to the interest, to the wisdom, and to the conscience of those upon whom the providence of God and the Constitution of their country have cast it. Leave it to them, *now and forever*, and stop, whilst it is yet possible to stop, the furious and blind headway of that wild and mad philanthropy, which is lighting up for the nation itself the fires of the stake, and which is rushing on, stride after stride, to an intestine struggle that may bury us all under a harder, and wickeder, and more incurable slavery, than any it would extinguish.

“ Nothing but aggravation of heart and of lot have been brought upon the poor slave by the rash and unwarranted efforts which have been put forth to relieve him. They have broken down the footing he had reached, crushed the sympathies he had won, embarrassed and accursed the fortunes they were intended to control. The generous and elevating influence of our free institutions was relaxing his bondage, bettering his condition, lifting up his character, turning upon him the public anxieties and the public counsels, as a

fit and deserving object of provident and public provision—was changing, at all points, the aspects of his fate, when the spirit of abolitionism, political and fanatic, came from abroad to scourge him with a demon visitation, to wrench him from the arms of his only true and only capable benefactors, to throw him back again upon the earth, a thousand-fold more suspected, separate, and forlorn than ever; riveting upon him every fetter it would loosen, poisoning every blessing it would bestow; and so filling his whole case with elements of hopelessness, explosion, and evil, that the heart shudders whilst it weeps to look upon it. What are they who cherish and direct this spirit? Friends of the slave? They are robbing him of every vestige of liberty he has left. Friends of humanity? They are staking it, ruthlessly staking it, upon the issues of massacre and convulsion. Friends of the country? They are rapidly becoming its iron homicides, cleaving down its constitution with murderous arms, and tearing it limb from limb.

“Should it ever happen, as the result of any interference and action here, that some insurgent ebullition of the slave will break out amongst us, that the blood of our people will be made to stream in our dwellings, and ooze up from the bosom of the soil that feeds us, it will cry aloud, like that of Abel, for vengeance against the brother’s hand that shed it; and vengeance would be had, though every drop that was left should be poured out in one anguished and dying effort to obtain it. Nothing but Heaven could stop a people so lashed up to phrensy by rage and suffering and wrong, from sending back upon the firesides and the fields of the guilty that visitation of calamity and death which had first been sent to desolate their own. Spare, oh! spare us the curse of a broken brotherhood—of a ruined, ruined, ruined country. Remember that there are no groans like the groans of expiring liberty—no convulsions like those which her dying agonies extort. It took Rome some three hundred years to die. With far deeper vitality than hers, our end, when it comes, will come with a far keener, crueller, and bitterer pang.

“Give up our common and united country—give it up at the call of some sectional interest—sacrifice it to the phrensy of fanaticism or of passion—let it go down, down, under some monstrous and horrible struggle of brother with brother,—do this, and you will

get it back again as you have it now—the home of happiness, the city upon a hill towering up for the light and for the healing of nations—you will get it thus again when the ‘shadows shall go back upon the dial of Ahaz’—when He who sent out the luminary of day upon his march shall again put forth His hand and stop him in his pathway of light.

“It is said, sir, that at some dark hour of our revolutionary contest, when army after army had been lost, when dispirited, beaten, wretched, the heart of the boldest and faithfulest died within them, and all, for an instant, seemed conquered except the unconquerable soul of our father-chief,—it is said that at that moment, rising above all the auguries around him, and buoyed up by the inspiration of his immortal work for all the trials it could bring, he roused anew the sunken spirit of his associates by this confident and daring declaration:—‘Strip me (said he) of the dejected and suffering remnant of my army—take from me all that I have left—leave me but a banner, give me but the means to plant it upon the mountains of West Augusta, and I will yet draw around me the men who will lift up their bleeding country from the dust, and set her free.’ Give to me, who am a son and representative here of that same West Augusta, give to me as a banner the propitious measure I have endeavored to support, help me to plant *it* upon this mountain top of our national power, and the land of Washington, undivided and unbroken, will be our land, and the land of our children’s children forever. So help me to do this at this hour, and generations hence, some future son of the South, standing where I stand, in this same honored Hall, and in the midst of our legitimate successors, will bless and praise and thank God that he, too, can say of them, as I of you, and of all around me, these, these are *my* brethren, *and this, this, oh! this, too, is my country!*”

“NOTE.—MR. McDOWELL, in committing the foregoing speech to the press, deems it but just to say, that, though he labored to report it exactly as it was delivered, yet he has succeeded in part only. In some parts the report he knows to be exact, but in others to be rather a resemblance than a copy. Some paragraphs are published which were glanced at only, and not spoken, lest the hour rule should cut off others that, at the time, he preferred to introduce. Some short portions, on the other hand, are omitted entirely, because the general tone of them could not be recovered.”

In regard to this speech, I quote the following from "Wilson's Rise and Fall of the Slave Power," II, 194-7 :—

"In a very different strain was the speech made by Mr. McDowell of Virginia, near the close of the session. Leaving the ordinary track of Southern denunciation and menace, he resorted to the far more effective method of earnest entreaty and tender appeal. A graceful and impressive speaker, he held, by the testimony of all who heard him, the House spell-bound for nearly two hours by his subtle logic; his specious pleas, and his brilliant rhetoric; but much more by his passionate allusions to the memories of the past; the claims of the present; veneration for the dead, and the demands of patriotism for the living. Indeed, it may well be doubted whether that or any previous session of Congress ever afforded a more marked illustration of that peculiar trial of faith, feeling, and principle to which the really wise and conscientious of those days were so often and so cruelly subjected by the shrewd and politic defenders of slavery and its claims; when, to be true to the claims of humanity was, if possible, made to appear to be false to the pledges of the Constitution; recreant to the memories of the fathers, and indifferent to the safety of the Union; so that, in the parlance of those times, to be known as a liberty-loving man was to cast distrust on one's loyalty and love of country. On the other hand, to be known as a 'Union-saving' man was tantamount to a confession or claim that one was not an abolitionist.

"This confusion of ideas, this false position in which the conflict placed men, were skilfully employed and appealed to by Mr. McDowell."

The "Address to the South," and the resolutions on the question of slavery in the Virginia legislature, and the whole series of inflammatory documents and meetings that were broad-cast in the whole country, could not fail to awaken even the phlegmatic and taciturn Germans, to say nothing of their more excitable fellow-citizens, of the Old Tenth Legion, into some discontent at not being heard from, through their representative in Congress, on the agitating topics of the times. Especially they wanted to know how it happened that he did not appear among the signers of "The Address to the South." Some skilful manipulators of Calhoun's views had secured a Calhoun party among them; and there was just enough

of menace in their questionings to render them spicy, and to put a man on his guard. But upon all occasions of difference in opinion with his constituents Mr. McDowell fell back upon his reserved right of private judgment, against which threats and persuasion were alike powerless. And with Calhoun politically, in his plans and methods and motives, he had no sympathy ; but, on the contrary, regarded him with invincible distrust. That his name should not appear side by side with Mason's and Hunter's to a pronouncement of Calhoun, was entirely consistent with his whole public history. The speech on the admission of New Mexico and California, above mentioned, gave a full answer to their inquiries into his views of the rights of Virginia, as a State, and as to her claims upon the Republic as one of its component parts.

But whatever else may have failed to please, the pride of the district did not suffer in the impression their speaker made upon the House. The rare compliment he received at the moment, of a vociferous call to disregard the fall of the gavel at the end of his hour—a compliment extended to no other speaker—must have been a gratification, which the newspaper eulogiums that followed only intensified. Such a shower of these fell that a friend, meeting him in the street, said, “ Why, Governor, I advise you to pray like the old Scotch-Irishman, that you may be delivered from pride and vanity and all *puffed-up-edness*.”

My father's health was by no means strong at that period. He had never entirely recovered from the illness of which I have spoken ; and would sometimes refer to it as making him feel “ that he was uttering his own thoughts in another man's voice.” Of course, this was a fearful embarrassment in public speaking ; especially to a man who always sustained a sort of nervous shock on rising before an august audience.

Away down in my desk, among some memoranda on family matters which I made years ago, I find a paper on this subject, and introduce it for my present purpose :—

“ He toiled on in Congress, dispirited, and much of the time a great sufferer from physical pain ; though, perhaps, under all these disadvantages he achieved his most distinguished success as an orator, by a speech on the admission of California into the Union. Of that speech, some years after my father's death, my cousin,

Hon. William Ballard Preston, who was, at the time, his colleague in Congress, gave me this account. I cannot reproduce his glowing countenance and spirited manner. It is long ago now, and he is dead, too, but his relation of the scene made a deep impression upon me at the time, and my memory has held it with a firm grasp ever since. I enjoyed his family pride in the matter, and his own earnest, warm-hearted, honest interest and admiration of the effort, and his delight in the honor it received from others.

“‘I was sitting by Ashman of Massachusetts,’ said he, ‘when your father spoke. His reputation as an orator had preceded him, and there were great expectations. Upon his desk he had built up a great pile of books of reference, and, rising slowly, he began, in a dry manner, to utter some introductory sentences. I bent anxiously forward. After a minute or two Ashman said ‘Pshaw! he is a going to fail.’ ‘Wait a minute,’ said I to him. Alas, the dragging continued. Ashman, growing impatient, exclaimed, ‘Ah, you Virginians all think you can speak! If a man succeeds on the floor of the House of Delegates of Virginia, you expect him to do it everywhere! But it is very different in Congress; and McDowell is not going to succeed here!’ And he threw himself listlessly back, under the foregone conclusion of utter failure. As the dull sentences moved slowly on, my own fears, now thoroughly aroused, strengthened; until, at this point, I had almost sunk into Ashman’s convictions. At that critical moment, however, the speaker paused; with an impatient gesture pushed his books away from him and himself up to his full height, his countenance changed, and his whole being seemed to expand and vivify, as though under some peculiar and instantaneous transformation. In a flash, I felt, he is himself again; and, turning quickly to my disappointed friend, I exclaimed triumphantly, ‘Come, listen now!’ He needed no exhortation after that; but, bending over, he gave an intense and absorbed attention to the end, when his applause was loud and most emphatic. But he gathered it all up by declaring, ‘It is that Patrick Henry blood in McDowell and you that makes you so eloquent. You can’t help speaking well.’ (Up to this time Mr. Preston’s speech, made a few weeks before, had been the most telling one of the session.) ‘Not so!’ I told him; ‘William C. Preston has the Henry blood;

neither McDowell nor I have a drop of it ; we are both Prestons ; not Henrys.’”

*Clay's Compromise Bill Adopted.—Governor McDowell
Speaks on the Wilmot Proviso.*

The current of public events set in strongly, as I have before described, towards Clay's compromise ; but did not reach it till near the close of the session of 1849–50. The Wilmot proviso fell through as inoperative when California came in as a State ; but on the approach of any fresh applicants from the new territory for stateship, it was punctually resurrected to scrape the coals that might yet smoulder in the ashes of past feuds, to build afresh the fires of dissension and disunion. Thus, when the territorial government of Utah and New Mexico was under consideration, this fire-brand was again a formidable weapon in the hands of the anti-slavery men. Late in the proceedings, and after long hesitation, my father entered, September 3, 1850, into the discussion, earnestly arguing against the proviso, as alike destructive of the rights of the South, and of the continuance of the Union. He felt constrained, by way of introduction, to defend himself against the misapplication of his views on abolition, as expressed in the Virginia House of Delegates a score of years before, by the anti-slavery men in Congress. I cannot do better than to allow him to state his own case.

Mr. McDowell said, that before he proceeds to the general remarks upon this and its associate subjects which he desires to submit, and in order to disembarass them from any connection with a topic so unimportant to the House and to the public as himself individually, and to which he is somewhat constrained to refer, he considers it proper to say at the outset, that it was his fortune, eighteen or twenty years ago, when a member of the House of Delegates of Virginia, to make a speech in that body upon the institution of slavery, in which he inquired into and exposed its nature, claims, and consequences, with the fearlessness and freedom which became him, as he believed, in his double capacity of citizen and delegate. Portions of his speech have, again and again, during the present and past sessions of Congress, been referred to by

gentlemen in the other wing of the Capitol as well as in this, always, so far as he has noticed, with overwrought compliment, but almost always, too, with the apparent purpose of finding in them something to justify their own opinions and course, and to control or to condemn his. "Whatever that speech is, Mr. Speaker" (said Mr. McDowell), "I mean to leave it to itself, unrevoked, unchanged, and undefended. Whether its sentiments be true or false, wise or foolish, it is at least undeniable that they were spoken at the right place, to the right audience, and invoked action of the right parties. They were addressed to the people of Virginia, through their legislature; to those who had established by their laws the institution spoken of, and who, and who only, within the limits of their State, had any rightful authority to modify, abolish, or maintain it. If the relation of Congress to this subject, in authority or in any other respect, were the same with that of the Legislature of Virginia, it would be obviously fair and just in that case, but in that only, that my opinions and course upon it in that body should be held up for acknowledgment or disavowal in this.

"Whatever the opinions I have expressed or entertained upon the institution of slavery in the abstract, I have never doubted for a moment, that as the white and the black races now live together in the Southern States, it is an indispensable institution for them both. Physical amalgamation between them is impossible, and would be ruinous if it were possible. Political and civil amalgamation, allowing an equality of power in the government, and of rights under it, is just as impossible; and though thought of and attempted in a few of the States, where the number of blacks, instead of being equal to or greater than the whites, as in some of the Southern States, amounts to but a small per cent. of the whole, has even there been rejected as inadmissible and improper. Emancipation, with rights of residence and property, but exclusion from social, civil, and political equality, would conduct, sooner or later, through the irrepressible heart-burnings and passions of human nature, to a war of colors, the bloodiest and cruelest of all wars, because founded upon an ineffaceable distinction, and therefore only capable of being stopped by the extermination of one or other of its parties. Regarding this as the dreadful, but inevitable

fatality of giving freedom to the Southern slaves without removing them to some other land, I cannot and do not doubt but that their present condition is the only happy and suitable one for themselves or their masters, *as long as they live together in the same community*; and that, melancholy in some of its aspects as it may be, theirs is a case in which the restraint by the power of one man over the rights and liberty of another is a wise and beneficent one for the safety, the prosperity, and the life of both."

As to his effort on that occasion, I avail of the remarks upon it by Vice-President Wilson, and also of the synopsis which he gives of it.

"More potent, however," he says in his "Rise and Fall of the Slave Power," Vol. II, pp. 288-290, "than menaces, were appeals to the finer feelings,—the love of country, veneration for the past, grateful memories of former favors, and fraternal regard for the descendants from a common ancestry, the heirs of a common heritage. Of that class, perhaps the most effective were those of Mr. McDowell of Virginia. He had distinguished himself by his eloquent plea for emancipation in the Virginia Convention of 1832, and had acquired a national reputation by his ardent patriotism, his broad and statesmanlike views in pleading for the best interests of his own commonwealth, his genial manners, and his fascinating oratory. When, therefore, near the close of that debate, on the 3d of September, he felt constrained to make the appeals which fell from his impassioned lips, there is little wonder that his words made a profound impression.

"'Whatever the opinions,' he said, 'I have expressed or entertained upon the institution of slavery in the abstract, I have never doubted for a moment that as the white and black races now live together in the Southern States, it is an indispensable institution for them both.'

"Asserting that emancipation would lead, 'through the heart-burnings and passions of human nature, to a war of colors, the bloodiest, and cruelest of all wars,' he contended that a servile condition was 'the only happy and suitable one for themselves or their masters.' He said the Wilmot proviso destroyed 'all equality between the citizens of the slaveholding and free States,' and therefore could be insisted on only by disregarding the spirit and purpose of the compact between them. He appealed to Congress,

therefore, 'to relieve the South from the flagitious wrong which the Proviso threatens against her.'

"Leaving the domain of argument, which he presented in a variety of forms, and ascending into the higher regions of the sensibilities and of moral obligation, he appealed to the fraternal feelings which had hitherto existed, and to the grateful memories of the years when they struggled against a common foe, for the cultivation of a common heritage, and the upbuilding of the fabric of a national unity. Proudly referring to the prominent part performed by Virginia, and the sacrifices she made for the commonweal, he asked: Shall all this be forgotten? 'Whatever that Union or country is,' he said, 'whatever the peace it has bestowed; whatever the developments of happiness and energy it has encouraged; whatever the radiance it has shed upon the principles of human government; whatever the power of organization and defence it has given to the spirit of freedom among the masses of mankind; whatever the throbbing heart of liberty it has lit up in the heart of the world;—whatever in these and all things else that country is; it is the common offspring of the cares, contributions, counsels, and labors of you both. . . . Who of us,' he demanded, 'without the putting forth of every faculty of soul and body to prevent it, could see it go down, under such monstrous struggle of brother with brother; an eternal crush upon ourselves; an eternal example for the shuddering, the admonition, the horror, and the curse of universal man? . . . In this hour so full of interest, our Mother country comes into our very midst, and, taking each by the hand, says to each, Son, give me, give me, thine heart. Can we not give freely, proudly give it all?' Referring to the dying exclamation of Lieutenant Hall, executed as a spy in the Revolution,—'O, it is a bitter, bitter thing to die; and how bitter, too, to know that I have but one life to live which I can give to my country,' he exclaimed, 'Give us only this spirit for our work here, and it shall be crowned with a long futurity of thankfulness and rejoicing.'"

CHAPTER XX.

Illness and Death of a Daughter.—His Own Death.—Respect and Kindness of Friends.—Newspaper Tributes.

It was my father's habit to surround himself with his family in the places to which his business took him ; and, as I have before said, he had his own home in Washington, with all the pleasures it gave to one so devoted to his own fireside as he, and with all the cares, too, inseparable from it. In the winter of 1850, these last were rendered heavy by the ill health of one of my sisters. For eighteen months it was a source of the deepest anxiety. During this time, it is true, there occurred periods of strength, giving promise of recovery. But all in vain ! They were but the deceitful temporizings of a fatal malady, silently and remorselessly leading to the grave. My father, under such circumstances, had little opportunity for the necessary care of his own health, and suffered much from the strain upon it. At one time he was confined to his room, and chiefly to his bed, for more than a month, from a severe attack of sciatica. Before he had fully recovered, he insisted upon going to the Capitol ; but so small was his amount of strength, that climbing from the carriage-block to the top of the steps of the east portico completely exhausted him, and, but for the prompt offer of a strong arm, by a passing friend, he would have fallen to the floor. Still dejected and suffering, he toiled on at his work ; and not only made a speech on the Wilmot proviso, heretofore mentioned, but allowed himself to be drawn into helping a struggling church enterprise in Philadelphia by delivering in March, 1851, a lecture for its benefit. This was, I think, his last public effort.

But, the doctor's wagon, with steady persistence, and with unremitting need for it, daily for weeks drew up at our door. My sister grew more feeble ; and my father lost ground also. Our attention was divided between them. But we had hope for him, and none for her ; and that difference guided all our measures. She grew in dependence upon him ; and night and day would ask for his presence. And he, whatever his disability, and no matter

what the hour, would come and kneel at her side and pray for her, and comfort and support her in her spiritual needs, as her mind grew more active under the conviction that the end was not far off. In one of these moments, she exacted the promise that he would take her home to be buried. Afterward, however, as though impressed by his increasing feebleness, she called him to her, and, in the most touching sacrifice of her wishes for his benefit, she recalled the promise he had made. She had changed her mind, she said, and now wished to be buried in the Congressional graveyard, and had asked one of her physicians, to whom she had become much attached, to drive out there, occasionally, and give such care to the spot as should divest it of the pitiful look of a stranger's grave. This was a most wise and kind decision. But, on June 15th, when the end came, my father would not listen, for a moment, to anything but the carrying of his dead child to her own home. The promptest and most energetic arrangements were made for this purpose ; friends warmly helping where they could. But my oldest brother, Dr. McDowell, was in Europe ; and the younger one at school in Lexington. My father, however, seemed anxious to do whatever was possible, with his own hands. Leaving Washington, the funeral party was met by friends at the depot in Richmond, and detained that night at the Government House (our uncle, John B. Floyd, being Governor), in order to take the canal-boat, early the next morning, for Lynchburg. Arriving that evening at Lynchburg, the hearse and carriage, previously ordered from Lexington, were already there. Without delay the family got into them, traveling all night. In the dead of the night the hearse broke down ; and, to add to the terrors of the occasion, the carriage horses took fright and ran off in a narrow strip of land between the canal and the river. But no accident happened. The horses were soon under control ; and the broken hearse made strong enough to go on. But so uncertain it seemed that, for long distances, my father would walk behind, watching it. Still they proceeded safely on their mournful journey ; and, as the sun rose, drove up to our own door. In an hour or two the church bell tolled ; friends who could, at that early hour, gathered at the grave, at the head of which our dear old pastor, Dr. William S. White, stood, leaning upon his cane, waiting to speak his words of prayer and hope, till our own

servant-men with tender hands and sad faces, had lifted their young mistress from the carriage, and gently laid her down beside her mother. To the lookers-on, that early morning burial, with the broken-down father and sorrowing sisters around the grave, was a sad spectacle. But over its silent inmate an eternal day had already dawned, and all earth's shadows had passed away.

In all the long journey, with its many connections of boat and car, my father, with intense vigilance, superintended every change. And, shuddering at freight and express trains, he was able to obtain the kindest accommodations the passenger car afforded. Always at the side of the casket, the solitary guardian received the utmost sympathy; and the employées at every turn—(for, having been so recently Governor, they all knew him)—were foremost in thoughtful and delicate and efficient service. But the exertion, apart from the weight upon his feelings, was too great for his already diminished physical strength. He rallied somewhat after a time, and was able to give some attention to his personal affairs. The summer weeks passed on, and with them his symptoms grew more pronounced, and our hopes fainter and fainter. He suffered greatly, but most patiently. Making an effort he mounted a gentle horse one day, for a necessary business errand in town; but the short ride was so fatiguing that he never attempted it again. On hearing, however, that the celebration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper would occur at its regular period, in the church to which he belonged, he determined to be present. Unable to sit through the whole service, he ordered the carriage to come at the close of the sermon, and was driven over "that he might commune once more with his friends and neighbors."

At the same hour on the next Sabbath, the 24th of August, 1851, he was gone! Just six weeks after the death of my sister, we carried him to his grave. His mind, despite his prolonged suffering, was clear and collected; and in response, at the last hour, to a question of his pastor as to the ground of his hope in the Great Future, spoke, simply and briefly, of his "entire reliance upon Christ."

He seemed scarcely to have filled out his time upon the earth, for he had not reached his fifty-sixth year when death came.

At this trying moment, the extreme illness of some at home, and the absence of others in Europe, bereft us of the presence of our nearest relatives. But friends warmly gathered about us, and themselves took charge of all the funeral arrangements, from which nothing was omitted in public or private testimonials that could show respect to my father, or sympathy with his family. Being vacation, the College sent all the representation it could; and the newly appointed Commandant of Post, of the Military Institute, Thomas J. Jackson (the Stonewall of later history), appeared for the first time, at the head of the Corps of Cadets. The countryside, as far and wide as the brief time permitted, came to do honor to one so long associated with their public interests; and so truly, in feeling as in birth, a Rockbridge man. These attentions were most grateful to the heavy hearts behind the pall that hung over the old home at Colalto; and the memories of them are precious to the few who have survived the long years of change and sorrow. Especially are they so to that one, who, with a throbbing heart, and eyes dim with tears, is left to record them. To her they seem, as the present fades away before the vivid past, but the fresh flowers from a new-made grave.

Newspapers all over the land, without regard to political creed, chronicled the event in emphatic testimonials to a high character both in private and in public life. I employed a boy in the office of a conspicuous paper, of which a friend was chief editor, to obtain for me whatever notices its exchanges furnished. This he did very energetically; making safe his clippings by sewing them together, and, in the end, sending me a roll ten or twelve yards in length. From it I select two:—one from the *Richmond Enquirer*, the State organ of the Democratic Party, the other from the *Washington Intelligencer*, United States organ of the Whig Party.

[*National Intelligencer*, August 28, 1851].

DEATH OF THE HON. JAMES McDOWELL, OF VIRGINIA.

“It is with heartfelt sorrow that we perform the duty of announcing to our readers the decease of the Hon. James McDowell, a Representative in Congress for several years past from the State

of Virginia, and formerly for some years Governor of that State. He died at his residence near Lexington, Virginia, on Sunday last, at about the age of fifty-six years.

"A nobler gentleman, a more upright man, a truer patriot, never graced his native State.

"It is recently, in comparison with the period during which we have ourselves been in contact with public men, that we have had the opportunity of observing the public course of this excellent and distinguished citizen. So elevated were his aims, so ardent his devotion to his whole country, so free was his character from all the dross of humanity, so true to all the duties of a citizen, all the instincts of a gentleman, and the responsibilities of a Christian—so learned, so enlightened, and so modest withal—that he has left behind him no superior in the estimation and regard of all with whom he was associated in public or private life.

"As a Representative of the people, we may sum up his character by saying that of all men we have known he approached the nearest to filling that place in the unbounded respect, confidence, and deference of the House which was left so long vacant by the death of William Lowndes, of South Carolina."

[*Richmond Enquirer.*]

"The death of such a citizen as James McDowell is a national calamity. Southern and Northern patriots will alike mourn his loss. If, at a time when fanaticism assails with infuriate recklessness the Constitution of the country, it be necessary that their assaults should be resisted with equal energy by as impassioned defenders of that pillar of the Union, there is, at the same time, a greater necessity that statesmen, high in the affections and esteem of the whole people, should stand as day's men in the public councils, whose eloquence can alike overwhelm with shame the assailants of our institutions, and calm the just indignation of their defenders. Our national councils contained no man more highly gifted with the peculiar eloquence required by the crisis through which the country has passed, than the late Governor McDowell. Nor was his rare eloquence the only gift of this distinguished son of Virginia. He was a scholar of the highest attainments, and a shining

exemplification, wherever he went, of the intellectual cultivation of his State. He was a gentleman, in the highest acceptation of the term. Nor was he more distinguished for his native talents and intellectual attainments, than for the virtues and amenities which adorned his personal character.

“He came of a race distinguished in the Revolutionary and Indian struggles of our people, and especially endeared by patriotic and heroic deeds to Western Virginia. He was a son of ‘West Augusta,’ and came of those brave people to whom Washington, in the darkest hour of the Revolution, meditated retreat with the drooping flag and broken armies of his country.

“Governor McDowell’s long and prominent connection with the public affairs of Virginia, is well known to our people. Whatever may have been the errors of his public career, and they were few indeed, he ever enjoyed in the highest degree their respect and esteem. His usefulness in Congress was much impaired during the whole period of his service by feeble health; but, when health did permit him to raise his voice, no member of the House of Representatives commanded the attention of that turbulent body more readily and instantly, or held it more intensely enchained than the distinguished orator from Virginia.”

CHAPTER XXI.

Methods of Preparation and Delivery of Speeches—Letters of Thomas Green and Robert C. Winthrop—Conversational Ability—Prayer-Meeting and Sunday-School Addresses—Temperance at the Government House—Devotion to His Family—His Children.

Methods of Preparation and Delivery of Speeches.

In all my recollection of him, my father was never what might be called a hard student;—his cares were too multiform and his time too much broken for that; but, when called upon for any public appearance requiring study, he was laborious and persevering to the last degree. When a speech was on hand, there was a general understanding throughout the house that this occupation

was not to be commented upon. He was excessively sensitive to the interruptions and observations and remarks of the family. When he got warmed up in his subject, the library where he always sat was deserted; and a remote upper chamber resorted to. Then, lest his habit of walking across the floor, as he meditated and digested the matter in hand, should attract the ear of some listener, even of the youngest child,—he would throw off his boots, and sometimes his slippers. We dared not seem to know anything. On one occasion, he became annoyed by some observation; abandoned the house altogether; and sought refuge in the airy loft of a large carriage-house, that he entered by a common ladder, which he drew up after him, rightly judging that he was safe from pursuit there!

After these periods of close application, he would appear, "clothed and in his right mind," with a closely written manuscript which he never launched upon the sea of public opinion, till it had first been submitted to my mother's criticism, whose correct taste and clear judgment he greatly confided in. How severe a critic she was I never knew. Her tribunal was a secret one. She would never allow us to imagine there could be any fault or even short-comings in the case; but I have heard him laughingly report to her how much he had been benefited by adopting her suggestions, and have noticed the silent glow of satisfied feeling with which she accepted the delicate husbandly compliment.

Speeches thus carefully written out, were faithfully transferred to the memory; his ear, accustomed to them by a frequent repetition of them aloud, and, as a last safety measure, voluminous notes were taken. He always stood in dread of the excessive embarrassment he scarce ever failed to encounter upon rising to speak. The notes, no doubt, steadied his nerves, as being some defence against utter failure. But, after getting well under way in his speech, I fancy he took many liberties with his MS.; so that the written and spoken address were often two efforts instead of one. I heard his brother-in-law, Governor Floyd (Buchanan's Secretary of War), say, "Why, more than any man I ever knew, McDowell would just play with his manuscript. Whenever he took the notion, he would jump out of his boat, swim about at his pleasure, and then jump in again, and push along as though nothing had happened."

This was one method he had of speaking. His speeches in the Legislature of Virginia on the slavery question; on internal improvement by the State; on the Right of Instruction; and in Congress, on the Admission of California, and on the Wilmot Proviso; and the Oration at Princeton, and at Amherst College, and some others, were all prepared in the same painstaking way; and all subjected, no doubt, to the same flinging away of the manuscript in the heat of delivery. On many other occasions, he spoke without special preparation, and without a scrap of a note. It was during his term as governor, and at the close of a long journey connected with the public works of the State, when he was returning to Lexington for a short summer rest, I remember having seen the carriage stopped, by a committee of gentlemen, as it was driving into his grounds, that he might be importuned to redeem their promise of a speech from him to a large audience, already assembling. He consented, after a short parley; took a hurried breakfast, got out of his travel-stained clothes into a suit which, we used to tell him, with only half a chance would make a very good address of itself; claimed a half hour of quiet; then drove to the church and made a speech that brought down thunders of applause.

These off-hand speeches marked his electioneering campaigns. I am persuaded that his constituents had the very best of his efforts. Indeed, my brother, who frequently heard him on the stump, would turn, with amusement, from the applause of an august assembly on his more elaborate efforts, to these, in his opinion, superior exhibitions of real eloquence. "I have heard him speak a hundred times better in Collierstown, or in McCutchan's school-house in Rockbridge," he would tell me, as we talked it over by ourselves.

Letters of Thomas Green and Robert C. Winthrop.

Before I dismiss this subject I must quote a letter written many years ago by Thomas Green, Esq., of Richmond, in which he gives the opinion of Thomas Ritchie, the distinguished editor of the Richmond *Enquirer*, of Mr. McDowell as a public speaker. Mr. Ritchie had the fullest opportunities for making a judgment of him. As editor of the *Enquirer* in Richmond he had seen his

powers brought to the highest test among his peers in the Virginia Legislature, which for its size at that period was fully the equal of any legislative assembly on record ; and as editor of the "*Union*" in Washington, he had seen them subjected to further trial in the wider and more varied competition of the House of Representatives. His opinion was not the utterance of personal friendship, but the cool criticism of a party leader ;—albeit that leadership was of the party to which they both belonged.

"I recollect well," Mr. Green writes, "Mr. Thomas Ritchie saying that he had heard Clay and Webster and other orators, but had never heard any speaking or eloquence equal to James McDowell in the Virginia House of Delegates.

"I think it was when I had repeated to him what the Hon. Albert Smith of Maine had said to me of Governor McDowell's speech made that day in the House of Representatives, on the subject of the compromise between the North and the South. In reply to my remark that I had not been to the Capitol that day he said, 'You do not know what you have lost ;—you would have been proud of being a Virginian ; all who heard Governor McDowell to-day would have been proud to have come from the same State.' By almost universal consent it was regarded as the most eloquent speech that ever was heard in that Hall."

So few yet remain of my father's contemporaries in Congress, that this letter from Mr. Winthrop, addressed to my sister, Mrs. Wolfe, in response to one from her, is especially gratifying to us as a picture taken from life.

"BOSTON, 1st March, 1893,
90 Marlborough Street.

"MRS. E. P. MCD. WOLFFE,
Atlanta, Georgia.

"*Dear Madam* :—Your letter of the 21st of February was duly received, and I take pleasure in answering it. I remember your honored father, Governor James McDowell, well ; and recall him with great interest. We were of different political parties, but that did not interfere with our personal association and friendship. Indeed there was hardly one in Congress with me for whom I had

a higher respect or a warmer regard. My attention was first called to him by a speech which he made in the convention of Virginia in 1830, on the subject of slavery, and of which ex-President Madison spoke to me in the highest terms when I visited him in 1832. I formed his acquaintance for the first time in 1846 or 1847; and we were on intimate terms during the 30th Congress (1847 to 1849) while I was Speaker of the House of Representatives. He came repeatedly to my receptions; and I always counted him among my cherished friends. If you will turn to the *March* number of *Scribner's Magazine*, just issued, you will find a very striking passage of an eloquent speech which he made on the death of ex-President John Quincy Adams, which I have quoted in an article describing that scene.

“Your father was a man of great eloquence, with a fine voice and great dignity of presence. I should not dare to estimate his height, but there was nothing short about him. I should think he was not less than six feet; and his figure was well proportioned for a mature man,—neither lean nor fat. His voice was clear and melodious, with an occasional touch of pathos which was very telling.

“As I am on the verge of 84 years, and suffering from infirmities and ill-health, you will pardon the imperfections of this letter.

“Believe me, dear madam,

Respectfully and truly yours,

ROBT. C. WINTHROP.”

Conversational Ability.

I have adverted to my father's reserved habits when a student. They became less so as he grew older; but to some extent, they always clung to him. And this, not out of poverty of social zest or qualification; for, his contributions to society were, confessedly, of a high order:—a fine person, attractive manners and great conversational ability. His play of wit and humor, his glowing fancy and delicate sentiment, gave to the solid information and intellectual strength introduced into his conversation a sparkle and variety peculiarly captivating. In the perfect *abandon* of a con-

genial group, few equalled him in this gift,—a gift made all the more charming by the entire absence of that attempt at display so common to acknowledged wits and professional talkers. He took his *part* in conversation; he did not over-ride the rights of others by engrossing it; and there was nothing studied and pre-arranged with him. If, now and then, he sent up a rocket which burst, overhead, in a shower of stars, his auditors enjoyed it all the more that it was natural and unpremeditated. And if *they* sought a chance for their pyrotechnics, he was not only ready to step aside, but the first to throw up his hat at their successful going off.

Yet even in his conversation, enriched as it was by imagination and illustration and felicitous language, he was, not unfrequently, the victim of that same mal-a-prop *mauvaise honte*, which assailed him when rising to address a public audience. I detected it instantly in the sudden silent hauteur with which it seemed to envelope him; and which most effectually extinguished his fires. It was always unaccountable, and to my mind wholly unprovoked. I have often been fretted to observe it in assemblies where I was sure he could bear a lance with the very ablest person present. But there was no help for it. I had just to blow away my pride, and substitute my sympathy.

My father was a Presbyterian in religious faith; and that not more from training than from the dictates of his own thought. He accepted the doctrines of that Church; approved its government, and enjoyed its simple forms of worship. As Dr. Leyburn truly says, “by birth, by education and by a preference which no power seemed able even to shake, Governor McDowell was a Presbyterian. He had, of all men I have ever known, the strongest aversion to ostentation or unnecessary ceremony in religion. In whatever pertained to the service of God he had no heart—such was his repugnance, I might almost say he had no patience—for anything else than piety in the simplest and most unpretending forms. He was for putting all honor on God and all lowliness on ‘his erring, guilty creature man.’

“I well remember the deep emphasis with which in the early hours of his spiritual life he was accustomed to repeat what was then one of his favorite hymns, the language of which indeed sets forth the prevailing sentiment of his subsequent life. The hymn

alluded to is in the 'Village Collection,' now out of use; and is worth giving in full:—

'Wherefore should man, frail child of clay,
Who from the cradle to the shroud,
Lives but the insect of a day—
Oh, why should mortal man be proud?

'His brightest visions but appear,
Then vanish and no more are found;
The stateliest pile his pride can rear,
A breath may level with the ground.

'Follies and crimes, a countless sum,
Are crowded in life's little span:
How ill, alas, does pride become
That erring, guilty creature, man!

'God of my life, Father divine!
Give me a meek and lowly mind:
In modest worth, oh, let me shine,
And peace in humble virtue find.'

Prayer Meeting and Sunday School Addresses.

My father never held any office in the church. He never was willing to take an open part in our religious meetings. I have seen him decline when he was called upon to pray in public. I much doubt whether he could have done it; but I greatly regretted that he did not make the attempt. Once, as he sat far back in our lecture room, the leader of the meeting called upon him to make an address. To my unspeakable surprise, he rose instantly; but out of his confusion, and much to his annoyance, he addressed the elder as "Mr. Chairman." Thrown off his balance, he paused a moment, then gave us a short, but quite a good exhortation. This was a platform, however, on which the good old elders, up towards the front, were better spokesmen than he; but their best speech cost them far less in effort and sacrifice of feeling, than this one did him.

This was the only time I ever heard him. But I remember that while he was governor, an energetic superintendent of a Sunday School, a few miles from Richmond, came one Sunday morning and took him out to address the school. On his return, he told

us that the young man introduced him in a formal speech, which he concluded by suddenly turning to him and saying, "Come, Governor; now you can go it."

Temperance in the Government House.

If in his religious history he shrank from observation and avoided all display of his feelings, in like manner, and to the same degree, he disliked in social life any such departure from the established usages of society as by its novelty or eccentricity would subject him to remark. For this reason the practical working out of his temperance opinions was a decided trial to him. The temperance movement had made considerable progress at that time, it is true; but not enough to render the refusal of a glass of wine at a gentleman's table the easy, every day occurrence which it afterwards became. Nevertheless he did not quail before the difficulty; but promptly and remorselessly excluded both wine and dancing from his private and official entertainments. My mother by her hearty co-operation and graceful ease of manner and genuinely cordial hospitality did much toward smoothing the way for him. Old School Presbyterianism and total abstinence held sway at the Government House during one term, at any rate. The old colonial provision for the State's Chief Magistrate of "a thousand pounds sterling, and a butt of wine" had passed away, as to the wine, with our British rulers; but never, until now, had wine been banished from a governor's table by his own order. And a witty young lawyer in Richmond was not wrong when he declared that "Governor McDowell got along amazingly well in the great mansion with his two aids—lemon-ade and promen-ade."

The Hon. William Smith, popularly known as "Extra Billy," succeeded my father as governor. Without early advantages of education but by force of a strong will and great mental vigor he had attained political influence and position; and despite his rough sobriquet, when I knew him many years later, in appearance and manner he was a singularly courtly old gentleman. He was followed in office by our near kinsman, John B. Floyd. Upon the occasion of his leaving the Executive Mansion, the gentlemen met in the hall for the exchange of friendly civilities, and Governor

Smith paused to say, with a gentle suspicion of a sneer in his tone :—" When McDowell was here, he contributed a large Bible to the governor's office ; and now, as I am going away, I have put beside it a big dictionary !"

" I have no doubt," remarked Governor Floyd, " that each of you gentlemen has left the book that he felt himself to be the most in need of."

Devotion to His Family.

My father was at all times very much engrossed by his family. We were a whole houseful of ten children, the larger part of whom were daughters ; a fact which he pretended to avoid stating when asked, " how many are there, Governor ?" by exclaiming, " Oh, not so many as my friend Jefferson Randolph has. He has nine." We were seven ; and in spite of his seeming reluctance to announce the number, I am sure we were not one too many for him. He loved the little girls as playmates better than the boys ; and the youngest, in turn, enjoyed the largest share of his caresses and favor. He was very anxious about us all ; very ambitious of our intellectual improvement, and most liberal in securing to us every educational advantage that the times afforded. And his children must ever regard his provision for them in all their mental training as most large-hearted and open-handed.

It was a comfort to him in the last painful and sorrowful years of his life that so many of his children were around him. While to them it was a supreme pleasure to minister to him with something of the affectionate care that he had bestowed upon them. And even the youngest of them feels grateful in being able to retain a perfect memory of his appearance, and to have had a personal knowledge of many of his traits of character.

I have said there were ten of us :—

1. James, a physician in St. Louis, Missouri, and for a short time Consul-General at Constantinople under President Pierce. He married Elizabeth L. Brant, a great-niece of Col. Thomas H. Benton. They had five children, of whom, at this time, 1894, only two survive :—a daughter, Mrs. R. Wickliffe Preston of Lexington, Kentucky, who has a daughter and a son ; and one son, Brant, married, but with no children.

2. Sally Campbell Preston, wife of Reverend John Miller of Princeton, New Jersey. He had been pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Frederick, Maryland; and of one in Philadelphia. Was Captain of Artillery in the Confederate Army, and subsequently for eight years pastor of the Second Church in Petersburg, Virginia. In order to secure the requisite facilities and time for more extended study, he resigned this charge, moved to Princeton, New Jersey, and has published nine volumes; among them a work on Metaphysics, a systematic Theology and several Scriptural Commentaries. On account of doctrinal differences with the Presbyterian Church he was allowed to withdraw from her communion. Within a few years he has joined the Cumberland Presbyterians, and has transferred to them the five churches which he had established in the region near Princeton and in the city of New Brunswick. They have two daughters:—Susannah Preston and Elizabeth Henry Miller.

3. Mary Breckinridge, wife of Reverend John Ross, pastor of Presbyterian Church in Charlotte County, Virginia; and in Frederick City, Maryland. She had no children. In affectionate remembrance of her early home, as well as to perpetuate her father's memory, she endowed a scholarship in Washington and Lee University bearing his name.

4. Frances Elizabeth Henry, who died in Washington, D. C., June 15th, 1851.

5. Sophonisba Breckinridge married James W. Massie:—lawyer, Professor at Virginia Military Institute; on the staff of Stonewall Jackson, in the Confederate service; and in Floyd's command in the siege of Donelson. They had one son, James McDowell Massie, a physician in Kansas City, Missouri; has a wife and three children.

6. Louis Marshall;—who died in childhood.

7. Susan Preston—wife of Charles S. Carrington of Halifax County, Virginia:—lawyer; Quarter-Master in Confederate service: President of James River and Kanawha Canal. They had three children:—Charles, a business man in Bristol, Tennessee; James McDowell, Assistant United States Consul in Amoy, China; and Sarah, married to Dr. W. S. Currell, Professor in Davidson College, North Carolina. Since the death of her husband in 1891, she makes her home with her son Charles.

8. Thomas Preston—planter in Texas; married Constance Warwick of Richmond. He entered the Confederate service as a private in the battery of his brother-in-law, Rev. John Miller; saw some hard fighting in the Valley—was wounded at Woodstock—and some months afterward died in camp. He left one daughter:—Susan Preston, who died in 1891.

9. Margaret Cantey, who married Charles S. Venable, Professor at Hampden Sidney; at Athens, Georgia; and at the College of South Carolina. He entered the Confederate service in Hampton's Legion, but served the most of the time upon the staff of General R. E. Lee. After the war he became Professor of Mathematics in the University of Virginia, a position which he still holds. During his long professorship he was for many years Chairman of the Faculty; and has published a number of volumes in his department of study. She died in 1876, leaving four children;—Frank Preston, Professor at Chapel Hill, North Carolina; Mary McDowell, married to Dr. Charles Minor, Washington, D. C.; Cantey McDowell, married to Clarence Dallam, Danville, Kentucky; and Natalie, unmarried.

10. Eliza Preston, married Bernard L. Wolffe, Major in the Confederate Cavalry service, on the staff of General William N. Pendleton. They had two children:—Sally McDowell and Bernard. The former married Arthur G. Krug, a civil engineer in Brazil, but now living in Atlanta, Georgia;—the latter, a physician, just married to a daughter of Judge George S. Hillyer of Atlanta, is also a resident of that city. Their mother, long a widow, makes her home with her children.

Some years after the death of my father, Hon. Hugh A. Garland of St. Louis, who was his colleague in the House of Delegates and warm personal friend, gave to my brother a sketch of him, which I am only too well pleased to append to my own.

Most writers assume the right to a more or less formal preface. I decline that, but ask, in its' stead, the privilege of a parting word

with the friends whose indulgent kindness has made me co-laborer with them in the interests of the College.

It was under no sense of fitness for the duty they assigned me that I engaged in it. But what I have done, I have done lovingly as to the purpose to be promoted and as to the subjects I have handled. For the sake of both, I fain would have done it better. It is not of that, however, that I speak.

In the execution of their wishes I have been called from under the long shadows of life's setting sun to roam among the scenes of its early morning,—living over again a joyous childhood and a happy youth; and to mingle once more with the cherished friends whose gallant and steady friendship has sheltered and brightened and enriched all my graver and maturer years. And my heart, so full of all it has enjoyed, will not be denied the pleasure of gratefully acknowledging it.

And now pinning my hereditary rose¹ to my shoulder, as its white ribbons flutter in the breeze I say, in smiles and tears, "good-bye" to the dear old Washington College of the long ago; and at the same moment I send up a hearty cheer with my parting *Bon Voyage* to Washington and Lee University, as, with sails all spread, she ploughs the boundless sea of the future.

SALLY CAMPBELL PRESTON MILLER.

PRINCETON, N. J., *September*, 1894.

¹ Badge of the Graham Society.

JAMES McDOWELL.

I knew James McDowell well. We were born and raised in adjoining counties ; but they were separated by the Blue Ridge Mountains which cut off all intercourse. He lived in the Valley—I in the Piedmont slope. I have often heard my father and John Henderson speak of James McDowell, and predict his future eminence.

Henderson was an Irish refugee, the friend of Emmet, a scholar and a gentleman ; a better mathematician I never saw. He was McDowell's teacher in early youth, and had the highest admiration for his character and genius.

I met him for the first time in the winter of 1834-5, on the floor of the House of Delegates, in the Virginia Legislature. He had been a member several years previously, though occasionally turned out by his constituents. The people of Rockbridge were Federalists,—or as they were called at that time, Whigs—and McDowell was a Democrat, but his eloquence, superior abilities, and great weight of character, often prevailed over party prejudices, and those stern mountaineers have the credit of bringing before the world one whom we have since learned to appreciate as the first man of his time in the State of Virginia. Mr. McDowell was a member of the legislature in the winter of 1831-2, and took part in the discussion of the great question then agitated in that body—the *gradual emancipation of the slaves*. The famous Southampton insurrection had taken place the August previous, and given occasion to this important measure.

McDowell, along with many of the most promising young men of the State, took the side of emancipation. I do not know that his speeches on the subject were ever published. I do not recollect to have read them, but have often heard his effort spoken of in the

highest praise ; it became traditional in the legislature, and was in everybody's mouth. I doubt not it was very great ; the theme was peculiarly suited to his genius, and I can well imagine that his fervid and earnest manner, his brilliant imagination, and copious language, stirred up the minds of his hearers in a manner they were never agitated before. There was a strong party in the legislature in favor of emancipation, but the measure failed, and all who had taken an active part in its favor were for some years thrown into the shade. The active interference of the abolitionists of Congress with the subject of domestic slavery soon after this added to the unpopularity of any measure at home tending towards gradual emancipation. Unprincipled politicians attempted to confound the two cases, and to involve their own statesmen in the odium of being abolitionists, when in truth no cases were more dissimilar.

Virginia never had a warmer patriot, or a more devoted friend than James McDowell. In common with Washington, Jefferson, and their compeers, he thought that slavery was a curse to his country, and ought to be removed in the manner least objectionable to those who were interested in the subject ; but at the same time he deprecated all foreign interference and was most indignant at the course of Congress and of the abolitionists. I have often heard him speak of them in terms of unmeasured condemnation. And his own career of late years in Congress has shown that on this subject he was thoroughly *States-rights* in all his feelings and opinions. I have dwelt the more on this matter because I know its importance in the biography of Mr. McDowell. The person who undertakes to write his life must dwell upon it and develope it with some minuteness before he can do justice to the man.

In the winter of 1834-5, James McDowell, Thomas Jefferson Randolph and myself boarded at the same house. Those gentlemen had been friends for a long time before. I was a stranger to both. Our intercourse grew up into an intercourse that was never interrupted. The great subject McDowell had in hand at this session was the internal improvement of the State. He was Chairman, if I mistake not, of the standing committee which had that business in charge. No man took a deeper interest in developing the resources of the State, or saw more clearly the importance

of uniting the eastern and western portions of the commonwealth by great highways of commerce, strengthening thereby and consolidating their economical, social, and political relations. His great effort was to concentrate the resources of the State on one great thoroughfare to the Mississippi Valley. This was the subject of his speech at the present session. He rarely made more than one effort of the kind during the session. That was on the main question of the day, and was always *the* speech of the occasion; it was looked to with interest and expectation till it came; it never disappointed, and was never forgotten. A discourse on the subject of internal improvement coming from most men, would be one of statistics and dry detail. It might be said of it what John Randolph said of the speech of a member of the Virginia Convention, "The gentleman's array of figures puts to flight all figures of speech." Not so with McDowell. His brilliant genius threw a charm around the dullest theme that fascinated his hearers for hours at a time.

Whenever it was known that McDowell was to speak, the Hall was crowded to excess. It was so on this occasion. I heard him for the first time. I can only say that he fulfilled my idea of the orator,—an idea not borrowed from the reading of rhetoricians, but from a careful study of the original works of the great masters of ancient eloquence. His tall and expanded person, his manly features and noble brow presented a figure both faultless and commanding. The god-like was stamped upon it. No one could behold his glowing countenance as it kindled with the subject, without feeling a consciousness that there is a spark of dignity in the soul of a truly noble man.

If Mr. McDowell was in the habit of writing out his speeches beforehand, I am not aware of it. They were, however, well digested; he never spoke without ample preparation; but it was only that of inward arrangement and meditation. Such was his copiousness of information on all subjects that he touched, that it needed only to be arranged according to the laws of method in his own mind to come forth *tenera et rotunda* in the form of a complete discourse. His style was remarkably full and appropriate; his imagination was not merely brilliant, but presented its images warm and life-like; his powers of analysis and of logical argument

were not inferior to his other faculties ; he charmed and convinced. I know no man to whom he can be so well compared as Edmund Burke. He had Burke's richness of language, fulness of thought, and maturity of wisdom, with a great deal more of the vigor, pathos, action, and other internal graces of the orator. Virginia may well boast of having given birth in succession to three orators who have never been surpassed in this or any other country—Patrick Henry, John Randolph, James McDowell.

The old negro that waited on us at our lodgings was a great admirer of Mr. McDowell, and took upon himself on all occasions the zealous task of defending his reputation. On the occasion of which I am now speaking, he forced himself into the Hall of Delegates to hear his favorite speaker. On returning to our lodgings he said, "Well, Master McDowell, I heard your speech, sir. Your words fell upon 'em, sir, like a mighty weight." "Listen," said McDowell, turning to me with a smile, "listen to the arrant flatterer."

The next great subject discussed by Mr. McDowell a few sessions later—perhaps the next session, I do not remember—was the *right of instruction*. The minds of the people were forcibly directed to this question for several years. The removal of the deposits and the Bank panic had produced a majority against Jackson's administration in the legislature. The spring elections of 1834 had reduced that majority very much. By the meeting of the legislature in December, the people in many of the counties had come back to their original positions in the ranks of the Democracy, but they were separated in the legislature by Whigs elected the spring before. The important election of United States Senator was to be held by the legislature. The Democracy were anxious to re-elect Wm. C. Rives, the present incumbent. Benj. Watkins Leigh was the candidate of the Whigs. The people in their primary assemblies instructed their delegates to vote for Mr. Rives. These instructions were treated with ridicule and contempt by some, and much sophistic argument was resorted to by others to get around them. Mr. Leigh was elected. A subsequent legislature instructed him to vote for Benton's Expunging Resolution. He concluded an elaborate argument against the right of instruction by saying, "I ought not, cannot, and will not obey." These various and exciting occasions gave rise to a discussion of the whole subject in all

its bearings; it was thoroughly and ably examined. The right of the people in their primary assemblies to instruct their representatives, and of the legislature to instruct the Senator now rests in Virginia on the surest foundations. Mr. McDowell's speech on this subject I have always regarded as a masterpiece of analysis and logical reasoning. It ought to be carefully studied by every young statesman in the country. No one can rise from its perusal without being convinced that the author was more than a mere popular orator, that he was a profound thinker and thoroughly acquainted with the original sources of the primary elements of a representative and popular government. I well remember the time it was delivered. He and I had both made preparations to speak. The Hall was crowded as usual with a brilliant audience expecting to hear McDowell. We were sitting together, and such was his embarrassment and agitation at the thought of rising before such an assembly, that I had some difficulty in forcing him forward. "You are prepared," said he, "get up and speak. I cannot do it." It was not until I had positively refused that he got upon his feet. This was no affected reluctance on his part. I had learned to know that it was a genuine distrust of his own powers. With the strength of a giant, he had the diffidence and modesty of a woman. I parted with Mr. McDowell in the spring of 1838, at the close of the session of the legislature. A few years afterward he was elected Governor of the commonwealth, and took up his abode in Richmond. I frequently met him and communed freely with him during his three years residence in the Government House. His easy, polite and unaffected manners and the conscientious discharge of the duties of his office, are well known to everybody.

By most men Mr. McDowell would be regarded as an indolent man; he always seemed to be at leisure; was never in a hurry; and did not bear about him at any time the marks of a hard-working and exhausted student. But those who knew how to appreciate such characters would not judge him thus. He was a man of profound meditation, and such were the rich stores of his mind that he was never at a loss for a subject of reflection. It was a necessity of his nature to reach to the bottom of every subject he investigated; he must see to the root of the matter. But

when it came to reconstruct his thoughts into the form of a practical discourse, the task was irksome; the mere mechanical labor of writing was a drudgery. In this respect he resembled Coleridge, indeed all meditative minds where the thought is so immeasurably beyond the reach of common mortals, that the subject to whom it is vouchsafed shrinks from the impossible task of compressing it within the compass of vulgar appreciation. Imaginative and contemplative minds enjoy so intensely the luxury of thought, that it requires the strongest pressure of outward circumstances to force them into a realization of their meditations by means of practical discourse. The reasoning mind that deals with ideas, has before it so vast and fruitful a field that it is deterred from the labor of solution and arrangement. Dwelling in the light of pure reason, they know the impossibility of making darkness to comprehend it.

While we were members of the legislature,—Randolph, McDowell, and myself—our afternoons, when the weather permitted, were spent in rambling about, sometimes along the beautiful banks of the James River; sometimes among the islands in the falls above Mayo's Bridge; and at other times on Church Hill among the tombs of our ancestors. The subject of conversation was often suggested by the scenes and occurrences around us; but most generally McDowell's discourse was on some high theme, such as Horace tells of Cicero and the illustrious statesmen that surrounded him.

"Sermo oritur non de villis domibusve alienis,
Nec male necne Lepos saltet; sed, quod magis ad nos
Pertinet et nescire malum est, agitamus, utrumne
Divitiis homines an sint virtute beati,

Et quae sit natura boni summumque quid ejus."

Hor. *Satir.*, lib. II, *Sat.* 6.

In all my intercourse with that man, I can truly say that I never knew an idle or an obscene word to fall from his lips, never a syllable that the most sensitive woman would blush to hear. He had an utter scorn for everything that was low, mean or vulgar. I never knew a man who could express more contempt in a single word and look. He had a ready and a polished wit, but, what is the mark of a higher genius, he possessed an exquisite humor. Whilst he laughed at the follies of mankind and ridiculed the

pretences of snubocracy, he had a loving heart that could make allowances for the weakness of human nature, and weep over its sins and misfortunes. Possessing a keen wit and a high sense of the ludicrous, he never prostituted those talents to a bad purpose. I never knew him wilfully to wound the feelings of anyone; he was kind, affectionate, and playful as a child. His politeness was not formal, it was hearty and genuine; he did not put on greatness, it was stamped on every lineament; and the commonest observer could not pass him in the street without turning to take another look at so majestic a man.

As a statesman he was such as Milton describes, one who could perform skilfully, justly, magnanimously, all the offices both public and private of peace and of war. As a Christian, he was inwardly devout, humble, and sincere, without any show or pretence. Such was his abhorrence of shams and hypocrisy, that he strove to hide his light under a bushel, lest it might be thought he made a profession of religion to be seen of men. Take him all in all, I never had the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with a more perfect character. He had his weaknesses,—'tis human to err—but the blemishes of his character, like spots in the face of the sun, were swallowed up in the genial warmth and brilliant rays of his nobler qualities.

The last time I saw Mr. McDowell was in the summer of 1850, in Washington City. He was a member of Congress. I visited Washington with the view of using the public library in the composition of a work I was then upon. I took up my retreat in the back room of the library and seldom left it. I visited nobody, and saw nobody if I could help it. McDowell came in nearly every day, and spent a few moments with me. He was in bad health and worse spirits; he had no heart for the work he was in, and seemed disgusted with everything around him. After I had been in the city about two weeks, I met him one evening on the avenue. He took both of my hands in his and said, "Garland, I feel pricked at the heart that you have not been to see me." I perceived from his tone and manner that he really felt worried. That evening I spent with him, at his own house, surrounded by his family of young daughters. She who was the companion of his bosom, the woman he not only loved but venerated for her

talents and virtues, had been taken away, and he was left desolate and broken-hearted. How different the scene when I visited him in his mountain home, surrounded by wife, children, and friends, enjoying health, wealth, and all the beauties and sublimities of nature profusely scattered on every hand. Domestic happiness was essential to his being; bereft of that, he sunk like the oak whose heart had been devoured by the canker-worm. He never recovered from the shock of this bereavement, and during the brief space that he lingered behind, he lived as one who had no purpose in life, like the blasted ship floating rudderless and aimless on the wide sea.

Such are briefly my recollections of James McDowell. He deserves a larger space in history than can be given him in a collection of brief memoirs. His speeches and other writings should be published as a legacy to his country.

Respectfully,

HUGH A. GARLAND.

ST. LOUIS, *June*, 1883.

